Classroom Spaces:

Where the walls stop, and education begins

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Abstract

Throughout their own educational history students and teachers understand their position within a space through their lived experiences. Spaces cannot be limited to just the physical, but are a layering of multiple spaces including linguistic, cultural, social, physical and temporal spaces. Each of these layers interact to create a classroom environment that can enable students to experience education as an event and to be co-constructors of their own third space—a space where shared knowledge and meaning-making are possible.

Using the stories of participants in a multi-modal study, it is possible to understand how ESL students perceive of their education from where they began their educational journey, in their home countries, to where they are currently experiencing their education, at Lake City University. The stories were shared through a survey and then further explored through semi-structured interviews. This data was combined to create cohesive stories that shared the experiences of each participant. These stories were then analyzed for common themes and what that meant about the perception of the spaces and the impacts these spaces had on the educational experiences of each participant.

Each of these experiences and perceptions from the participants provide the researcher a means to understand how the shaping of space through linguistic landscapes, architectural structures and community formation enable access to the third space. The third space is where students can be active participants in creating a space where their educational goals have the potential to be reached. Understanding the past experiences of participants may help us to create spaces where equity can be created, allowing for all knowledge to be shared and students to construct environments where education is an event rather than a performance of skills.

Chapter 1: Introduction, Problem Statement and Literature Review

Introduction

Educational spaces, known as classrooms, are the prescribed spaces where learning is to occur. However, learning occurs beyond the classroom and for many reasons, the learning done outside of the classroom seems more effective at allowing students to reach their goals in life. For students learning a second language, specifically English for this meta-analysis, the classroom can either reinforce the past educational experiences or diverge from the past educational experiences (Lefebvre, 1991). What this means is that not all students' educational experiences in the classroom have been positive, especially when learning English. The spaces for learning in some ways dictated what students felt about the topics they were learning and the educational space itself. These experiences from the past combine to create a perception of what the future will hold. However, these perceptions of what the future will hold, do not account for the differences that will exist in a new context. These students need to understand that in a new space, education can be different. In order to help student divorce themselves for their past experiences as dictators of their future learning, there needs to be a change made to the space. This change to the space could act as a visual and spatial reminder that the space for education is not the same, so the event of education will not be the same.

The goal of this study is to understand how the perception of educational spaces impacts students, either enabling or disabling them from learning their second language.

The research questions that have guided this study include the following:

1. How do students experience their educational spaces, both the physical and beyond the physical?

2. How does a linguistic landscape help us understand the social construct of space?

3. How does the linguistic landscape include and/or exclude students from the spaces where a classroom is co-constructed?

   a. How can exclusion be minimized to ensure students are in control of their own spaces and education?

4. How can spaces be shaped to meet the needs of students from the lived experiences of students?

Since this study revolves around the concept of space and there is no fixed definition of educational space, it is necessary to understand the different perspectives that exist to construct space. Educational spaces are often grouped with other social spaces to define them. However, educational spaces are not like other social spaces. Educational spaces are more complex than other social spaces, because learning comprises complex social interactions. In educational spaces, there is an inherent understanding of social order, hierarchical knowledge and many different experiences, which all combine to create complex interpersonal dynamics. The inter-/intra- personal dynamics that are at play create a level of complexity. This complexity is what makes educational spaces different from other social spaces.

In addition to educational spaces being more complex, adding a language as both the topic of study and the mode of study further adds to the complexity of the space. Language in a classroom can be inclusive or exclusive by its use and mere presence. Therefore, the linguistic landscape can be an important shaper of the space. It needs to be understood that this linguistic landscape is part of this social construct, which is manifesting in the educational space, adding to the complexity of the social space.

Although educational spaces are different from social spaces, they share similarities. These similarities are what allow education spaces to be understood as an extension of social space. By extension of social space, it is meant that there are some accepted behaviors within a classroom that are inherently understood, such as you must wear clothing and you must not poke your neighbor in the eye. Beyond these conventions of social spaces educational spaces begin to diverge, because education is an event, where participants: students and teachers, are active participants in reaching the educational goals of not just themselves, but their classmates.

Therefore, this study aims to help us understand educational spaces. Though the focus is on architectural understandings of space and guided by it as my study progressed, it became evident the linguistic underpinnings of space were the most appropriate for my data analysis. By understanding these spaces, it is possible to impact how an educational space may change by drawing awareness to the many complexities that are at play: language, social order, hierarchical knowledge and experiences.

Literature Review

Educational spaces often have been included with explorations of social spaces within the fields of linguistics and architecture. When space has been attended to in educational research, it focuses on the other aspects of space beyond the physical such as figured worlds, context and the third space. There is a hole that exists between the understanding of the educational space, as a space that is more complex than a social space, in architectural theory and linguistic landscaping research, and the physical space in educational research.

Therefore, to understand the space and the experiences of the learners, it is necessary to conceptualize how the context creates the space and the space creates the context. It is within this quest for community-building, sharing and finding where the walls stop, and the learning

begins. The exploration of how the space matters for the learner becomes important as the space enables or disables the goals of the classroom community and the learners. As the community forms their narrative, the experiences of the students shape the space as well as the experiences of the teachers. And, the goals of the space are formed through the experiences of these individuals (Gomez, 2010; Gutierrez, 2008). These goals and experiences of the students matter for how they accomplish their education. The education that students receive is built upon and within the space.

Since the existing research in education explores ideas such as context/s, the figured world and the third space as tools, when talking about space, it is necessary to understand how these three concepts interweave to talk about where students learn. Each of these concepts does not fully describe the spaces where ESL students experience their education. However, the concepts of context/s, figured world and other constructions of the third space, create parts of a definition that will be used to talk about the third space for post-secondary ESL student. So, this meta-analysis will first explore the concept of context and how this idea is integral to the understanding of the third space within this meta-analysis. Then, the idea of figured worlds will be explored to understand how these are utilized to under the difference between the reality that is experienced and the contrived reality that is constructed. Finally, other concepts of the third space will be explored, to show where they fall short and what can be used to construct a definition of the third space that will fit the research and how to conceptualize third space in the future.

Since space is the subject, it is helpful to understand how the idea fits with concepts such as place, location, context, planes and realms. These terms will be used throughout the literature review to situate a definition of space and the third space that will construct how learners

understand their educational surroundings. Space is more than just a physical construction. Space is multi-layered and includes "realms" related to temporal, linguistic, social, cultural and the physical (Lefebvre, 1991). It is important to differentiate the idea of place and space. Place is the location and the physical manifestation of a location: a room, a building or a park. Space, here, is meant to encompass the physical and non-physical shapers of a space. This distinction helps to delineate the distinction between these two entities. Physical spaces do not pay homage to the complexity that is inherent within spaces. Spaces are not just places, but they are constructed, interacting with the histories, culture and social traces that are left in the places as time passes (Lefebvre, 1991). This term realms may be interchanged with planes and layers. Each of these realms works to create space.

The educational context is a transparent overlay within every classroom, but its function in multicultural, multilingual space/s needs to be recognized. The educational contexts of classrooms tie with the idea of a figured world and the third space. These ideas form the basis for the multi-layered, multi-dimensional spaces. Figured worlds, third space and context, in a manner, take part in the construction of the space. In some ways, these each function as a layer. It is possible that the figured world and context are parts of the fabric of a space and these concepts are necessary to understanding how students experience their environments. The students are the builders and constructers of space and figured worlds (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 2001). These environments and spaces are co-constructed and ever changing. The actors', teachers' and students' experiences within these environments and through these figured worlds speaks to how education shapes these students but is also shaped by the students. To ignore any one component, denies the importance of the physical space and its effects on students in terms of their classroom as an experience on the path to education.

Context

Context is an elusive topic. It is like space, surrounding us, but it is not visible in the same sense that a physical space is visible. The contexts that surround us shape us and our experiences. In some ways context could be considered the baggage that each student brings with them into their space of education. This means that their past experiences become fronted as they are confronted with the new experience of acquiring a second language in a space that is as foreign as the language (John, 2016). Therefore, the understanding of a context helps to understand where a student comes from both in terms of their language level but in their experiences within a classroom as well (Dornyei, 2003).

Contexts become important as classroom spaces are discussed. In some ways context dictates wherein and how students engage with the act of education. Context, as Gomez (2010) pointed out, is tied to the students' history, past experiences and community. Experiences define how an individual relates to the context at any given point in time. As it was important for pre-service teachers (Gomez, 2010; Pacheco, 2012), so too is it important for students. Their contexts from their lives are brought into the space where they will engage with the new and different.

Although the physical realm is often fixed within a space, the context is mobile and malleable. Since the context changes, it is no surprise that the physical space changes with time (Lefebvre, 1991). A space, as a physical construction, transects times, making it fixed. This means that a physical space is not unchanged, but it exists throughout time, like a pillar. Context, however, is malleable within time. The context is changing as the students change. These changes are reflected in the classroom. These are unlike physical locations, which can withstand time, in the case of famous monuments and buildings, although their appearances may change.

Context is always shifting. It changes as the person changes and as their life provides them with new experiences. In reality, context is never stable.

Therefore, it is important to understand how an individual's previous lived experiences relate to their current positioning in their context. The experiences that an individual has will not change despite the passage of time, but what may change is the perception of these experiences (Andrews, 2014; Nelson, 2001). To understand this, it is helpful to examine nurses' experiences in *Damaged identity: Narrative repair* (Nelson, 2001). In this exploration the nurses' experiences with doctors and other individuals that held more power, dictated how they experienced their reality in their contexts. It defined how they perceived of themselves and other actors within the hospital setting. It created an othering, which was a context of difference within a community of practice. A community of practice consists of individuals who are actors within the same community, working toward the same goal (Holland et al., 2001; Pennington, 2004). This context used the history of the individuals to define what the expectations for a future context might be, thus shaping the context through the past.

Additionally, the relationships of power that were present for the doctors and nurses closely mirrors the relationships between teachers and students within the classroom. These spaces are rife with power dynamics that are enacted repeatedly. And, it is the hierarchical power structure, which shapes the spaces inadvertently (Bourdieu, 1991). These power structures impact the physical space in how the space is organized. In *Discipline and Punish*, the idea of controlling the mind through controlling the body is pervasive "the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skillful and increases its forces" and "[a] body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1975, p. 136). This same idea has bled into educational spaces. Students are instructed to sit and listen, become

docile (Foucault, 1975), in traditionally teacher-centered classrooms. They are being controlled through their bodies, so that their minds may be accessed. That is not to say that corporal punishment is being used, as it once was in education, but students are taught to be complacent so that knowledge may be imparted to them. This control of the body as a means to control the mind, has shaped the educational spaces. It, being the control, is expressed as a power relationship. The controller is not just the teacher, but the educators who are higher on the hierarchical educational chain. These power dynamics are shaped through the physical space, where teachers and students are positioned, in a panopticon sense "[t]he panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately" (p. 200) and "to induce in the inmate [student] a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1975, p. 201). Such positioning impacts beyond the first physical space to the social, cultural and linguistic planes of space. These dynamics must be carefully considered when classrooms are shaped, because they are creating a context by the positioning of the students within the classroom space. It may appear that students and teachers are subconsciously unaware of their surroundings. However, their subconscious awareness of their positioning within the modalities of space impact the goals of the classroom. These goals in turn have impacts on the contexts of the classroom, allowing or disavowing community formations.

Language and Perception

Language, like context, is present within educational language spaces. Educational spaces often include language in its written and spoken forms. When looking at a blackboard, written language may come to mind, but an educational space is full of language in its many forms. In a classroom, written language may manifest in the form of a poster, rules on the board or the books

that litter the space. But, language as a backdrop for a space is not just written but spoken and heard. And, this use of language beyond the written words shapes spaces as much as the writing does (Backhaus, 2009). These linguistic tokens, verbal and written, evolve a space and make them welcoming or unwelcoming, especially in a language classroom. If some languages beyond the target language are used and preferred or dispreferred within the classroom setting, then the space can include or exclude students that do not identify with these languages. This creates a space that does not promote language and learning goals but reinforces the dominant narratives that are present throughout society (Backhaus, 2009; Gorter 2006b; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). These language narratives allow for the acquisition of language to either be easy or difficult.

Creating the space is just one aspect of language learning. When learning a language one mark of acquisition is to describe the surroundings. This means that students of any level are being evaluated. They are first being measured for their ability to interpret what they see. Then, students are evaluated concerning their ability to articulate their perceptions. In a manner of speaking, they are interacting with their space through their perception of it. Vygotsky (1978) talks about child language acquisition in relation to description of spaces and place. He uses the descriptions of children's surroundings to discuss the development of children in how they describe the spaces around them. This is a mark of development on multiple levels, as children have to master the language to describe objects, which is the first level of development in this case. The second and more complicated measure of development, which is reached sequentially, is not just describing the physical objects in a space, but the actions that are potential in these spaces. This sequential development speaks to mental development and language development. Without sufficient language development, children are unable to produce the concepts that they have reached mentally to talk about the action potential within a space. So, according to

Vygotsky, language development must take place simultaneously with this conceptual, mental development.

These articulations of the descriptions of the spaces for language learners are a mark of language development, but also are a mark of perception within the spaces. Language learners, especially child language learners, are sponges and absorb the environment, turning it into the medium for language development. But their ability to relate the space to themselves and language development speaks not only to their fluency within the language, but mastery of the cultural and social spaces as they adapt their language to be appropriate for their surroundings.

Despite Vygotsky's (1978) research being focused on the development of children and their language, these same markers can be used to understand the language development patterns of adults. Vygotsky's exploration of children's language and conceptual mental development closely mirrors the progression that language learners make when learning their second language. Adults, unlike children have already reached the mental developmental milestones in their native language, but they must also reach the same conceptual and language markers in their second language. To clarify this concept, it is possible to look at how L2 learners of English acquire verb tenses. To start, these L2 learners are first taught the simple present verb tense (ex: I am a woman). The simple present tense talks about states and habitual actions, but these learners initially learn it as a manner of describing the states of people and objects, which requires them to be aware of their surroundings. This allows them to make simple sentences that are descriptive. The next phase in learning the verb tenses of English is the present progressive tense (ex: I am writing). This verb tense is used to describe on-going actions and predict future events. Beginning L2 learners, however, only learn the use of on-going action use for this verb tense. It is a difficult transition for these L2 learners to make initially. And, this distinction closely

mirrors the language and development that children must go through in order to describe and understand their surrounds. Their language use integrates the social and cultural understanding implicit through language use, thus inadvertently shaping the space.

Ultimately, L2 learners like children developing their first language can interpret their surroundings or context but lack the language capacity to externalize what they are developing. By externalizing here, it is meant that individuals do not have the language and grammar, vocabulary or cultural knowledge to express what they are experiencing in a verbal manner of language. This becomes important for understanding context because contextual understanding is necessary for learners to internalize what they have observed and experienced (Vygotsky, 1978). As Vygotsky (1978) states, context and input are essential to development.

In order to develop, a learner must first perceive of where they are in terms of development and where they are physically, socially and culturally. There are multiple contexts that are constantly at work for these L2 learners. Unlike children, adults have the ability to articulate the socially defined constructs that exists within their physical space. They are able to understand what the social and cultural standards are for their given context. Ultimately this helps these adult learners to not just gain vocabulary for that context, but also to judge the appropriateness of that language using metrics that are derived within their contexts.

This makes context a necessary component of adult language learning. In some ways context becomes interchangeable with space here. Space is a context of sorts since it has multiple layers that correspond with their physical attributes, social space, cultural space and linguistic space. But context here resonates more with the tenets of Vygotskian philosophy, which explains that the context of input is just as important as the input itself.

Context and space act as the foundations for what and how students perceive of their environments. Space and context become the passive actors within environment that go unnoticed but are important for understanding the undertones that are created and reinforced within an environment (Gee, 2004). Ultimately, space in the physical helps to control how the context is presented and manipulated.

Learners may not understand how where they sit impacts their status within a classroom, thus manipulating their contexts (Fernandes, Huang & Rinaldo, 2011). To provide an example, a student that sits in the back may possess less educational capital because they have created a social standing within the classroom community that says they lack engagement and through stereotyping only the underperforming students sit in the back creating a context, where the teacher and other students view this particular student as "trouble." The context of a mere position in a classroom creates an implicit understanding of the personality of these students. These contexts and spaces produce a narrative that is separate from what the actor of the story might tell. The student may inscribe a narrative that does not include the context and space that is created through an outside observer. But, the context nevertheless does not leave the situation. It can only be re-defined through understanding or manipulation of the space and context. Thus, narrative is wrapped within spaces and context as a manner to define or re-define the existing and promote equity.

The presence of equity becomes essential for a classroom as an event and for engagement to occur. These classroom events are not necessarily tied to the act of educating but understanding within the classroom as a space. These perceptions of the space and the narrative that it tells, speak to how the context within a classroom is shaped. And the shaping of these

spaces is essential for creating contexts where each learner has value and attributes to add to the community of the classroom.

The formation of a community is a perception that is reinforced by language (Bhabha, 1994). And, the perception of belonging or not is shaped by the language that is used within the space. These same features also are reinforced through the power dynamics in the classroom that are not just constructed by the teacher's relationship to the students but the students' relationships to each other (Bourdieu, 1991; Markee, 2004; Kasper, 2004; Mchoul, 1978; Wagner, 2004). The perception of placement within a classroom is often expressed through language. And, language and its perceptions can create equity or shut down possibilities for its enactment within a classroom.

Equity is a context that is necessary but needs to be carefully created through co-construction of the third space, manipulation of the physical space and understanding within the spaces of the social, cultural and linguistic realms. But, equity is essential for engagement to occur in a classroom. Without an environment where a context creates equity students will be limited in their engagement and potentially could disengage from their goals in a classroom.

Figured worlds

To separate context and how it is constructed through the individuals who live their lives within and through the space makes a space just a physical place. Each of these traces shapes the space. And, it is through these left behind traces that individuals take their contexts and meld them with perception to create a figured world, which manifests in classrooms.

And, to truly understand a classroom space, it means that a space can by defined through a figured world. Now, a figured world and a context appear to overlap, and in some respects, they do (Holland et al., 2001; Smagorinsky, 2001; Wang & Hoffman, 2016). Context is built

through the experiences of the individuals. It is told and understood. But, it is not singular. A context is a collective (Fernandes, Huang & Rinaldo, 2011). It belongs to the community, much like a narrative belongs to the community (Clandinin &Connelly, 2000). However, a figured world is more individual. It is constructed by the individual. This distinction becomes important to understand the space of a classroom, because it is not just the community understanding of the space that needs to be considered, but also the individual's perspective on their surroundings and placement within it. Their understanding of their placement allows them to explore the paradigms of their realms, positioning themselves to be the individuals they would like to be (Bourdieu, 2003). And, it allows them to shape their learning experiences to meet not just their space, but their goals within the classroom and beyond. A figured world becomes how the students shape the spaces within the many layered realms of a space.

There are two realms that exist within our understanding of lived experiences "a conceptual world that differs for the everyday" (Holland et. al, 2001, p. 50) and "[t]he real and the not-real… are positioned in relation to one another, linked by a thread of ongoing change and perpetual becoming" (Andrews, 2014, p. 6). There is the reality that is experienced in everyday lived experiences and then the experience that is constructed through the context which is envisioned. This relates to the idea of context in two ways because context is both constructed and experienced.

When context is constructed it relates to the idea of narrative inquiry and the stories that are told about ourselves (self-told) and are told about us (other-told). This means that the context that is constructed may or may not match reality (Andrews, 2014; Clandinin & Connelly, 2001). Constructed context is dependent upon the perception of the individual experiencing their reality. This relates directly to the lived experiences discussed by Clandinin and Connelly (2000). A

lived experience is one that the individual is actually experiencing. Through the experience they are constructing a context that is integral to their creating their figured world as an expression of their lived experiences (Holland et al., 2001). It is through the construction of a figured world that individuals determine what they are experiencing and begin to navigate their experiences formulating a narrative that makes sense of their daily existence. Within these figured worlds, social and cultural constructions begin to form the infrastructure of what the experiences mean (Holland et al., 2001). It is through the activity that an understanding of the figured world is created.

To understand figured world at their base, it is necessary to understand the pillars of what it means to construct a figured world. Holland et al. (2001) describe figured worlds as:

1. Communities of practice

2. Constructions of now, but relevant to time and place historically

3. Constructions of social hierarchy

4. Cohesive communities within larger "mixed" communities

5. Structured around activities

6. Independent of physical space

Each of these tenets of the figured world helps to describe the construction of such a space from both within and outside of the space. In a manner of speaking a figured world is a type of bubble whereby the actors of the world are simultaneously acting within the world and constructing their world (Pennington, 2004). It is a push and pull that creates the interactions necessary for understanding the space and for the appropriate action within that space. Much like the rules that are socially learned behaviors that shape a classroom, providing an understanding

for what is acceptable and not. These actions are tied to the idea of power and knowledge, because without these concepts the entire infrastructure of the figured world would dissolves.

This construction and pillars of a figured world are integrally tied to the concepts of how power and knowledge are tied within educational spaces. Thus, the individual with the most "desired" knowledge has the most power in the classroom. The relationship between power and knowledge in the classroom is tied through the interplay of cultural capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieau, 1991). Cultural capital is the idea of "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualification," but this concept must be combined with the idea of symbolic capital "accumulated prestige or honour" to understand how the idea of knowledge and power interplay within a classroom expressed through a figured world (Bourdieau, 1991, p. 14). These figured worlds then play out in the classroom. It is necessary to understand how power and knowledge relate to the understanding of classroom interactions, which develop context.

> "The dominant culture contributes to the real integration of the dominant class (by facilitating the communication between all its members and by distinguishing them from other cases); it also contributes to the fictious integration of society as a whole, and thus to the apathy (false consciousness) of the dominated classes; and finally it contributes to the legitimation of the established order by establishing distinctions (hierarchies) and legitimating these distinctions" (Bourdieau, 1991, p. 167).

Power and knowledge are tied to the structures that rule our communities both of practice and lived communities. This means that power is tied to social status. It is power that provides the social order that has traditionally made classrooms function. There "is" inherent respect for the dominant class: teachers, in educational spaces. This is imposed through concepts such as

cultural capital and symbolic capital. These two forms of capital combine to form power within a figured world. This is how individuals are situated within a social space, which carries over the educational space. "For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they exercise it" (Bourdieau, 1991, p.164). Students understand their relative positioning in the classroom through their positioning of capital as a function of power.

The easiest manner to understand this is in the business world. The CEO has the most power and because of that has the highest social status within the community of the business. This is then tied to the concept of knowledge. A CEO understands their business better than any other individual who is in possession of knowledge within the company. Much institutional knowledge is housed within the individual with the most power. This is akin to a spoke and wheel metaphor. The center of the wheel holds all of the knowledge; this center is the CEO in the business analogy. The spokes are the workers within that company. They each hold a specific set of knowledges but ultimately relate that knowledge back to the center and the center relates that knowledge back to the spokes of the wheel. It is a reciprocal knowledge of a sort, but the individual spokes only hold their own institutional knowledge. In this way the power knowledge relationship is managed. It allows for power to not only be distributed, but managed. This concept of power relating to knowledge to create a community and therefore a context, helps to create a figured world derived from the action. But this figured world, much like the third space, which will be explored further, is co-constructed.

Without the reciprocity of knowledge between the spokes and center, then the community would fall apart, like the wheel. Each part needs to share the burden of distributing the knowledge and upholding the power dynamics for the system to function. This figured world of

shared construction and shared responsibility speaks to the necessity of social constructs defined

through action (Holland et al., 2001). This is not to say that this distribution of power is just or

preferable, merely that most communities of practice are formed through these means. They are

productive and understandable through their structure and co-construction. But, as soon as the

reciprocity of shared responsibility is undermined, then the system will not function to its

greatest potential. This is similar to how the structure works throughout *Discipline and Punish*

(Foucault, 1975), in that as social and power hierarchies are maintained, the system functions.

Without the structures of society and inherent power dynamics, the system would not have the

foundation to function "the 'physics' of power, the hold over the body, operate according to the

laws of optics and mechanics, according to a whole play of spaces, lines, screens, beams, degrees

and without recourse, in principle at least, to excess, force or violence" (Foucault, 1975, p. 177).

This is not to say that the structure is without flaws or that the social hierarchy apparent within

the current educational or social structure is preferable, merely that a structure is necessary for

education to operate. In a manner, it is easier to visualize this as a building. A building has a

structure of steel that acts as a skeleton for all of the floors, windows and exterior materials are

affixed to and it is through the skeleton that the building stands and withstands the perils of the

world. Education, in much the same way, needs this structure to stand and withstand the sands of

time and shifts in perception. But this structure is what is the base for the figured world to be

affixed. The exterior is merely how the figured world is comprehensible.

The structure and its formation are important to understanding how the community

functions. When the structure is unknown the rules of the figured world become obscured and

that is when social violations occur. But, it is through the shared understanding and the co-

constructed knowledge that a doctrine of society is defined much as John Locke defines through

the social contract. And, in this case the doctrine of this society is a community, which is a figured world.

Now that the idea of a community is defined within this social structure and how the rules play out, it is important to understand how this relates to the idea of school communities and educational spaces. Because schools are considered "communities of practice," it is possible to see that they are figured worlds (Bourdieu, 1991; Pennington, 2004). A community of practice relates to the idea that individuals are in a community space, in this case a classroom, where they are all subscribing to the same goal, making them a community of practice. This idea of community of practice comes into play throughout narrative inquiry in Clandinin and Connelly (2000), Andrews (2014), Gomez (1999) to name but a few and within the larger scope of figured worlds in Holland et al. (2001).

Communities of practice are what define the worlds that are lived in and the spaces that are occupied (Bourdieu, 1991). And community of practice begins to define what is meant by a figured world. Ultimately, communities of practice, figured world and spaces (affinity or otherwise (Gee, 2004)) all inhabit the same plane, but each perception of what a space is constructs their actors differently. Communities of practice figured world and spaces are all part of the changing dynamics of classroom spaces. The figured world here is the distinction between perception and reality. And, this distinction forms a boundary. These boundaries are present within educational spaces. It is how dynamics and knowledge are shaped within these spaces.

This idea of boundaries is a thread that is present throughout existing research and this meta-analysis. Boundaries are what help us to define, liberate and make sense of the world both physical and non-physical around us. However, it is important to remember that a boundary is not a hard and fast line between ideas (Tschumi, 1996). It is more like a line on a map. A line on

a map may look impenetrable, but in reality, this line is only perceived through looking at a representation of a physical space. When standing at a border in the physical world, such as the one that exists between Wisconsin and Illinois, there is no line or wall. It is understood that one state ends, and another begins, but this border is blurry. This blurry boundary between states closely mirrors the boundary between perception and reality. The perception of the self and an individual's place within the community is what builds the figured world. And, it is how students understand themselves within their educational environments, positing them not just physically within in the space, but in the community of the classroom. The distinction here between perception and reality is not clearly defined but overlapping. However, this is not to say that a boundary does not exist. Because the two can overlap, intertwine and interact, but remain two separate realms inhabiting the same location. So, this distinction between perception and reality helps to form the figured world and community of practice that resides within the context of a figured world.

But beyond the scope of reality and perception, to the community of practice within the figured world, this all becomes significant in understanding the concept of the third space. The third space is both similar and dissimilar from the figured world. To say the two are equivalent removes the component of shared understanding and co-construction that is ever present in the third space (Benson, 2010; Saudelli, 2012). The third space is fraught with historical narratives and lingering tensions of power and knowledge because the physical space is fixed as time moves (Bhabha, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991). The figured world does not have these same tensions and lingering historical narratives because they are not fixed within the time structure. A figured world does not manifest itself through a physical space, despite being in a physical space. The figured world, like context, often is part of the concept of the third space, but a third space moves

beyond each of these, to a concept beyond time and beyond place. But in order to fully understand the third space, an understanding of how the figured world is developed by the participants, helps to create a lens to understanding contexts. Understanding both figured worlds and context helps to understand the third space as a space of co-construction.

Like many concepts in education, context as constructed through figured worlds is not vastly different from the third space. And, like other intertwined concepts, separating the two results in a nuance of sorts being lost, but when parsed, the two showcase how their formation is ultimately the distinction between the concepts. This allows for an understanding of how context and the third space may be used to frame how and when we use them in understanding the functions and actions within a classroom space. The construction of a third space and the understanding of context may be witnessing the same classroom as an event, but the perspective will vary greatly, since the two have different roles. Third spaces are constructed so there is an actor component necessary for their formation, whereas context is understood as a passive concept. This distinction, although small, helps to frame the theory behind understanding the role of students in these ever-shifting events and environments.

Third Space through Other's Perspectives

To understand space, it is necessary to think of a classroom as a sort of topography, a kind of layered map if you will. These maps have many layers each a transparent film overlaying the next to create a sort of dimension on the flattened page. These dimensions speak to how the topography, when drawn and explained becomes a flattened version of itself. This mirrors the dimensions that are present in a classroom. A classroom is not a single layer: flattened, whereby students in their multi-dimension forms are implanted to "learn." This thought process on many

levels degrades the complexity of the classroom topography and environment that is continually constructed, negotiated and re-constructed.

It is within this construct of classroom space as a topography of multilayered dimensions that the concepts of hybridity and the third space emerge (Bhabha, 1994). Although there have been many who have explored the third space and what it means for the educational world, none have tackled what the third space means in constructing spaces from the backdrop of education: the classroom.

The classroom as a physical place is always seen, but rarely acknowledged. It tends to literally fade into the background. However, these spaces where students learn needs to be explored for the impact it may have on students. Perhaps through the negotiation of the third space and the creation of a hybrid world, students and teachers can make the spaces into something that is less negative. Rather than it being a place that just exists and is dealt with, but it becomes a third space where wonder and engagement are possible through the making of an educational environment where co-construction can occur and re-define social boundaries inherent in the classroom. It is through education as an event and product of co-construction between teachers and students and manipulation of the physical realm that engagement for students can occur.

In order to fully understand what the third space and hybridity means in relation to the classroom environment, it is necessary to look at the multiple perspectives that have already have examined and what the third space means in their contexts. The third space is ultimately not a physical space, it is a conception of where ideas, information and negotiation can occur (Aaen & Dalsgaard, 2016). It is a blended land where there are no walls, but constructions of expectation and negotiations of the complexities that continually change when education is evolving.

The third space is defined differently depending on the field and the context. The fact that the third space is malleable depending on its context speaks to the nature of the third space. The third space is a type of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994). It is an intensely flexible entity that allows it to be constructed and negotiated to meet the needs of the individual who is exploring it. That is not to say that any of the definitions that will be explored are wrong, merely that they are not the correct fit for the context: classroom spaces as events in education environments. The scope of the third space is large, which means that the function will change. The third space depending on the definition that is used can range from a tool (as seen in Gutierraz's work) to a physical manifestation (Lefebvre,1991; Tschumi, 1996). It can also be a blurred boundary that exists beyond the realm of the physical into a cultural space seen through linguistic landscapes. The definition for the third space is incredibly important for understanding what the goal will be for the participants.

In the field of education, specifically literacy, the third space is defined through a more Vygotskian perspective, where the third space is not what an individual knows, but what they will know with the help of a tool (Gutiérrez, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). In the post-colonial, post-structural world, the third space revolves around the idea of negotiation. It has nothing to do with a physical space, but entirely with the mental negotiation of time and cultural lineage (Bhabha, 1994). Finally, architectural theory explains the third space as a melding of the physical and non-physical, the social and cultural constructions within a space (Lefebvre, 1991; Tschumi, 1996). Each of these conceptions of the third space and their impacts on students delves into the importance of the third space and its construction on educating as an event.

Although each of these spaces has a use within a specific context, the context that is being constructed within the scope of this research will fall within the realm of hybridity, where

pieces of the definitions will be used to create a third space definition that borrows from multiple fields. It will have ties to the traditions constructed in literacy but will also speak to the disenfranchised individuals that Bhabha (1994) uses within his construction of the post-colonial narratives. In addition, the architectural construction of the third spaces becomes incredibly important as the physical melds with the social construction of space. The hybrid nature of the definition will speak to the co-construction inherent within the third space and how individuals experience it "neither the one nor the other" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 25).

Education as an Event

Each of these definitions, figured world and context, interweaves to create a new definition of the third space. The third space is a tool of sorts (Gutiérrez, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). It is a tool in the sense that it is where co-construction can occur. It is not the traditional notion of a tool as in the "Zone of Proximal Development" (Gutiérrez, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). This tool is where the knowledge is shared like a vessel. And, it is the vessel like nature that helps to transport ideas, that makes the third space tool like. Without the tool like nature, it would not be possible to co-construct knowledge. It is architectural because of the transactions that occur between the physical, cultural, temporal and social realms (Bhabha, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991; Tschumi, 1996). Each of the definitions provides a facet for understanding how the third space fits into the classroom space. It is the amorphous layer that touches all other aspects of space. It is where students and teachers "play" when constructing their space. It is where learning is not a chore, but an event of co-construction.

The third space is a common subject of talk in education and beyond the field. It has become a buzzword of sorts delineating this amorphous concept of where students "learn." But

this term, which is ever present in educational research from literacy studies to language studies to math has an ever-revolving door of definitions. However, these definitions all hold truth when dissecting how space beyond just physical concepts become integral to student engagement within the spheres where their learning is an event and they are not just passive participants but actors within these multilayered realms.

The concept of space plays well with the conception of the third space, but not all of the definitions, which have been constructed to fit with the idea of educational spaces for language learning, align with the idea of a third space being co-constructed through distributed expertise and manipulated through modulation of the physical realm (Brown et al., 1997). Some of the definitions focus merely on the concept of a third space as an extension of tool use (Vygotsky, 1987) rather than the non-physical realm, which is drawn in research related to linguistic landscapes and architecture. To truly define a third space in all of its complexity, it is necessary to understand the base of what is meant by space, educational space and the third space. Ultimately, the third space is a realm that is comprised of the physical and non-physical features that define an environment (Aaen & Dalsgaard, 2016; Burns, 2009). Space bleeds into the realm of virtual and Gee (2004) argues this concept helps define space.

Space is where interaction occurs, and play is free to develop. And, it is through interaction that a context is defined within the realm of society and culture (Vygotsky, 1978). Play is where discovery meets experience to create a new understanding (Dewey, 1938). These foci of interaction and play help define what is meant by education being an event, which unfolds within a space. The environment then becomes the backdrop for understanding wherein these intersections occur.

Intersections are where space is defined and moves beyond the binaries. Space is multimodal and multidimensional. What is meant by multimodal is that space is not only physical but virtual (Gee, 2004) and technology and its iterations beyond the smartphone and computer, but in how Foucault (1984) conceptualizes technology as innovation beyond device is imperative to understanding how the multimodality of classroom space comes into being. What is meant through the designation of multidimensional is how spaces cannot be defined through two dimensional renderings of a space, as in architectural plans, or even in the concept of the third-dimension, where lived experiences take place, but in the interactional realms of possibility. Multidimensional is more robust and adaptive to changing paradigms and the fluctuations of reality.

But, in considering how these dimensional spaces come into being it is best to define through what is and what is not, understanding the binaries can and will be problematic. Space is both fixed and not fixed. It ties to communities of practices (Bourdieu, 1991) and figured worlds (Holland et al., 2001), but it is subtly different from each of these. But, each of these concepts weave together to form a third space whereby students are engaged in becoming fully autonomous learners, students and actors in the world of education. The third space is where learning occurs and does not belong to any dichotomy of terms "a language of learning makes it particularly difficult to grapple with questions of purpose" (Biesta, 2010, p. 5). A third space is never fixed but always in flux, influenced by its actors and the changes to a physical landscape. It is just one dimension in the multilayered nature of space.

Space

In order to understand an educational space, it is necessary to begin at the very basic level of what is a space. It seems like a very obvious answer as everyone is currently residing in a space, but the difficulty lies in what makes a space and what makes a space different from a figured world or a community of practice or a context. Within the discussion of figured world and community of practice there is an underlying concept of membership (Bourdieu, 1991; Gee, 2004; Holland et al., 2001). The idea of a membership can be problematic because not all individuals who are in a space feel as though they are members of the same community (Gee, 2004). A space does not require membership, but a constructed educational space requires individuals to "buy-into" the space. There may be different levels of membership within a space and different levels of engagement. But there needs to be some of both of these in order for an educational space to be constructed effectively. It is important to also note that there may be multiple communities within a classroom space as well as many different communities of practice that are perpetually being constructed and negotiated (Pennington, 2004). But there is a larger community that may dominate the classroom and that is the classroom community, which the students and teachers construct through distributed expertise (Brown, 1992; Brown et al., 1996; Wenger, 1991). The knowledge that is shared between the teachers and their students and vice versa is transactional (Rosenblatt, 2005) and it is this shared understanding that makes a community of belonging. Without this transaction, the community could not be formed because there would not be "buy-in."

So, space is the housing places for figured worlds, community of practice and context. A space is larger in scope than these other components of environment. But in order for a space to

be more than a physical place, it is important to understand the components of space. Gee (2004) talks about spaces as including each of the following:

1. A portal

2. A shared interest

3. Conventions of interaction

4. Shared knowledge or distributed expertise

Gee (2004) defines space as having these components that are its foundations. So, it is important to understand the function of each. A portal is a manner to enter and/or exit a space (Gee, 2004). This would act like a door in a physical space, but it could also be a window. This becomes more complicated when a non-physical space is being discussed such as a third space. The portal is constructed through individuals being brought into the community and given a voice to express their opinions or ideas. This portal is woven with the idea of a shared interest and can be seen in virtual spaces, such as online community games (Gee, 2004).

However, shared interest in a classroom does not equate to a community, since the shared interest is bestowed upon students by the instructor (Gee, 2004). This means that despite sharing the same physical space, not all individuals will feel that they are part of the community. This idea of community building to access learning is dependent upon construction of a third space, wherein knowledge can be co-constructed and shared (Brown et al., 1997). A third space appears to be a means of join students physically in classroom to promote the idea of community.

Although this portal is not the only means to access an environment, it is a means to creating the foundation for a community in the classroom. If equity is developed within the physical spaces of a classroom, it is possible that this equity could and would transfer to a more metaphoric third space. And, this transference from the first to the third would facilitate a

community atmosphere, which is necessary for a shared interest to be formed, but also for shared knowledge or distributed expertise to be constructed (Gee, 2004).

The idea of shared knowledge and distributed expertise is essential for communities of practice to be formed (Brown et al., 1997; Holland et al., 2001). Distributed cognition is the idea of shared knowledge that is constructed by participants (Brown et al., 1997). In any community there are experts and novices. Each individual is an expert in their specific area and each individual can be a novice in any other area. It is through distributed cognition that new knowledge is created (Brown et al., 1997). In a traditional classroom the expert/ novice relationship is the shared relationship between teachers and students. But, this hierarchical power/ knowledge relationship is challenged in a classroom space in the post-secondary world and can be challenged within any educational setting. And, it is through the recognition of the re-organization of knowledge distribution and the recognition that power dynamics are not entirely hierarchical that a community can be formed within a classroom. Ultimately, this may be done through the manipulations of the shared third space. And, this manipulation can only be accomplished through the sharing of knowledge in classroom spaces and the recognition that all types of knowledge are privileged, not just those ideals that are held by the individual with the most power (Brown et al., 1997).

The idea of shared knowledge is a pillar in the formation of the third space in creating a classroom that is progressing toward shared goals. Students have different skill levels and these skill levels are shared and explored giving credence to the different types of knowledge within the classroom and creating environments where equity is constructed. And, it is through this equity in knowledge and the sharing of expertise that students gain social capital within the classroom (Bourdieu, 1991). Having cultural capital within a classroom creates a community, but

also redistributes the cultural wealth independent of the social capital that exists for these students beyond the walls of the school and classroom. When a community is created there is an interactional code that is created, and the students and the teachers subscribe to this code.

An interactional code or as Gee (2004) describes it conventions of interaction govern the classroom behaviors of students and teachers. However, these rules are created and re-affirmed through behaviors and their responses from other members of the classroom community. Ultimately, this means that the social capital is assigned within this space and the "wealth" is re-distributed so that there may be less bias within the classroom space. This is essential as students need to move beyond their stations outside of the classroom and reassert their places within these newly defined spaces. This allows these individuals to break free from their positioning in the outside world and gain the knowledge that they need. When the interactional code is re-created and social capital is re-distributed students understand that their knowledge and experience have value. And, when they are recognized for the value that they may bring to a space for education, then these students are more apt to subscribe to the community of practice and form a community within the walls of a classroom. Through this community formation, education as an event can occur. But as always, the question remains of how to create these types of third spaces. It is through re-distribution of cultural capital, shared community spaces, a manner to access these spaces and potentially the re-designing of a physical space.

Re-designing a space changes the story that is being told within the walls of a classroom. And, students and teachers may begin to understand how their positions within a society are not mirrored within the community and third space that is constructed in a classroom. Students and teachers will begin to redefine their understanding of what it means to participate in a classroom as an event and education as a means to change their narrative.

Architectural

As has been explored, classrooms are not just places, but spaces that are shaped and shared by many individuals. These individuals in the classroom happen to be students and teachers. And, few recognize how complicated a classroom is just by looking at it devoid of the multilayered overlays that a community brings to a space. Space is a multilayered construction, never more so than in a classroom, where language is being taught. When space is mentioned beyond the context of theory, it is most often associated with the physical construction of a place. It is walls and items within a space that give a space its meaning to the outside observer. However, this is a limiting view of what architectural space means. To limit a space to its physical construct only defines what a space, perceived of as a place, can be observed as and its intended use (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, a classroom appears to be a place for learning, where the teacher rules and the students follow apt and ready for knowledge. But, this can be turned sideways when students are allowed to hold the floor and define their own learning as Dyson (1997) explores. Students are allowed to construct their own forms of literacy, teaching others the value of literacy and what it means to be literate. Recognizing that places are not flat but dynamic, changing as the viewpoints vary.

Dynamic perception of spaces allows for a space to be open to changing a narrative of what the intention of a space may be used for. And, this kind of viewpoint assumes that places are interacting with the many dimensions beyond their physical to create spaces. Some of the components that interact within the construction of space are the elements of time, history, context, culture, society, social interactions and most importantly, people. To ignore these facets of a space is to flatten the robust interactions that are at play within these spaces. Spaces like

literacy are transactional, giving and taking to create a co-constructed knowledge unique to the space (Rosenblatt, 2005).

Time

As will be discussed in more depth in a later chapter, time is a shaping force. It shapes the narratives that individuals tell, but also shapes the perceptions of places that people encounter thus impacting the stories they may tell within a space. When these stories are told, they shape the space into a function that is appropriate for the space's place in the historical narrative. This applies to how education has evolved, changing not just the interactions of the classroom, but the physical arrangement as well.

To understand how education has changed over time, it is important to think of the great thinkers who have shaped education and the movements in education. The mind was once perceived as a muscle that must be trained to retain information (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2008). The classroom then changed to a teacher-centered approach that focused on imparting knowledge to empty vessels (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2008). Finally evolving to more student-centered approaches that ranged from experiential learning, to cognitive approaches, to approximations of authentic tasks (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2008), each of these evolutions has shaped education. But, what has continued to lack as evolution in education has occurred, is the classroom. The classroom has remained relatively the same. It is as if the linear time has passed, education and its many new iterations have occurred, but a classroom as a physical organization has not changed. It is always: desks, notebooks, pencils, teachers, students and a board. It may be time to allow the linear progression

of time to change the landscape of where education occurs to meet the needs of a changing education era.

If buildings are allowed to evolve, so too should education. For example, let us assume that a building passes through linear time. The building stands in time and the time moves around it. The building does not change in the sense that it is still a structure that is standing. The context around the building changes (Lefebvre, 1991). The people that interact with the building change. Their values may be different, and their goals may be different. Ultimately, the interaction between the building and the people will change the building. There will be a legacy that is left within the building. The narrative of the building, however, will change. The atmosphere and aura of the building will change. For example, warehouses as buildings still stand. They once housed industrial aged technology and were pillars of the industrial revolution but have changed to house hip millennials as lofts. The buildings stand in time, but the context changes from one of production to domesticity. The building interacts with time, existing as a pillar, but forever being changed by the passage of the time and the interactions with the contexts that change as linear time passes (Lefebvre, 1991).

In viewing a physical space as just a structure, it does not speak to the multi-dimensional nature of the space. A classroom that has not progressed remains just a place, not a space. A space that is physical is not just a structure, but a space for interaction. A physical space interacts with time. It engages with the historical realities that pass through it and by it. It creates a legacy for a person in the current time that inexpiably links them to past individuals who have stood in the same place. The context may change, and the physical decorations differ but the space as a structure creates a passage through time that links the past and present (Foucault, 2003;

Lefebvre, 1991). The history makes the space and changes the space from just a structure to an event through the passage of time.

Boundaries

Time is a boundary, in much the same way, a wall is boundary in a classroom. However, time is not an impenetrable boundary as a wall is. Time is a permeable boundary that allows for play in the remembrance and flexibility in the shaping of the future. And, education as an evolution of the changes in theory, needs to move beyond the boundaries. It needs to take the walls around what is rigid practice in lieu of allowing for flexibility within the boundaries. In order to change these boundaries within the timeline of education, the shaping of a physical space can allow for changes in social capital (Bourdieu, 1991) and open a portal into a community (Gee, 2004). These changes allow for the boundaries to act as lines on a map not roadblocks to education.

Although it has been understood that education is pervasive throughout society, the many boundaries and gatekeeping devices have not allowed it to reach all students equally. In order for it to truly reach every possible student, it needs to be recognized how education does not start and stop in a classroom, but is part of a society, culture and community (Dyson, 1997). Education ultimately blurs the boundary between public and private spaces. Linguistic landscapes, the spaces where language is constantly influx and is represented through written and verbal means, defining spaces as belonging to different language groups, which ignores the boundary between public and private (Burns, 2009).

Public and Private

The idea of public and private spaces is important to understanding classroom dynamics because public and private are inclusive and/or exclusive of students. Ideally, classroom spaces would be public spaces, welcoming all to contribute. All spaces can be public and private allowing for inclusivity and exclusivity. But, a classroom needs to encapsulate both the public and private dynamic, making them open, creating spaces for social interaction (Burns, 2009). These spaces could enable students to grow and express themselves. However, spaces for education tend to blur what is public and what is private.

Since public and private spaces do not appear to have a clear demarcation such as library is a public space, but the area where a person is sitting becomes a private space. This blurry boundary often defines how public and private interact. So, to say that schools are the blurring of private and public spaces stems not just from the students who have private lockers or desks in public spaces, but it is changed by the interaction of topics that are covered in education. It is important to understand that common spaces, those that are produced in education, are not free spaces (Burns, 2009). This means that spaces for education may be shared, but that does not make them free of regulation. Classroom are tightly bound to social constructions. And, these constructions create a border around a space making it inclusive by rejecting hegemony or exclusive by reinforcing hegemonically dominant narratives (Bhabha, 1994; Burns, 2009). But it is these social constructions which are blurring in a classroom that make a classroom both a free space and a conscripted space.

As teachers and student begin to recognize how a space can reinforce or reject these norms which are instilled in society but emphasized in education, do classrooms becomes the environment for changing narratives. And, these narratives can be changed through the

redefining of social narratives within private spaces that gain strength to move beyond the small scope of a classroom to a more dominant narrative found in a public shared spaced. This same evolution of narrative is constructed through linguistic landscapes, which are a manifestation of language on physical structures (Backhaus, 2009). And, accessing a first space: the physical, is just a portal to access the third space: co-constructed knowledge (Gee, 2004). A classroom is a physical portal that acts a means to access the third space. But it is through the understanding of the dichotomy of the public and private binary that classrooms become the ground for the minority in the form of English as a Second Language (ESL) students to change what their education story includes and how they define themselves in the public space.

This understanding of common not being equivalent to public/open spaces, defines how education blurs this murky area between public and private. Education is not just about the regurgitation of facts, ultimately schools work to make education practical, defining societal norms and imparting cultural values. This blurring is especially true within English as a Second courses. The subject is the medium and the subject often overlaps with the dominant language's culture. To clarify, if a student is learning American English, then the values of American culture are being transmitted along with the language. So, the blurring of public and private becomes the point of convergence. The public message is the language, but the private becomes an overlay as students learn what behaviors are preferred and dispreferred within their American classrooms. For example, interaction is encouraged as well as discussion of topics. The students' expectations are to be active within their classroom spaces. For some cultures, this is a drastic departure from their educational upbringing. And, here this blurring of public and private is one wherein students engage in the event that is education, making the third space and its changing definition more important. And, to recognize the classroom as an access point becomes pivotal to

understanding how the ever present, but rarely recognized place helps students to affiliate and include or disaffiliate and exclude.

Binaries

Spaces are often defined through what they are not. This means that a sort of binary is constructed to define where individuals learn and where they experience their language environment. Gutiérrez (2008) points out the binary that is constructed for marginalized students in the K-12 system is one wherein they neither fit into the community of their home nor the community of their classmates. She makes a case for the distribution of the spaces as home and classroom. Meaning that students and teachers need to carve out a space wherein they belong. A classroom is a perfect space for such re-definition in a binary if the environment is created where students are the focus and the teacher is the facilitator (Moursund, 2003). When a classroom refines the binary that students may have felt previously, it changes their engagement in the classroom and can make them active participants in their learning rather than passive vessels (Krajcik & Shin, 2014; Thomas, 2000). One way to manipulate these binaries is to change the hierarchical power dynamic by changing the physical space of the classroom (Bourdieu, 1991). Despite these binaries creating a black and white distinction between what spaces are intended for and their actual use, the manipulation of the space can change the affiliation in the space. Ultimately these binaries create a space that exists within the walls. But binaries are social constructs, which can only be modified when attention is drawn to them.

Many social constructs are reinforced through language and the landscape that surrounds the language. In cases where there is an official language for a country, the landscape prioritizes the dominant or preferred language, whereas the minority language is scrubbed from the

landscape both physically and metaphorically (Backhaus, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2006; Spolsky, 2006). This narrative creates a binary of sorts that perpetuates the social constructions in society. To provide a more concrete example, think of places where the minority population or dispreferred population is trying to gain power, an example of this would be Israel. The Palestinian population and Israeli populations are perpetually battling for linguistic, cultural, social and physical space (Gorter, 2006a; Gorter, 2006b; Pennycook, 2006; Trumper-Hecht, 2006). This battle for linguistic space mirrors the on-going social battle and even fuels the problems in the society. A binary is created between these two warring populations. And, this binary is what inadvertently creates an us and them narrative.

Such binaries are perpetuated in the ESL classroom as new information that is culturally specific is valued above the previous knowledge from the home country's culture and society. If such knowledge is continually condemned, it creates an environment where minority students (ESL) are less valued—even liminal (Burns, 2009). They may hide in plain sight by blending into the physical landscape of a classroom, i.e. hiding in the back of the room. Such binaries reinforce cultural and social narratives. It becomes the role of the classroom community to remove the binary, reject the hegemony and move beyond the limiting view of two to pluralistic acceptance (Gutierraz, Baquedano-Lopez, Alverez & Chiu, 1999).

Co-constructed Atmosphere

One way to move towards pluralistic acceptance is through co-creating an atmosphere that has buy-in and promotes equity. The idea of equity within the classroom space is one that needs to be actively attended to. Teachers and students need to be aware of the inherent hegemonic constructions that are at play within the spaces where learning is to occur. Benson (2010) explains that the third space can be a space wherein the disenfranchised can have a voice.

It is through the third space and the co-constructed knowledge that multi-directional learning can occur. As Benson notes, "[a] teacher is not the sole conveyor or producer of knowledge. Students have control of the learning process as well" (2010, p. 556).

The idea that students have control over their learning process can only ensue if and only if there is equity in the classroom. One way to ensure equity within a space is to produce an environment that is safe (Schamroth Abrams, 2012). This means providing agency to the individuals within the space and allowing them to share without fear of persecution for their opinions being disparate from the majority opinions (Benson, 2010). Such opinions although not always received well can be the means to innovation.

In order to redefine this social interaction, this understanding is necessary. And, to change the social order within a classroom space to allow for the co-construction of ideas and knowledge is to utilize the third space. But, as has been mentioned previously, there needs to be a portal to access this new concept of a third space. It needs to change the narrative that has been perpetuated within student's previous educational histories, where the teacher is the conveyor and producer of knowledge (Aaen & Dalsgaard, 2016). One way to do this is to radically change how the classroom physically looks to help students and teachers draw the line between past and present, creating a boundary. This boundary must be constructed not just by the teacher but the students to promote the new dynamics that are being instilled within the classroom.

Related to Classroom: Conclusion

Classrooms are the mediating spaces for students to construct their identities. They are the spaces that allow the students to discover and learn in an ideal world or they can reinforce all of the negative stereotypes about them that exist beyond the walls of the classroom.

The boundaries that exist around the classroom in the form of walls is the physical, but the social and cultural boundaries that are constructed by the actors (students and teachers) within the space are able to simultaneously exclude and include. There is the capacity with the co-constructed social and cultural spaces to make the space one where possibility abounds, and the traditional power dynamics can be mitigated, excluding the external factors imposed by other cultures and society beyond the boundaries of the space. Such inclusive practices can be encouraged through the formation of a portal to the third space (Gee, 2004), which allows for community formation and free spaces (Burns, 2009; Gutiérrez, 2008).

These spaces implicitly can be shaped by the creation of public and private spaces that allow for language expressions. These expressions of language enable students to feel the safety to make mistakes, but not be persecuted for their challenges. This is essential as language classrooms need to be inclusive to allow for expression in any and all language/s. But, such practices will allow for the equity within a space to be distributed and move beyond the hegemony that is apparent in environments that do not allow for the freedom of language choice (Kalua, 2009).

Ultimately, it is through the recognition that spaces need to be flexible to allow for students and teachers to function at their best levels. In order to allow for optimal functioning to occur, control needs to be distributed so that everyone has ownership of their own education (Benson, 2010). It is part of this co-constructed language environment that allows for a space to be open to free expression. And, it is the language and how it is allowed that an understanding of the power dynamics, which are a social construct, become apparent. When the traditional pillars of power are removed in a classroom, the space changes, and students have equity with their teacher and distributed cognition is possible. Knowledge is equal, changing the narrative from

one where certain knowledges are privileged allows for a safe space to be created (Schamroth Abrams, 2012). When this expression of changes in power occurs, it allows for students to re-identify. But, none of this is possible without an entry into the third space, where the building of a new aspect of the multi-layered nature of space needs to occur.

To access this space, the physical space needs to change its appearance, divorcing it from the past conceptions of what a classroom should be. However, not much is known about how a space should look and be organized to allow for students and teachers to co-construct knowledge. It is apparent that the current configurations do not lend themselves to the current goals of language education. The needs of learners and teachers are changing, as the goals of education evolve. As evolution in the theories that underpin education occur, so too should the spaces where students and teachers live their education experiences change.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework: Linguistic Landscaping

Linguistic Landscaping Introduction

Words flood the world around us. They are spoken and written. Everywhere an individual turns words are present, infiltrating the world surrounding each individual. These words are written on billboards, decorating t-shirts, heard over the radio and overheard from conversations caught in passing. Each of these words creates a world curated by letters and sounds leading to meaning, orchestrating a symphony in a linguistic landscape that surrounds each individual. When examining the spaces that surround each individual, these words create a masterpiece landscaping the backdrop of human existence. Linguistic landscapes, also known as linguistic "cityscapes" implicitly shape how each individual views the world (Spolsky, 2009). Words create a space in both the physical sense of the word, but also as an event that bridges the space between physical, social and mental.

A place is usually thought of as a physical representation of a space. If an individual mentions a classroom, an educational space, the image that is brought to mind is a classroom. Although there is not one representation of a classroom, since the organization of a classroom is represented differently historically and cannot be defined, as a unifying theme culturally, there is a stereotype that persists through the globalized spread of media. This stereotypical classroom portrayed in the media has very real objects present in it. These objects become part of the physical construct that is a classroom. Some of these objects may include desks, chairs, blackboards, pens and pencils. Although a person is not an object, they interact with the space as actors playing upon the physical and social spaces, transforming the shell of a physical space into an event. In an educational event these actors are the teachers and students, begging the question if a classroom would exist as an event without these pivotal actors.

Because this image of the classroom exists as both a social construction and physical space, there is a sense that the place is shaped by its physical constructs: walls, doors and windows as much as by the people within the space. It is possible to say that the space is shaped through its external borders, walls, and its internal objects, things. And, it is through this dichotomy of internal and external, that the push and pull of what is space begins. Space cannot only be a dichotomy of juxtapositions, but is more than just a three-dimensional representation, it is a series of relationships that define it through what it is and what it is not. Ultimately, space is physical, social and cultural (Lefebvre, 1991). It is shaped as much by how it is made physically, as well as, its social and cultural relationships (Lefebvre, 1991).

A physical space or architectural space, as it will sometimes be referred, is manipulated by the physical aspects presents both within, objects, and beyond the barriers, walls, that define the space. But to understand a space, as only a physical representation flattens what it means to be a space from a multimodal and multifaceted conception of space into a mere three-dimensional shadow of what it could be. A space is more than what an individual can touch or feel; it cannot be objectified into its mere components. A space is made of more than just the physical, the atmosphere and the social components shape it. These non-physical representations of space impact its construction making a space more than a box with objects, but a living-breathing organism that requires attention. A space is made living through the negotiation and renegotiation of its actors and societal values.

Language as a Social Construct of Space

A space is shaped by many factors. The primary shaper of a space beyond the physical construct is social. Social shaping is directly related to language. Language is, at its core, a social construct. Language change is motivated by people and manipulated by the politics that surround

it (Blommaert, 2010). This comes into play when looking at languages spoken in different regions and by different communities of people. Most countries have an official language, decided by the government. This may or may not be the same language that the general population chooses to speak within that country. The United States is a prime example of languages chosen by the people. The United States does not have an official language, but it has a preferred language: English. However, there are many areas in the United States that reflect a different language choice, such as Cajun French or Spanish. The languages are chosen by people in sociopolitical contexts and reflected in the desires of society. The idea of language choice moves beyond the choice of spoken language, but is reflected in signage and symbols, linguistic tokens, that litter a community (Blommaert, 2010). It is through this use of written language, beyond the spoken language, that it is possible to visually see language in more than just the fleeting moment of its use. Instead, language is experienced asynchronously through the linguistic shaping of a space.

The languages that individuals choose to use at a given time are fleeting. Language practices change through dialects and register. A dialect of a language is tied to a region and is not represented in any type of signage, unless it is merely the phonemic representation of the language, meaning the sounds of a language. Regional dialects represent different accents of the same language, a southern twang compared to a flattened newscaster of the Midwest in the United States. Unlike the lack of dialect representations on linguistic token, register, also known as vocabulary, does shift in both written and spoken language. Register refers to the vocabulary that an individual chooses to use (Agha, 2004). The register that individuals use is indicative of their status within a society and to whom they are addressing. This means that a student will speak differently to their friends than to a professor; writing an e-mail to a professor will reflect this difference in register compared to sending a text to a friend. Each of these instances are a reflection of language practices

and are a reflection of the societal norms associated with socioeconomic status and relational power, a distinction of friend versus professor. Language reflects social structure. To use language to shape a societal space then is not hard to imagine.

Language changes a space, morphing it into a new place. Language moves beyond just a social construct to a manifestation of societal norms. A social construct as it is meant here is something created by individuals in society, whereas societal norms are values upheld by a society. To provide an example of each, a social construct is gender and a societal norm is taking turns when speaking or chewing with your mouth closed in the western world (Ford, Fox & Thompson, 1996; Hymes, 1972). This can be reflected in the written language in the environments surrounding individuals, through signs.

In a manner of speaking the selection of a language, through the use of signs and language choice, shapes a space. This shaping helps to create community spaces. Communities, although not bounded by walls or physical barriers, become a space, where a society begins to take shape through the use of signs and language choice, known as linguistic landscaping (Gorter, 2006b). A community is the affiliation of people to a specific group and through this affiliation not just proximity a community is created. A speech community is any group of people that share the same code, meaning language or language variety, and subscribing to the societal norms prescribed within the community (McKay, 2005). Understanding how a speech community functions further defines how language functions and shapes a space. The inclusion into a community becomes a form of membership into a space through affiliation (Cook, 1999). A community, although present in a place, is not set as a physical space. To provide an example, neighborhoods where single cultures reside, like Chinatown in Chicago and New York, are both places and communities. This means they are blocks in a city, a place, and a community residence, space. The community has

transformed the place into a space where they belong. They have created this space through their affiliation into the group, language use and proximity to one another. It is outwardly symbolized through linguistic tokens found on signs, which are also a part of linguistic landscaping (Backhaus, 2006). Language becomes a crucial manner for how a place is shaped socially.

Linguistic Landscape

Language is a transforming social construct. It is necessary to examine how it functions within the space, internally and how it creates borders to define a space, externally. Language use and linguistic landscapes become social manifestations of a space. The linguistic landscape, defined as:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place
> names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to
> form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.
> (Landry & Bourhis, 1997 p.25)

Linguistic landscapes to put it simply are any form of language that is used in the context of an urban or rural space to transfer a message. The signs and symbols that are present in the world help to construct a linguistic landscape that showcases language use and the intention of a community. This community and its values help to shape a society and social space.

Signs both public and private are part of a linguistic landscape. A public sign is one that is considered a top-down construction, meaning that it is mandated by a position of authority, such as a government (Gorter, 2006 p. 3). A bottom-up sign is considered a sign that comes from individuals in society and they are not official (Gorter, 2006 p. 3). The language use on signs designates the language use within a space in the official and unofficial sense. In many ways the signs that are top-down reflect the desires of individuals in power, upholding linguistic hegemony,

through government policies. Linguistic hegemony is the use of a dominant language, such as English, to suppress the use of an "inferior" language, such as a regional language. The bottom-up signs reflect the language in use from individuals using the language in society.

However, one caveat of using written linguistic tokens, meaning signs and symbols, to reflect the language of a society reflects only those individuals that are literate and ignores languages that exists as verbal representations, such as the Navajo language (Spolsky, 2009). Some languages are more common as oral languages and the written forms of the language are rarely used in lieu of a more common written language, in the case of the Navajo language, the preferred written language is English (Spolsky, 2009). These linguistic tokens, any representation of language in its written form, help to define a space through the use of language on the sign (Backhaus, 2006). These signs create a linguistic landscape.

A linguistic landscape can be any written language used within a space but is not limited to just words but may include images, which are displayed within a public place explaining many features in a community including but not limited to demographic, socio-economic level and languages present (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). Traditionally this includes pictorial and word-focused texts, but the definition could be expanded to include auditory landscapes. From a level of theory linguistic landscapes document through the use of text and images: identities, social values and relationships, within and beyond a community which is the definition that will be used to construct a linguistic landscape as a societal space (Huebner, 2009)

Through understanding the language use within a society by assessing a linguistic landscape, it is possible to construct a social space. This space may not have walls and does not exist as a physical construction, but it is shaped by the members of a community reflecting their

language use. As such, language and linguistic landscapes become indicative of societal desires, often reflecting the diversity of language in a space.

Author and Audience

Through the use of multiple languages on a sign, language diversity becomes visible within the scope of a space. When considering a linguistic token in a linguistic landscape, the intended audience matters "[t]he forms that language takes in the LL is influenced in part by the agents' perception of the intended audience" (Huebner, 2006). One of the most important aspects of the audience is their language use. In addition to the audience being important for the message that a sign portrays, so too is the author of the sign. Both author and audience work together to present a message, which reflects how a society uses language, thus shaping their space.

Audience

In order for a sign to be effective in shaping a linguistic landscape and societal space, it must have an intended audience. The audience is the reader of the sign. Much like any other form of a written text, the reader and the text interact (Rosenblatt, 2005). This means that a reader brings their own meaning from their experience to what they read. This impacts how the sign is understood, which is important for understanding how language shapes a space.

When looking at the language on a sign the intended audience becomes very important. The language background of the reader is impactful for both the author and the reader. When looking at top-down signs, ones that come from governments, the intended audience shapes the message that is being presented, in much the same way that the audience of a bottom-up sign is perceived. The author, the government, selects the language for the sign, targeting a certain speech community. The intended audience interacts with the author, through both the author's and

audience's choice of language, and it is reflected in the choices that the author makes for their linguistic token.

The background of the speech community is reflected in the messages and languages used on the signs that are present within a linguistic landscape. Ultimately language choice relates to the language background of the readers as being monolingual or bilingual (Spolsky, 2009). When the term "bilingual" audience is used, it is not meant to imply that the audience only speaks two languages, but multiple languages. This understanding of the audience shapes how the language is used and the message that is presented on the sign. In a linguistic token that assumes a monolingual audience the message may be presented in two different languages, but the content will remain the same (Barni & Bagna, 2009). This is often seen in governmental signs that are transmitting important information to their audience. However, in some bottom-up signs the message may assume a bilingual audience. When this type of audience is targeted the message may be different, depending on the language, or the words may play off of one another in the different languages. This was the case in Japanese signage where the audience was bilingual and the message in Japanese and English combined to make a new and more complete message (Barni & Bagna, 2009). Thus, the intended audience and author must work together to create a message that is appropriate. When an author assumes their reader is monolingual or bilingual, it changes how and what is included in the message. This speaks to the diversity amongst a population in their language choice.

When a sign includes either a singular monolingual message or a combined bilingual message, the language use says something about the population who is exposed to the sign. It also speaks to the function of a sign. A top-down sign that includes multiple languages, but the same message in each, implies that language is of no importance, but the message is of utmost

importance (Malinowski, 2009). This is often seen in airports announcing gates or safety messages. No language is allotted more prestige, because the message is the entity carrying the power. Although, it could be argued the language presented first or at the highest level speaks to the preferred language in the area. However, in the case of message over language, the message becomes the focal point.

The different languages represented on the sign, where the message remains constant, speaks to the language diversity within a community. For example, in airports in the United States it is possible to see English, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic and French. Each of these languages speaks to the clientele frequenting an international airport. Because English is the first, it says that it is the preferred language in the country, but each language is represented equally, through the space allotted and time the message may be seen on a scrolling screen, saying that in the domain of an international airport, each language shares the same space and has equal value. By presenting the same message, it becomes clear that the intended audience does not possess equal language skills in the preferred language and their native language. When this type of linguistic token is used, and equal size is given to each language, the sign does not attempt to isolate a specific audience, but targets as many individuals as possible. Thus, the message is more important than the status of the language.

The presentation of the message over the language cannot be said to be the same when the signs are bilingual. When a sign changes the message as the language changes, it speaks to the audience of the sign as possessing equal abilities in both the dominant language in a country and another language (Huebner, 2009). This could be seen through the cases of signs in Thailand. In Thailand, most of the population possesses knowledge of the official language: Thai and a working knowledge of English (Huebner, 2009). As such, the bilingual linguistic token, speaks to a specific

audience. It targets a population possessing two languages, in effect, excluding monolinguals in either language. Implicitly, this speaks to the type of population that the author seeks through the use of their linguistic token in the form of a sign. By making this selection, the author is implying that it values certain language practices over others. It is through this choice of audience and language practices that both the message and author shape a space as belong to some, while excluding others.

Author

Although, each sign has an author the author is less important to the meaning of the sign. When discussing author function in current western societies, the role has changed. The role of the author is reflective of the desires of a society (Foucault, 1984). Throughout history author function has evolved from a position where the name of the author attached to a document imbued a certain status to the writing, since it had the backing of an author with notoriety (Foucault, 1984). However, this conception has changed, especially when thinking of a linguistic landscape, in the sense of an author being an individual. Although individuals may make signs, they are functioning through the desires of a society, acting as a messenger. It matters less who the individual, being a singular person, is when thinking about the message that a sign portrays. The individual becomes representative of who is the creator of the message or policy represented through a linguistic token, especially when thinking about top-down signs. The individual creator of a sign could be a mere conduit of a governmental message. Thus, the individual does not matter, but their representation of the message for the government does.

The concept of anonymity in signs is important when considering authorship in a linguistic landscape. Signs do not have clear authors, especially when considering graffiti. The author becomes the proxy, exhibiting the social conflict present within a community that joins multiple

social structures and cultural identities. Thus, a linguistic landscape is shaped by many people as a collective representation of the society. The message becomes more important than the author (Foucault, 1984; Hassett, 2006).

The fact that the message is fronted, meaning it becomes the focus, showcases how language becomes a conduit for societal values. The language carries the messages of society. The author is merely the individual who holds the metaphoric pen. The author and agent are not the same (Malinowski, 2009). The separation of author and agent in this case means that the author becomes a scribe, not the creator of the message. The actor in this case is society. So, it is possible for the author to remain anonymous because they are acting on behalf of the agents, society. Thus, anonymity in some ways reaffirms author function. The message is more important than the creator, thus making the author a conduit for the desires of a society. The fact that message over creator exists in linguistic landscaping demonstrates how this use of language creates a social space, shaping how communities choose to dictate their language use. Language becomes a gatekeeper, excluding some speech communities, while welcoming other speech communities with open arms. It is through inclusion and exclusion that a community is shaped, and societal values are formed, by positing what is important and what is not.

Language Placement

Although it may appear straightforward to analyze a simple token of a linguistic landscape, it is necessary to understand the way words and pictures come together to create meaning. Each linguistic token is an interaction between the message presented and its intended meaning for an audience (Huebner, 2009). This interaction of message and audience creates a complex secondary meaning and begins to shape a space using linguistic tokens as the metaphoric fence posts.

Looking at and analyzing linguistic tokens encompasses more than words but how the placement of the sign impacts the reader. For example, signs in the entry of a grocery store may not be noticed unless someone wants to notice them. However, a sign hanging above an aisle in a grocery store will be seen by more people by virtue of its content and function. Another aspect that is impactful to a linguistic token is size, which can be problematic as Huebner (2009) points out, larger signs garner more attention than smaller ones. Another problem that needs to be addressed deals with how to define a linguistic token or sign: a linguistic token or sign will be defined as written text that exists within a space (Blackhaus, 2006). When using a linguistic landscape to shape and define a space, encompassing a large range of linguistic tokens from handwritten signs to professionally designed advertisements, provides a more complete understanding of the language used within and beyond the space.

Not just considering what types of linguistic tokens will be used to define, but also the impact that the elements of a sign help to describe a space. The placement and size impact the message that is gleaned from a sign, defining the status of a language within a given community. Signs are indicative of the communities that they represent "[a linguistic landscape] carries crucial sociosymbolic importance as it actually identifies - and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities and regions" (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hect, 2006, p.8). In other words, signs are the products of their community. Linguistic tokens can take on the values of a society and project them to members within the community, helping them to subscribe to the values put forth, or exclude members that are not part of the community.

Positioning of Language

Meaning on a linguistic token is not just created through the message presented but by the words and images. The positioning of the content also becomes significant for making

meaning beyond just the words. Signs often function through juxtaposition, contrasting, left versus right, top versus bottom, and center versus margins (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). In these cases, text and images on the left represent known information, whereas entities on the right suggest new concepts (Kress & van Leeuwen 1998). Top versus bottom juxtaposition posits the top as being ideal and the bottom as real (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). Finally, the center versus the margins layout, which is an uncommon layout used in the Western world, allows the center to be the focus of information, making it the most relevant (Huebner, 2009). The margins then would be peripheral information, which is less important than the information in the center (Huebner, 2009). Placement of images and texts helps the audience to understand more than just the message. They are able to discern wherein the most important information rests within the message. Helping the message to take on more than just meaning, but to warn, persuade or inform based on the placement of the message, helps the audience to recognize the subliminal message.

The placement of text and images on a sign presents a message within a message, so too does language choice on a sign. A linguistic token speaks to the audience of the sign, sharing not just a message, but also the wills of a society and the policies that exist within the realm of the community (Huebner, 2006). These semiotic structures used in the linguistic token to convey a secondary meaning, begin to socially shape the space. An overt message has many moving parts, but the secondary message speaks to the social and cultural values that are targeted through linguistic tokens. All of the juxtapositions in placement of language suggest different ideas related to the value of the message.

Language Choice

Not only is the placement of language important, but also the choice of language in the placement. Language use on signs speaks to how the language is viewed by the author as an individual and a collective representation of the society. A language that is placed in a position that is more central speaks to the position the language holds in society (Malinowski, 2009). This is directly tied to the linguistic hegemony present within a society. Linguistic hegemony and linguistic dominance exhibit how languages are viewed relationally to one another (Blommaert, 2010). Understanding the relationships between languages within a speech community and more general community helps to structure the space language is shaping. When one language is placed on linguistic token in a position that begets the power it possesses within the speech community, it speaks to the dominance that language has over another. For example, in the French-Canadian province of Quebec, there are language laws surrounding the use of both French and English, the two official languages of Canada. In Quebec it is a requirement that all signs must include French (Backhaus, 2009). This requirement was then amended to add to the regulations on the placement of French in relation to other languages, if they were placed together on a linguistic token (Backhaus, 2009).

In essence, the requirement for French inclusion and positions of prominence on linguistic tokens shapes the province of Quebec, reinstating French as the language of preference and positioning it as the dominant language. In a manner of speaking, French is reappropriating its narrative, taking back a position that was once precariously positioned in relation to another language, English, that possess more capital in the current world as a lingua franca. Language placement within a linguistic landscape shapes the social perceptions of language, either initially affirming or reaffirming a language's position within a community and space. The idea of

language shaping a space could be viewed as a circular argument as the language shapes the landscape, while simultaneously shaping itself, gaining power through pervasiveness.

The power behind language can be shaped by a society, through the construction of the message and the semiotic values associated with text. Much of the meaning present in linguistic tokens is not only related to the content of the message, language, but is gleaned through the semiotic values chosen to represent a secondary message. How and where a language is placed takes on a secondary discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). The secondary discourse is one that is understood through the symbolism of how the message is presented, for example writing that is red in color has a different meaning than the same word that is blue in color (Huebner, 2009; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). Red often symbolizes anger or frustration, whereas blue represents a calmer demeanor. Red and blue are opposing in the sense that one can be used to denote cold, whereas red is often synonymous with fire. The color that is chosen for the writing on a sign can help the message to standout or fade into the background. Black words on a white page are more visible than yellow letters on a white page. This mainly has to do with the contrasts present within colors. As such, these semiotic tokens must be taken into account when considering how a linguistic token represents its message (Huebner, 2009). These benign elements of design speak volumes about how to perceive a language in terms of its position in a society. When a language is more visible on a sign when compared to another, it denotes how that language is viewed by the society. It has more importance; therefore it should be more visible. It could also express the popularity of the language within a community, meaning a more common language that is more prominent visually will reach a larger audience.

Language Policy

An audience and their chosen language shape language policies. The position of some languages within a society is not questioned. They belong to the country and the country subscribes to their use and forms a speech community. This speech community is unshakeable in its values and language use. In such countries, there is not ambiguity as to language choice and the policies that surround language use in education, policy, linguistic tokens and speech have the opportunity to be more flexible (Backhaus, 2009). Two countries, Canada, specifically Quebec, and Japan, provide a backdrop for how two differing language policies can be enacted. In Japan, the native population for the most part speaks Japanese as their first language. It is the language that is taught in schools and most individuals outside of the country assume the population would speak Japanese. There is no question as to the dominant language in a place like Japan. In comparison, Canada, as a country, has more ambiguity. It possesses and provides equal merit to its two official languages: English and French. However, the policies that surround the use of French in the province of Quebec, where language revival is desired and constantly in flux, maintains strict policies surrounding the language use on the linguistic tokens in the province. Several laws have been enacted to mandate the use of French on any and all visible signs within the province. These policies are a response to the changing population present in an area that views their language affiliation as part of the national identity. Since much of the population in French Canada is bilingual or a monolingual English speaker, the position of French is precarious. Much of the population speaks French but can easily transition to English. The precarious status of French requires a stricter control of the linguistic landscape, so as to maintain the position of French within the speech community. Much of the population may subscribe to a French speech community, but they may equally affiliate with an English-speaking

community as well. Japan, however, has a more relaxed policy, allowing English on top-down signs to accommodate the growing international population (Backhaus, 2009). Although, the majority of Japanese natives are still monolingual Japanese speakers, or additive bilinguals, meaning a language is added to their first language, there are concessions being made to accommodate the changing population. Despite these accommodations, Japanese remains the dominant and preferred language in the country.

The policies related to visible language use shape how a country perceives of the dominant language and its position in relation to other languages. Strict policies reflect the precarious position a language holds in a community, whereas a more accommodating policy speaks to perceived language dominance. The perceived threats that languages pose to each other within a social space, reflected on linguistic tokens and in the policies that dictate them, shape how languages are used and situated.

Shaping Neighborhoods and Communities

Language shapes space, dividing areas into communities (Gorter, 2006b; Huebner, 2006). Although, it is possible to socially shape a language in the fleeting moments that a language is spoken, but the tokens that exist in a linguistic landscape begin to create boundaries and borders, fencing in areas and excluding individual languages. In a manner of speaking, language begins to construct a space not just in the metaphoric space but begins to leave physical evidence through signs and symbolism, of what speech community possesses an area (Huebner, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991). Through the use of linguistic tokens, speech communities begin to stake their claim to certain domains, asserting their right to speak and be heard, reclaiming their culture capital through claiming geographic space.

Carving out a space through language, leaving linguistic markers begins to form boundaries. Although, these boundaries may only exist through social understanding, the boundaries are no less real in their inclusion of some and exclusion of others. A boundary by definition begins to define, much like a wall. A linguistic token can begin to act in much the same way, fencing a space containing a speech community, welcoming only those that affiliate with that speech community (Huebner, 2006). It is possible to see the boundaries of speech communities in any space where multiple speech communities exist. A linguistic token like a billboard marks the exit from one speech community into another. When experiencing such transitions, it is possible to understand that the space is beginning to be created through the language visible and images that interact with those words to create culture (Hagan, 2007). These divisions delineating language and culture are visible in spaces where conflict exists, such as Israel (Gorter, 2006b).

The constant battle for space has created a decades long battle of ownership in Israel. One manner that each community has situated itself is through the use of language in its visible form. In Israel the battle for space and recognition has created a rich linguistic landscape filled with both top-down and bottom up linguistic tokens (Gorter, 2006b). Handwritten notes, private business signs and even graffiti exhibit the desire for validation through language, peppering walls, windows and street corners. Top-down signs add to the conflict for linguistic rights through providing messages in multiple languages, while excluding some. The use of language on these linguistic token reveals the conflict present between communities as their speech communities fight for the limited space that is owned by all and none at the same time.

Social space is fluid and the shape of a linguistic landscape mirrors the fluidity, changing with the tides of power (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). Languages shape a city, dividing neighborhoods

(Gorter, 2006b; Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2006). The shaping of a cityscape through languages allows some areas to become modern, where others are reminiscent of past powers, lingering in an era where a language was in power, but has been replaced. The vestiges of power remain in language through the signs present in each space. For example, in Thailand, the area that is shaped by the Chinese characters, which litter the linguistic tokens, point to a past generation, where Chinese was the language of power and status (Huebner, 2006). However, the tides have shifted and the language in vogue is English. This shift in modernity expressed through language use on linguistic tokens, maintains the remembrance of the past, but allows for a new and different future. Language in this case not only shapes the cityscape, but also enables multiple eras to exist at the same time. Language allows there to be a past, present and future in language use through linguistic landscaping.

The Classroom as an Event

A physical space is composed of the objects and the boundaries that surround these objects. The boundaries may be blurred between the physical and social realms surrounding space as an event. This is reflected in the work of architect and academic, Tschumi (1996), who states that the distance between the object and the space itself is often questioned (p. 59). The fact that there is a question of if a distinction exists between the physical and the non-physical worlds demonstrates how intertwined these two halves are. Because they are so intertwined, discussion of the physical cannot be easily separated from the non-physical space, when discussing the classroom as an event. The non-physical construction of a space relates to intangible forces that act upon a space to make it an event. Examples of intangible forces are social constructions, language use and pre-existing knowledge. These intangible forces combine with the physical elements of a space to transform a space from a place to an event.

This space and construction of the classroom as an event can impact not just how well students learn, but also their desire to learn. The physical classroom space has a huge impact on how students learn and ultimately how successful they are in and beyond the classroom (Jamieson, 2003). The physical space of the classroom may seem standard, but there are aspects of the classroom that become non-standard in their physical form. Some of the physical items in the classroom, that impact the environment are such items as the walls, the desks or tables, chairs, blackboards or whiteboards, technology, students and even the teachers themselves. Each of these components may seem standard, but the variation among them, greatly impacts the classroom as an event. Although, the physical may appear to stay constant, the space and experiences are unique for each learner as Piaget posits concerning natural learning environments (Erneling, 2010). In this way, it is nearly impossible to hold any component, in an authentic space, constant, so the variety of these physical components becomes the only constant. In this sense, authentic is meant as an artifact that is real and has not been manipulated. Therefore, discussion of the classroom as an event includes variables concerning all actors, physical or otherwise.

Actors and Agents

When discussing actors or agents, the idea of figured worlds becomes important for understanding how we have defined the spaces through their social constructions. A figured world is "a socially and culturally structured realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 52). In a figured world where the values present within society and culture shape the actions of the actors, this bleeds into the realm of reality. Both society and culture shape how individuals behave within their social

spaces. This is enacted within the classroom as an event. Students behave according to the rules

and regulations set about by those in power in the immediate environment: teachers. This is

where the panopticon as a social construction comes into effect. The panopticon as a physical

construction of space impacts how the shaping of a learning space takes place, which is how a

classroom transforms from a mere space to an event. It is through the intersection of the physical

realms and social constructions that events are formed.

Each of these physical elements interacts with mental aspects of learning. It, in some

manner, has some impact on the mental components of learning. Understanding how the physical

impacts the mental is an important component of examining the classroom as an event. In fact,

there may be reason to believe that a recognized space cannot exist independent of its context

(Tschumi as cited by Migayro, 2014, p. 167). Context becomes part of the social construction of

space. The inability to separate space from context closely mirrors Vygotskian beliefs about

learning and social contexts and how they are not easily separated. The classroom is very

obviously a social context, and learning cannot take place independent of its social contexts

(Vygotsky, 1978). Meaning, to look at a space as only the physical components that make it,

rejects the importance of non-physical factors. The components that are not tactile impact

individuals within a space without consciously being realized. This multifaceted space is

constructed through the interactions of individuals, creating a social space. A social space is a

production created by man and recognized by man (Lefebvre, 1991). A space is a composite of

the physical and social. A space as an event becomes the blurring of the physical and social. It is

possible to say that interaction is part of the production of space, a blurring of the tactile and

non-tactile.

Interactions Shape the Classroom

The only context that is relevant in interaction are those that are talked into being in the space of an interaction (Seedhouse, 2004). This principle of context being relevant when talked into being is a guiding principle for ethnomethodology, a manner to analyze and interpret conversations or linguistic interactions. So, the linguistic components also mirror the social ones. In this social environment, learners interact with learners and teachers interact with learners. Each of these interactions becomes part of both the physical and social realms (Lefebvre, 1991); physical in where the interaction takes place, but non-physical in the space that language does not occupy a physical form, although some have argued otherwise (Tschumi, 1996).

These interactions and how they shape the environment help to establish and define interactions. With adult learners, it is important to understand how teachers and students walk a delicate tightrope, where they must balance power dynamics in order to make learning happen. This is done through both interactions and control of the physical. Foucault (1975) mentions how historically control of the body is one manner to control the mind through organization and structure. The teacher ultimately controls the bodies of the student, but it is unique when dealing with adults because there is a certain amount of sovereignty inherent in adults who are choosing and paying to learn. At any given time, a student, as an adult, has the right to leave, even if they do not perceive that as their right, having been culturally indoctrinated with social rules of the classroom. Some believe that the role of schools is just to teach students the rules and regulations of society (Rivlin & Weinstein, 1984). These social rules are complicated by the implications of second language learners in a language classroom, where social norms are different for not just each student who belongs to a different cultural group, but also for the teacher who in a second language setting comes from a different cultural background than the students. Regulating and

managing these social rules is one aspect of the learning environment. These regulations and negotiations are manifested in the physical space, but the discussion of social norms lies in the social and non-physical realm of the classroom. However, these regulations also manifest themselves in the power dynamics in a learning event. These power dynamics oftentimes reveal themselves in the physical realms by the placement of bodies and objects.

Control in the Classroom

Returning to the physical structuring of the classroom, it is best to look at the control and ordering of the bodies within the walls of the classroom. In this way, it is possible to see how the ordering of bodies in a certain way at a certain time is important for control and discipline (Foucault, 1975). In some manners Foucault (1975) argues that discipline creates a byproduct of control, but that it is not the end goal. Such an understanding is important, because then power, which is interwoven with control and discipline, is not as easily separated. Despite the lack of separation, power continues to be a governing factor of discipline and control. These three pillars of human existence: power, discipline and control, exist in a balance, which helps the social and physical realms to exist.

The existence of the social and physical realms influences how we order bodies through the control of time. The timetable becomes important in the ordering of the bodies. Foucault (1975) discusses the regulation of time as a manner to structure order. The structuring of time is non-physical but takes hold in the physical realm as we move bodies from one place to the other. As Tschumi (1996) points out the boundary between the social and architecture of space as a representation, are not neatly separated (p. 59). Time or the temporal realm, exists in the non-physical realm, but the control of it and the monitoring of it is physical through clocks and bells.

The temporal realm also affects the physical realm. Clearly the temporal realm has a place in both the physical and non-physical environments.

Time can be discussed as a control of movement in the physical realm. It often, in academic settings, manifests itself as a bell or a clock, as students and teachers witness the passage of it. Time may not be a physical object, but people continue to interact with it. In schools, there are often bells that indicate the start and end of classes and when the bell chimes, freedom of movement is re-established to the students. By controlling the physical movement of students and teachers in some regards, power is established as to who moves when and where (Foucault, 1975). This control of movement at a fixed time helps us to some degree understand the interactions that take place among students, concerning the physical and temporal realms. This is merely one type of interaction that affects the learning space as an event.

Interactions are an inherent part of learning, especially language learning. Interactions between students and teachers are important but must be controlled by allowing for grouping of students. This control is imperative for order in the classroom, so that learning outcomes may be achieved and students may feel that a structure is in place.

Structure can take the form of language organization, as in the order of speech in interactions. Interaction is important in classrooms and is a major component of how learning takes places. It would appear that teachers are in control of the interactions that take place, but as Mori (2004) points out the language classroom focus has changed from "predominately teacher-fronted" to a more student center approach. Who is in control of the interactions actually relies on the students but maintains the guise that the teacher is in control. It is through this deception that the structure of interaction takes place, while power dynamics are maintained.

Power and interaction comes into being through a physical manifestation of the spatial environment (Mchoul, 1978). This means that people of power are positioned in a superior role, the teacher, to those that are considered inferior, students. In the case of a classroom, the teacher stands at the front of the room facing the sitting students. This structure allows for the teacher to physically represent his position as expert in the classroom, whereas the students are sitting allowing them to represent themselves as novices. This also maintains the panopticon, which Foucault (1975) discusses as a manner to observe all behavior, in order to promote discipline and order. The teacher at the front of the room can observe all behavior of the students. This power structure is further defined by the limiting of physical movement in the classroom. The teacher is the only member of the classroom community that has unrestricted movement. Students, even adult ones, are obliged to move or not move depending on the expectations of the teacher. The freedom to move about is solely held by the teacher in the language classroom, unless students are designated to move about (Mchoul, 1978). Through the positioning of the teacher and the unrestricted movement, the teacher is reinforced as being the holder of power and can, thus, distribute and enforce order and discipline.

The physical manifestation of power in the language classroom situated through spatial orientation constructs a different style of turn taking then is present in a casual conversation. The teacher, who sits in the hierarchically superior position in the classroom, has the ability to self-select or to continue a turn. The teacher also has the ability to other-select a student to take a turn, meaning the teacher asks a student to answer. The students at the end of a turn may select the teacher when they are done taking their turn. However, a teacher may self-select at any point (Mchoul 1978). This ability for the teacher to select who is taking a turn enables them to hold a

turn longer despite natural breaks, such as pauses, which typically indicate the end of a turn. This structuring of interaction strengthens the power dynamic and controls the order in the classroom.

Classroom boundaries: Real or imagined

The structure of a physical place is produced through boundaries, "to define space (make a space distinct) literally meant to 'determine boundaries'" (Tschumi, 1996, p. 30). These boundaries in the school setting can be walls, physical, and the separation of people into groups, cliques or grade levels, non-physical. These groups help to make larger groups of people into smaller more easily controlled groups of people. This delineation of larger into smaller, making students feel they are both controllable as one of many, but at the same time individual, helps to establish order, in much the same manner that was presented in Foucault's (1975) *Discipline and Punish*, when discussing prison cells. The dichotomy of collective but separated instills order, in a non-physical manner. The walls on the other hand, refer to physical boundaries to separate for the express purpose of education. The walls define where groups of students belong and with what teacher. This separation is able to measure and divide, which is part of the structuring of schools and is used rather frequently (Tschumi, 1996, p. 30). The separation and implementation of structure that both Foucault and Tschumi (1996) discuss bridges the realms of the physical and non-physical environment to instill and maintain order.

Maintaining order in the schools is done through segregation, separation and delineation in both the physical and non-physical sense. This structuring exists at the school level and at the classroom level. However, the classroom level management comes from the teacher and is regulated on a smaller scale than a school setting. The teacher maintains order through student placement via the structuring of the desks or tables, as one component of many. It may seem obvious, but the structuring of the desks or tables plays an important role in how teachers interact

with students and how students interact with other students (Fernandes, Huang & Rinaldo, 2011).

Desks that are arranged in columns and rows encourage individual student work, whereas small

grouped desks or tables encourage group work, also known as non-linear formations (Fernandes,

et al., 2011). Student to student interactions help students to practice newly learned information

without the fear of classmate or teacher judgment, which is important for students to feel

comfortable. This comfort also impacts learning and can be part of the event of learning.

Columns and rows enable teachers to work with individual students and tables and small group

formation enable teachers to work with groups rather than individual students (Fernandes et al.,

2011). Oftentimes teacher-student interaction is desirable for a student that may be struggling

and wish to ask for clarification from just the teacher rather than the entire class. This type of

interaction will enable the student to feel informed without fear of looking unintelligent.

However, classifying and controlling interactions amongst students is essential, since research

suggests that uncontrolled conversation is not beneficial for the development of language

learning (Mori, 2004). Thus, it is important to strike a balance between teacher defined tasks and

allowing students to construct meaning by using the tools at their disposal, oftentimes that means

other students. Ultimately, this means that the formation of tables and desks impacts how

students work together, how they interact with the teacher and in some ways how a community

in the classroom is formed. The organization of seating in a classroom can even act as a portal

into communities of practice (Gee, 2004). It would appear group work rather than individual

work creates bonds and friendships amongst students rather than students feeling like islands

separated by impenetrable oceans of aisles (Fernandes et al., 2011).

Classrooms as Communities

This kind of community building or lack thereof is impactful for adult learners in a second language (L2) classroom. The main reason being students in an L2 setting are often from different countries with the express concern of learning their L2, meaning they are new to the L2 country. Ultimately, this means that a community created in the classroom will help students feel more comfortable, through making friends and forming bonds rather than being alone. This is part of the emotional nature of learning and classroom spaces. These emotional responses are part of the non-physical environment. But clearly, at times the physical and non-physical meld in the classroom and one leads to the other. When the emotional factors are considered in conjunction with the physical structuring of the classroom, students feel that they are less of physical objects to be controlled and more participants in the classroom. This means that there will be active participation in the classroom and that helps students to accomplish their learning goals, be that L2 or otherwise (Flynn, Vermette, Mesibov & Smith, 2009). Learning is the goal, as well as, engagement in the classroom, so the structure plays a role in this design.

The language classroom functions as much more than a mere event to facilitate language learning but it is a social space as well (Markee, 2004). Because of the nature of the classroom being a social space as well as a learning environment, certain social conventions and structures, come into play, such as face-saving techniques, which include things as mundane as preventing humiliation (Markee, 2004). This is where language interacts with the emotional aspects of learning. When emotion becomes part of the process of learning, students are often more likely to disengage to prevent any form of embarrassment. Embarrassment prevention, also known as a face-saving technique, is one aspect that needs to be considered and mitigated through control of the non-physical space. It falls to the teacher and students to create an emotionally safe space

where students are not forced to construct boundaries to save themselves from emotional turmoil. These boundaries exist in direct opposition to the structures that teachers and students co-construct to make interactions possible. Thus, students construct meaning and define the conventions of the interaction (Garfinkel, 1963 as cited in Mondada & Doehler, 2004). The conventions become a structure for interaction. Structuring a language classroom is an integral part of the language learning process. Without structure, negative boundaries may be formed that inhibit interaction and communication. Preventing the formation of blockades to learning is necessary, so that speech structuring can occur and physical structuring of a classroom can be defined.

The classroom, from its structuring appears to exhibit some of the formalities that Foucault (1975) posits are part of a prison. These aspects include the structuring of movement, the organization of bodies, strict adherence of time schedules and monitoring, the panopticon (Foucault, 1975). These pillars were used to describe discipline and how society moved from one obsessed with torture as a manner to control and regulate society to one that used corporeal control in a different manner. This other manner was viewed as a structuring of the corporeal being as a form of discipline and a limiting of freedoms. This limitation of freedoms is apparent in the classroom setting. At each level of education, a freedom is surrendered for another freedom, creating an equilibrium that establishes an order. In kindergarten there is no freedom in the structuring in the classroom. However, as students progress in their education the box changes to be more reminiscent of the prison cell, while freedoms are restored one at a time that mirrors components of Piaget's natural learning theory of steps taken that are dependent on the preceding step (Erneling, 2010). By the time students and learners reach adulthood their freedoms have been restored. Students may move about semi-freely, by adulthood, meaning they

can enter the classroom by choice. They can also leave the classroom by choice. However, they are still structured on a time schedule, but adherence is ultimately a choice. Although, these may seem a choice to the outside observer, the progression and evolution of the structuring of the classroom, has taught children the rules of a classroom, so the discipline has been put in place and students are no longer aware of their choice, since the physical components have remained unchanged.

Intersection of Physical and Social

Despite the unchanging nature of the classroom, student achievement continues to be impacted by the intersection of the physical and non-physical domains. Since the structure of the room may play an important role in how learners interact, feel and learn, it is not surprising that some believe that given the correct environment students will learn on their own regardless of the teacher. Piaget's natural learning theory posits this sentiment, learning will occur given the correct environment for the student (Erneling, 2010). But this social and physical space is ever changing, so each experience is different and unique, which closely mirrors some aspects of a true classroom as an event. Learners are unique and their experiences enable them to view the world in different manners and this leads to an ever-changing classroom event. This event of learning in a classroom is where the teacher is merely a guide for the knowledge acquisition to occur. Although, it may seem as though this discussion of learning space has gone beyond the scope of the physical, it is important to understand that although the physical may not change in the classroom, other components may. It is with this understanding that all is changing and nothing is stable on the non-physical or social side of learning, that the physical components controlled by the teacher and students become important. These are the controllable structures that impact learning as much as the non-physical.

A classroom as an event is like a giant puzzle; each piece must fit together and encompass its surrounding parts in order for a perfect picture to be formed. This means that each specific component of the classroom, teachers, students and inanimate objects such as chairs, desks, blackboards and walls play a role in defining the physical space, where learning is to occur. But learning goes beyond the boundaries of the physical space and interacts with structures that can meld between physical and non-physical constructs, such as language and power.

Both language and power define the interactions that are pivotal to the learning process, but they are not the only structures that matter for students and teachers. Time and movement are part of the learning spaces as events as well as silent players that bridge the metaphoric to physical, by restricting and structuring time students are forced into a discipline and order that provides students with the belief that they are "in control." However, this control that students feel they have is actually mitigated and managed careful by actors in the space that have more power. Thus, it becomes important that if the physical space does not invite and encourage learning, the teacher is thus responsible for helping to foster components that entice students to want to participate and learn.

Conclusion

Understanding the spaces that define the world the surrounds each individual becomes pivotal when thinking about how learning is shaped through the intersections of space as a social, linguistic and physical construct. Each of these separately makes space into a flattened object, but inspecting these intersections transforms space from a one-dimensional representation into a multi-dimensional place. The interactions between space as a physical construct and social construct become a negotiation, where the narrative that is told about a place becomes necessary for the

understanding of such a place to exist. In order for a narrative to exist about a space, the use of language is required.

However, by using language to shape a space, more controversy is introduced into the production of space. Language is a social and cultural practice imbued with multiple layers that interact to shape a space. A linguistic landscape is one such interaction in the battle of language as a shaping method for space. It is filled with notions of culture, politics, power and time. By using language to understand the shape of a space, it is possible to understand the societal contexts, which have come into being in the space. Language is a multifunctional entity: curator, creator and shaper of societal contexts, learning events and space. Without the use of language through linguistic landscape, it is difficult to visually experience language, since it is fleeting in its verbal form, but more permanent in its written forms.

Thus, learning as an event is shaped by the spaces that have come to define it through the use of language and societal values. Space is ever in flux and to assume that it is only represented through its physical constructs of walls, borders and barriers limits the possibilities that it may possess more insights into the physical and non-physical structures that limit and enable societies to function. The barriers that have been produced physically, societally and linguistically limit humanity and contain them as a form of control, but at the same time it provides an understanding into the world of learning and understanding. Although, it is not always possible to judge a space when inhabiting it, it is through introspection of the intersections that define space, that it shapes itself.

Chapter 3: Methodology: Narrative Analysis

Narrative Analysis Introduction

The world is full of stories and narratives; everyone has a story, but not everyone listens to those stories which exist in the background, like a soothing buzz. But, narrative inquiry takes the stories and narratives which create the background hum of existence and foregrounds them so that the story of an individual may become the narrative of a community, forming a master narrative which crosses the boundaries of people and places. Narrative inquiry is the study of lived experiences (Andrews 2014; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Huber, 2010; Gomez, 2010; Norton & Early, 2011). However, this seemingly simple methodology of hearing, listening, recording and documenting lived experiences moves beyond just telling stories in the traditional sense, from speaking and writing, to the examination of photographs and artifacts. Each of these means of story production casts a different light on the process of storytelling that narrative inquiry utilizes to study individuals (Andrews, 2014). Narrative inquiry is multimodal in how individuals tell and conceive of their individual stories. A story and narrative may be just the spoken words an individual shares or many artifacts combined to create a spherical story, a story which is multidimensional through the inclusion of multimedia.

It can be said that memories and lived experiences are what make stories, ultimately shaping each individual. It is these memories, stories and lived experiences that are of interest to researchers using narrative inquiry. The stories that speakers recount are those stories that have been impactful for them in specific contexts rather than the entire collection of their stories, which would be more akin to a life history (Goodson, 2013). It is through locating significant stories across persons that narrative inquirers find themes that showcase commonalities amongst individuals.

The terms narrative and story are similar, but "narrative" is a more clinical term, whereas story begins to provide agency for the speaker. Although a speaker presents a certain form of speaking and orality to the concept of storytelling, "speaker" is only meant to imbue the meaning of an individual who has taken the time to recount their story through multiple means and modalities. Goffman (1981) states "[w]hen one uses the term 'speaker,' one often implies that the individual who animates [it] is formulating his own text and staking out his own position through it: animator, author, and principal are one" (p. 145). The speaker is the individual that has the capacity to tell a story and it gives them agency, imbuing a certain power that the more clinical term, narrative, lacks. It is through agency that a speaker begins to shape whom they wish to be. The stories become part of an identity that an individual tells about what they define as important and helps them to understand the world that has been created around them (Holland et al., 1998).

Narrative inquiry enables individuals to tell their story and appropriate, or in some cases reappropriate, what had previously been lost to them (Nelson, 2001). It begins to give voice to often-silenced individuals. It provides a space where voices that are traditionally ignored or stifled, begin to have the power to speak what has made them into who they are and why their story is just as valid as the stories of the dominant group. To highlight this, the story of nurses sharing their experiences in Nelson's (2001) book *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair,* helps to understand how stories presented by dominant and minority groups are perceived. The nurses told their stories to other nurses so that their experiences were validated. Many nurses feel ignored by doctors, but they play a vital role in patient care (Chan, Jones & Wong, 2012; Nelson, 2001). As such, individuals who possess more power and are situated higher in the social hierarchy marginalize individuals who are seen to inhabit a lower position on this hierarchy. But, the nurses' role is essential to the effective workings of the health care field and their stories are necessary in creating

equity and change (Chan, Jones & Wong, 2012; Nelson, 2001). Therefore, the stories of the minority group are the precipitators of change.

In addition to a story of the nurses, expression of a story is important for individuals who are generally not recognized as having a position of value in a society, such as English as a Second Language (ESL) learners, migrants or immigrants. Beyond the domains in which they possess control, their stories often are not recognized, but narrative inquiry provides moments where stories can be shared, thus fulfilling both the needs of the storyteller and the researcher, providing validation and insight, respectively.

The idea of giving voice to the sometimes "voiceless" begins in narrative inquiry with a question that can be answered through listening and attempting to understand people's histories, narratives and stories. Narrative inquiry is a means of asking individuals open-ended questions in the hopes that a story will emerge that helps both the researcher and the participant to understand how a participant's world has been shaped by a lived experience. A lived experience is one that an individual obviously has lived, but it has in some way shaped them through the telling and retelling of this story (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). These stories go on to help researchers to understand the significance of a lived experience and how a story might help the storyteller relate to others' perceptions of storyteller's world. This especially is true when the storytellers have to disguise and conceal parts of their identity (Endo, Reece-Miller & Santavicca, 2010). Narratives provide a space for a speaker to define him or herself and be validated through the telling of their story (Nelson, 2001). It gives them power to share how their experiences have shaped them and through the process of narrative inquiry gives the storyteller the opportunity to have their story be understood and retold through the lens of a researcher, in the hopes that their story may be of value to a greater number of people leading to better understanding of group members' experiences.

Narrative inquiry, although small in scale, gives the opportunity for individuals to tell their stories. These stories are then looked at in conjunction with similar stories such as in Gomez's (2010) "Talking About Ourselves, Talking About Our Mothers: Latina Prospective Teachers Narrate Their Life Experiences." The four women, who appear in Gomez's (2010) text, share similar stories about how their mothers' experiences shaped their own experiences. The stories the daughters shared about their mothers are not indicative of all Latina women, but within this group of sixteen participants, it is possible to say that mothers have great influence on their Latina daughters (Gomez, 2010). In these studies, it is possible to say that certain experiences for these storytellers were similar. From these similarities, it is not possible to generalize to a whole population, but it is possible to say that these experiences need to be examined further and be addressed. This can also be true for ESL teachers in different countries and gay teachers in heterosexual dominant societies (Endo et al., 2010; Mitton-Kükner, Nelson & Desrochers, 2010). As themes emerge, patterns are developed, often leading to recognition by readers of themselves and others they know. Recognition both helps individuals to feel validated but is the first link in the chain of change if it is necessary. These studies are small, but not insignificant for the researcher, individual storyteller or research in general.

The small scope of the study is both a benefit and a drawback. When discussing the small scope of the study, usually there are only approximately five to fifteen participants, rather than the potential hundreds or thousands within a more quantitative study. The results of a quantitative study can be generalized to a general population because of the large scope, whereas narrative inquiry focuses on the few, searching for themes which have emerged multiple times. The small scope provides the ability to seek depth in the research, asking deeper questions and finding emerging themes. As such, the generalizability of narrative inquiry is difficult. That is not to say

that narrative inquiry and the telling of stories does not inform research, merely that not all of one groups' experiences can be generalized to what a small sampling of participants might say about their lives and their identities (Endo et al., 2010). Narrative inquiry often works to expose emerging themes and problems (Endo et al., 2010). It is through writing about these stories, listening to these stories and analyzing these stories that issues that are fundamental for a few, begin to take on a grander narrative as an issue worth noticing and attending to. The themes are reoccurring for many within that specific subsection of the population being researched. In a manner of speaking narrative inquiry becomes a call to action, to treat the problems that are told within the stories of participants.

It is through this call to action that change can be made and that is a great strength of narrative inquiry. It becomes the space where recognition for a change is found. It is through the bravery of the storytellers and the patience of the researcher that these stories come to be part of a larger narrative of lived experiences. Narrative inquiry is a collection of small stories that speak to identity and experience, in the hopes that a change may occur. A change, however, is not always the goal; sometimes it is just the recognition of a story and a theme, so that others may see they are not alone. Narrative inquiry can also become part of identity formation, redistribution of power and simply being heard.

Narrative and ESL Classroom Spaces

Stories give voice to those that lack a voice or are too fearful to add their voice to the mix of narratives that exist. In the world of education, the voices that are heard most often belong to those in power. Those in power are rarely the students, but the teachers, the researchers, the administrators, the parents and the politicians that tell the stories of what is taking place in the classroom. These individuals, who are not always in the classroom, shape the spaces where

students learn, thinking little about what works best for the students sitting in front of the whiteboard. This is especially true as students become adults or are adults; the students accept the narrative of what a classroom looks like, knowing what works best for them, but being at the whim of the teacher or administrator that controls the physical space and the movement within and beyond the classroom. Thus, it becomes imperative that students are empowered to add their voices and stories to the understanding of how to shape education as a space and the classroom as an alternate narrative to the dominant function of learning as a passive construction, where a student's sole purpose is to learn what the teacher sets forth.

Narrative inquiry concerns voices. They are the voices that are lost in the wind of dominant narratives. ESL students are often silenced through their own insecurities, but also in the lack of understanding of the individual who hears their voices and stories. It is through these moments of insecurity and incomprehension that ESL students begin to marginalize their own stories. These stories become essential as students describe their classroom experiences. Their stories will shape the understanding of the contexts in which these students curate their own education experiences. It is through their stories that a glimpse of what the classroom context should be for students to gain confidence and skills. This might entail their explanations of how their classrooms displayed language in the form of a linguistic landscape, how the desks were arranged in the form of a physical space, their interactions with classmates and teachers in the form of a social space and even in the language choices in the form of a linguistic space.

The spaces that are created through the stories these students construct and share in narrative inquiry are what guide and enable these stories to become narratives. Their stories shape the spaces whereby education is transformed into an event with intersecting boundaries of linguistic landscapes shaping physical, social and linguistic spaces. These stories provide the

opportunities for the ESL students to share how their experiences enabled them to do the shaping or precluded them from shaping their spaces. Through the sharing of their stories, students are empowered to curate the forms of education that best work for them. It then becomes the role of the researcher to take their stories and create a narrative, where students' stories can be shared beyond the context of a single classroom or single event to help in shaping other educational spaces.

These stories become the fodder for a narrative that can exist beyond the confines of a community. Without the stories of these individual students the boundaries of physical, social and linguistic spaces become discrete when in actuality their interplay is what has shaped the spaces for education, enabling students to gain control of their education focusing on their individual goals. It is through students focusing on their individual goals and the stories they share about the spaces that best helped them to accomplish those goals where narrative inquiry becomes essential. By using narrative inquiry, students are empowered to select the stories that best serve their purpose. So, it is through their selection of story and the telling of that story that a glimpse into the realm of student perceptions of their spaces is created.

Narrative inquiry as a method of investigation provides a blank slate to allow the students to express themselves about their lived experiences, the ones that shape their English learning landscapes (Clandinin & Connely, 2000). However, narrative inquiry will be used in a way that may differ from prescriptive narrative inquiry, whereby semi-structured interviews are conducted after a survey was used to gather preliminary and widespread data. The surveys allow for multimodal access to the ideas that participants wish to access. The survey with open-ended questions is essential for second language learners, because processing information and the formation of language may be less automatic, so the ability to construct and analyze the language

chosen, enables these participants to strengthen their confidence through pre-thinking about their responses. The interviews provide insight into the deeper structures of the classroom that might have been glossed-over when doing the open-ended survey questions. Through oral interactions these participants are able to explore why and when aspects of the physical classroom spaces were the most impactful for their learning. The participants are able to construct their experiences and shape their stories through the different modalities.

Narratives vs. stories: Blurred but separate

To think about narratives and stories seems to be talking about the same concept, but they are distinct. This distinction remains blurry and out-of-focus, sometimes overlapping, while still existing independent of one another. It is as if narrative and story exist within two separate realms that are perpetually interacting. To think of narrative and story as two separate terms stemming from a shared notion is helpful. Few researchers have fleshed out the distinction between these two concepts, but Kohler Riessman (1993) briefly touched on the idea stating "'[n]arrative' is an encompassing term of rhetoric, whereas 'story' is a limited genre" (p. 41). Although this notion is interesting it goes no further than a gloss of the surface in the distinctions between narrative and story. Narrative and story are tied, but exist independently of one another, so to distinguish them so acutely does not speak to their moments of intersection.

These intersections coincide with how to picture the blurred boundaries of narratives and stories. In one's minds eye you might envision narratives and stories relating to one another as a rhizome, where the two parts make the one whole, narrative and story work together to form the grand or master narrative. The rhizome creates an image of infinite branches stemming and creating a greater whole (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). A narrative and story become branches that

are separate but intertwined, inextricably linked but entities that exist independent of one another. Together narrative and story may be blurred to create a meaning and have a place within a context, but to understand them separately is necessary. Their meanings individually hold as much weight as their combined blurry boundaries.

A distinction may seem unnecessary when talking about narratives and stories, but it is essential to understanding the roles and purposes each component plays in the formation, compilation and comprehension of a story, narrative and master/ dominate narrative. A story is an individual entity, held by a single person. The story is a moment of agency for an individual teller. A narrative is a collection of many stories and removes the individual agency; ultimately it is where the researcher's role becomes essential, as they compile the stories to create a narrative. Finally, a master/dominant narrative, moves beyond the boundaries of narratives and stories to create a unifying theme across communities. These unifying themes are where stories and narratives grow legs and walk between and amongst communities, widening their scope of meaning. Each of these terms will be expanded upon, to help understand how the distinct vocabulary shapes the understanding of the research. Although, it is difficult to tease apart the different threads of a master narrative, it is essential to understanding the spaces and contexts in which the individual fibers were formed, creating infinite intersections between the three concepts.

Just as in the inspection of spaces, boundaries in narrative and story are integral to seeing where the most change occurs. It is the interactions that create new and diverse spaces and experiences. It is through the telling of stories, constructing narratives and finally the recognition of the grand narrative, that a social space can be carved amongst the chaos of a space that is generally occupied by everyone. It is the construction of space through story that becomes

relevant to understanding how a story can help shape education as an event and the classroom as more than just a space for knowledge to be imparted, but to be ingested. But, it is in the process of education as an event that knowledge, which is often just swallowed, with no encouragement for analysis and play, transforms through internalization to become relevant to an individual. Through this process, storying and narratives are essential to understand how students shape spaces to individualize their educational experiences to master their goals and aims, succeeding through their self-actualization rather than through the arbitrary standards, which may be "other" imposed (Zhao, 2018).

But, through individualization of the creation of a social space through the stories that are told and the narratives that are formed a blurry distinction is created, whereby one concept leads to the other, story to narrative and narrative to master/dominant narrative. And, it is in the intersection of narrative and story, the blurry boundary where one stops and the other begins, that the world of an individual's experiences begins to open and take shape. The boundaries are where the shaping of hybridity and third spaces, that are co-constructed begin to create master narratives.

For the purpose of looking at students' educational experiences and the spaces where they take place, it is necessary to hear their stories to construct a master/dominant narrative. A master/dominant narrative is the term that continues to hold Bourdieu's (1991) sense of capital, within the world of educational research, but the story is essential for constructing the idea of a *Master narrative* or "the stories found lying about in our culture that serve as summaries of socially shared understanding" (Nelson, 2001, p. 6). So, within the discussion of narratives and stories there are three essential terms: master or dominant narratives, narrative and stories.

Master Narratives

Master narratives are the head of the rhizome, envisioned as the tree that exists beyond its root structure. The stories and narratives are the intertwined root structure that are hidden from those not within the direct context of the story. Master narratives are the most visible of the structures, whereby narratives and stories lie beyond the field of vision hidden from members external to the community.

One of the defining characteristics is their ability to stand beyond the borders of a community. Often a story cannot exist beyond the individual and a narrative cannot exist beyond the community it represents, but a master narrative has legs. It can walk and share the messages gleaned from the stories and narratives that have created it. A master narrative has an intrinsic power that allows it to be recognized both within the scope of its community, but beyond the community from which it stemmed. It has been recognized beyond the community it originated. It is acknowledged by those that have power external to the community, by the majority groups, which exist within a society.

In many ways master narratives are collective representations. Master narratives are asynchronous in that they fold the time, positing stories beyond the linear construction of time. Time is not the organizer of master narratives. Master narratives exist in spite of time and this is what ties them to collective memory. Bhabha (1994) speaks of collective histories and collective memories as defining pillars of a community and the narrative that provides structure for the communities they represent. These master narratives are the most independent of the three interrelated concepts of master narrative, narrative and story, having the capacity to intertwine cultural, community and even linguistic boundaries. "Cultural diversity is also the representation of a radical rhetoric of the separation of totalized cultures that live unsullied by the intertextuality

of their historical locations, safe in the Utopianism of a mythic memory of a unique collective identity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 50). The concept of an unsullied culture that is not bound by its historical location speaks to how master narratives can exist beyond their moment in time their boundaries. Collective memory like master narratives may exist in time but does not depend on it for extrapolating the importance of the message, because the time is a component of the story. It does not matter when the story occurred for it to be impactful, meaning a master narrative that is formative for a community will be important throughout time moving forward.

The master narrative is not usually constructed by a researcher or individual but the work of a community or many communities that hold certain ideals to be true. It is not about the individual, but the collective memory that is defining beyond a time (Mishler, 1999). This may be in the form of a value that is represented in the narrative or in rebuttal to another narrative that the community finds to be contrary to the beliefs held by the majority within the group. This is usually done through the creation of a counter-story, which will be discussed in depth later in the chapter.

The dominant or master narratives position different groups of people in different positions of power. It places them within a hierarchy by how accepted each narrative is. The complication to this is something that Bhabha (1994) discusses, which are slave narratives. These are accepted and viewed as a shameful past, but it does not position its victims in a higher social power category. In fact, it inadvertently continues to dominant their objectification within a society that often views this group as less than.

This master narrative is not just true about the African American population, but all recent immigrant groups. Because of their lack of English language proficiency in the United States, recent immigrant groups often are not able to redefine the master narrative that is

perpetuated about them. When a group is able to change their narrative and have it recognized by the external power holders, then their position will be changed in society (Kohler Reissman, 2008). But redefining this master narrative is not something that can be accomplished in one year or even one generation, it is a battle that must be continually fought. One manner to fight this master narrative perpetuation is through education. Education allows for social mobility through the navigation of the social system. Therefore, it is important for educational spaces to be liberated and equitable to allow for the expression of these alternative master narratives (Benson, 2010; Burns, 2009; Saudelli, 2012).

Narrative

Sometimes within defining a term it is easiest and clearest to start with what the term is not. As Ranciere (2007) does with his art and image, the juxtapositions create a more robust sense of what a concept is. Art has a meaning separate from image, but together these two terms combine to form a third meaning, exposing the dynamic meaning found in their intersecting principles (Ranciere, 2007). The third meaning relates to the concept of hybridity. It is the combination and co-construction of concepts (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez & Chiu, 1999). It is not done through the construction of just one or the other but through the combination of both concepts. It is like reinforcing fabric. Each piece is not as strong as their combined force. The same is true for understanding how a story on its own may be interesting but has little impact on the grander narrative that is being told. And, a narrative is nothing without the stories that make it up. This same concept of story decontextualized of narrative and narrative decontextualized of story rings true. Separately their meaning is possible, but not as robust as their combined meaning. Through their coming to form a third intersecting meaning speaks to the complexity and interwoven nature of these concepts into their formation of notion.

Through the interplay of juxtapositions meaning is enhanced. Like the spaces that become flattened through the viewing of just one aspect: social, physical or linguistic, so too is narrative inquiry. The juxtapositions provide perspective, giving dimension to seemingly simple terms. By understanding what a concept is not, it is possible to form an idea of what it is without having to draw a hard line and thus excluding necessary components. It allows for a freeform and spontaneous understanding of the narrative concept. A narrative is a bounded topic with murky boundaries that meld it with the conception of story. A narrative is not focused on the individual. Narrative is the collective of many stories blurring their truths and the experiences of individuals. It does not forget the individual but places them as secondary to meaning construction (Foucault, 1984). But this brief conception of narrative is not the entire picture. It is an agglomeration forever shifting to find its best fit.

Narrative is not so dissimilar from a story. Sometimes it is the end product of collective stories, but not always. Narrative focuses on the product rather than the author, closely mirroring Foucault's (1984) author function, supposing that the author is less important than the message being presented, extrapolating the meaning rather than focusing on the individual. Meaning becomes essential in the creation of the narrative leading to master narratives. It is through a master narrative that we can see how events are tied, linking individual experiences to the grander contexts that may exist within a more focused context.

But, a narrative cannot be formed without stories. This stems from the idea of directionality. Directionality here means the concept of how the speaker/narrator positions themselves. In a narrative, the perspective is backwards looking, much like history (Nystrand, 2014). It is told from the perspective of the present, discriminating the important events through the wisdom of the interluding time. By looking backwards instead of forwards, it is possible to

understand the importance of events (Nystrand, 2014). Narratives are made through the normalization of the events. Narratives are constructed through the repeated re-telling of stories, until the formation of events is made regular and the effects are anticipated.

Narratives, like their story brethren, are context dependent, but narratives maintain their significance independent of their contexts. This means that a narrative does not need to be told within a specific community for understanding to occur. A narrative can be shared and understood by a larger community. A story can have a smaller scope. A narrative can be shared with a greater context in order to impart their meaning, taking out the agency of the individual. The individual is not forgotten in a narrative but the individual telling the story hides behind the velvet curtain, positioning their story as the focus.

Since some narrative divorces itself from the speaker in lieu of foregrounding the meaning, truth becomes an object of narrative. Through its existence independent of context, truth becomes subsumed. When the individual is removed, trust of the speaker is no longer questioned. Even as the research suspends disbelief, implicitly trust of the storyteller clouds the message that is being presented (Andrews, 2014). Since the speaker is removed from the equation of trust, a narrative is no longer a story through the supposition of truth. And it is through the collective formation of the stories whereby narrative becomes representative of its parts and truth is no longer questioned. That is not to say that the truth a narrative portrays is absolute, because truths can be context dependent in the study of narrative. It is merely a truth within the context of that narrative. Truth is one of the murky boundaries between narrative and story. Oftentimes it is the acceptance of a story by a community that transforms a story into a narrative. However, that is not the only path to narrative.

Narrative remains the more sterile term. It strips the truth and individual from the processing, showcasing the message above the perceptions of the individual. It is through this lack that narrative becomes separate from the story. It is still bound to the story, but it remains its own entity, deriving meaning and imparting a message that is not community or context dependent. It is an independent pillar of research.

Hybridity and third space

Hybridity exists within the scope of thinking as individuals interact not just with their own conceptions of truth, but new conceptions as well. To understand the concept of hybridity it is best to imagine a painting tray from childhood, whereby you began to understand the concepts of primary and secondary colors. The primary colors are combined to make a new and different color and it is in this overlap that hybridity occurs in a physical sense but mirrors the more meta thought process present in narratives. Hybridity is a construction "there is no knowledge— political or otherwise— outside representation… rethink[ing] the logics of causality and determinacy through which we recognize the 'political' as a form of calculation and strategic action dedicated to social transformation" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 23). The idea of hybridity closely aligns with the ideas of decontextualization present in Ranciere's *Art and Image* (2007) and the *Emancipated Spectator* (2009). To decontextualize a concept is to break it down into its separate pieces. These separate pieces carry meaning that is unique to their individual beings. In some ways it is necessary to understand the individual meanings prior to understanding the grander understanding of the combined meaning. Here is where the idea of hybridity relates to narrative.

Narratives are both a compilation of sorts, combining the individual stories of each individual into one that is grander in scope and speaks to the community about their shared experiences. It is a form of hybridity that is constructed on the part of the researcher, whereby

authorship (Foucault, 1984) become subservient to the meaning that is unfolding in the sharing of the message. This fronting of the message over the narrative provides the storyteller's individual capital to be irrelevant in its status because it is the combined nature of their stories and the shared experience amongst a community that allows for individuals to share their stories. It is affiliation and hybridity that makes a narrative more than just a story. A narrative is the embodiment of the hybrid nature of stories.

Third Space (My definition)

The third space is a space of hybridity. The classroom can be a third space. The third space is often not physical; thus, it cannot be called a place. A place is a location with a position that exists in space and time. Place can be concrete. A third space is an instant in time where there is a blending of ideas. It is neither just one idea nor another it is the combined formation of knowledge. It is shared by many or a few, but it is not often an individual endeavor. It is a space of co-construction, co-mentorship and co-participation. These spaces when using the affix co-present an idea of binary, but this binary is not the intention. By using the affix co- it merely delineates a concept of many ideas, people or space coming together to assert a type of melding. Sometimes it is best to visual these moments of third spaces. In the context of this research, a third space is similar to mixing paint. When creating a secondary color such as purple, there are two parts needed, red and blue. Purple is neither entirely red, nor entirely blue it is the moment when red and blue meet to find combination of the two, where it is neither wholly one nor the other. Like the paint a third space is neither one nor the other, but a blending of the many. It is in this blending that imagination and play take place, not bounded by the rigid boundaries of walls and borders.

In a classroom, for ESL students, this means it is not between languages, but it is the between moments of what is known and what is about to be known. It is not wholly in the past and not yet in the future. It is both and none all at the same time. These are spaces of cultural interaction, where the space does not belong to solely one culture, but all the cultures have a place and position in the classroom. An ESL classroom is truly special because it is a border space, where cultural capital can be redistributed (Bourdieu, 1991). It is co-constructed because everyone has an equal right to their knowledge and the knowledge should be shared across students. This sharing allows for everyone to be privileged and dis-preferred at the same time. But, this third, transactional, co-constructed space can only be accessed when all of the layers of a space are aligned. But, one way to create a portal to a community (Gee, 2004) is to change the first space: the physical realm in the classroom.

Story

Stories like narrative are necessary to understanding communities especially those where the researcher is not a recognized member of the community. To catch a glimpse of a community, it is necessary to hear the stories of the individual to begin a weaving that creates an image of a community. In a weaving there are many threads that combine to form a tapestry, which seems disconnected from stories and narratives, but stories are the thread that make the tapestry that is a community. Stories are woven together to showcases values and truths held within a community.

Story is tied to narrative and master narratives, but it is the less sterile term. A story is tied to the individual that tells it. But, a narrative can be divorced from the individual that tells it, fulfilling a greater purpose. A story cannot always be removed from its context while maintaining the meaning. Stories revolve around the individual. It cannot be stripped of the individual without

losing an integral piece of the inherent meaning. In some ways, stories step away from Foucault's (1984) author function, where the product is primary to the secondary teller. In a story, the speaker is the focus. A story is a process. It is not the product, but some of the meaning resides in its telling. The process folds into the idea that a story is a work-in-progress, whereas a narrative is formed. It appears that a story is not static, but dynamic, it changes a little with each telling and with each audience to whom it is directed, lacking the normalization present in a narrative.

Normalization often implies a certain governing body and sense of control, but normalization here means something closer to recognized form. It is not that the story or narrative is governed by another, merely it is the concept of recognition. A narrative has been recognized for its truth and validity through the separation of the narrator and the narrative. However, a story is constructed and tied to the teller. The telling can be cathartic in that it helps the individual to process their understanding of what the event was. It is a removal of the story from the person by the telling. It is not that the individual does not own the story, but they are beginning to shape it, so that it can be more than just theirs. It is the starting place for narrative.

Stories become the fodder for narratives, but they are not told from the perspective of the present looking at the past. They are understood and contextualized from looking at the events as moments that are unfolding, whereby the results cannot be predicted: lived experiences. Stories are still in-the-process of being. The events are still being evaluated for their importance within their understanding of the message being constructed within their telling. The time is still evolving.

Within stories, time and cultural construction are tied. So, time, although not linear, is tied to its cultural construction. Meaning cannot be deduced without a time and cultural construction present. Time changes interpretation and posits that concepts can be linked based on

theme not just time. Culture links concepts based on ideas independent of time. But culture is a byproduct of context. So, our context reflects the cultural understanding of the time and is coloring the interpretations of facts in stories.

Truth is tied to cultural shifts "changes in ways of understanding and feeling around the world" (Jordanova, 2000, p. 108). These cultural shifts are present when thinking about the deconstruction of art and image, running parallel to narrative and story. The understandings extrapolated from the individual entities in the deconstruction of narrative and story are influenced by the contexts and the cultures whereby these conceptions reside. A story takes some of its meaning from the context and culture in which it resides, much like a narrative. However, a story thrives in its cultural context, whereas narrative can maintain its meaning divorced from the culture in which it was constructed. Stories are tied to the individual and the culture and through these ties a sense of agency is created. An individual imbues their cultural capital and right to speak from the position and self-identification of belonging within a specific culture and context. To remove the story from the individual and apply it to a larger setting would be to lose the individualism present and necessary for understanding a story. But, it is the shift from an individual created and recognized meaning to speaking to larger themes that transforms a story into a narrative. These deconstructions function as a manner to examine the parts in understanding the nature behind their combined and pluralistic meaning.

Truth is a construction of sources, be this individuals or documents (Jordanova, 2000). Much as in the collection of stories creates a narrative, does the selection of these stories speak to the construction of truth. There is a disconnect present within this selection process. Within the collection of stories, truth must be suspended, so as to not taint the truth of the storyteller as it is being presented (Andrews, 2010). It is through analysis that truth is extrapolated to form the

grander narrative. Truth cannot be sought within a story. A story progresses forward for the storyteller, whereas a narrative looks backward at the unfolding of events. Perspective becomes the great divider between narrative and story. A narrative has the benefit of distance, allowing for the discrimination of truth, fact and removal of the perception of feelings toward the storyteller. In the collection of stories, truth cannot be judge because there is no distance or reference to other stories. It is as if the comparison of stories that truth emerges in the form of narrative. Sources speak to truth, but truth is an act of finding. Each individual has their own truth and stories showcase this truth, but narratives seek to present a truth that is representative of a greater population. Since it speaks to a greater number of people, this truth has the ability to withstand a position independent of a cultural context.

As a culture shifts so too do the perceptions within a story. But, by searching from the present to the past as is in the case of narrative, it is possible to look beyond the cultural constraints that are placed upon a story. A story does not have this luxury, it cannot exist without the cultural constraints and the cultural narratives that give it truth. So, from the perspective of looking backward artifacts in the form of stories help to examine the shifts in culture and the evaluation process that allows stories to be compiled into narratives and enables them to exist through and beyond the constant cultural shifts. That is not to say that the construction of the artifact, in this case a story, is free of cultural shifts, merely that through the recognition of such shifts it is possible to see wherein the construction of truth may have been impacted by the contexts and cultural shifts taking places at the time of the telling of the story. This being default allows an understanding that bias exists within story and through the construction of truth in narrative as well. But, narrative seeks to separate itself from the bias, removing the individual, speaking for a larger community.

Through the recognition of bias in history, narrative and story, it is possible to understand where gaps may exist. These points of recognition allow an outsider to glimpse not just the construction of a narrative, but also comprehending the entire picture seeing beyond the words, contexts and cultures to construct their own truth from the narratives. This capacity to see a narrative as a whole provides a multifocal perspective that allows a narrative to view into the past, and see where the future may be changed.

So, a story becomes part self-discovery and self-exploration through the telling of it. As an individual tells their story, they may emphasize certain aspects of their story, highlighting themselves in a certain light, while glossing over less desirable attributes. It is through this subtle selection of events and iconography that a storyteller begins to explore who they have become through the telling of this story. They are able to position themselves better in the world that they have created or fit into an "other" constructed paradigm. Through the position of the self in the story and beyond the story in understanding who one is, an identity and by proxy, a position within a social context is created. When an individual accentuates aspects of their story while minimizing others, they are implicitly understanding the values a community has prescribed. This understanding is manifested in the selection of parts of a story, which may be valuable or affirmed within the context of people to whom they are speaking.

Narrative and Identity

Identity like time is not static. Identity is constantly shifting and changing. It is in a constant state of flux. The only constant in identity is that it is always subject to change. Identity is continually reformed based on lived experiences. Narrative inquiry takes a snippet of the shifting identity present in each individual and provides a space for the shifting stories to be told. Narrative inquiry asks an individual to look at their life in the complex shifting planes of space,

time and place and reflect upon their own relationships within these realms. These relationships become the backbone for identity. To think that identity formation is simply telling and re-telling stories does not capture the complexities of identity formation or the shifting sands of its formation (Hollande et al., 1998). In fact, identity formation partially looks at how self-identification takes place and others co-construct a similar narrative to provide validity to a self-proclaimed identity (Nelson & Early, 2001; Andrews, 2014). Identity is not simply what one person says about themselves, but the corroboration of that story by others.

Identity and Negotiation

Identity in some ways becomes transactional, meaning a reader and a text interact in a bidirectional manner, gaining and imposing meaning from each other, to use Rosenblatt's term for how a reader and a text interact (Rosenblatt, 2005). To better understand how individuals transact to form their identity it is not possible to separate an individual from their context and still understand the same meaning, "[h]uman activities and relationships are seen as transactions in which the individual and social elements fuse with cultural and natural elements" (Rosenblatt, 2005, p. 39). This interaction is much like how a storyteller and their audience, in this case a researcher using narrative inquiry, approach a story. One individual, the storyteller, shares their experiences and the researcher, as an audience, listens and relates the story to the history and context in which it takes place. It becomes a relationship between teller and story, listener and story, context and story and meaning and story. It is through these relationships that a story becomes part of the identity. Identity formation, is then, not passive, but a very active process with more than just the storyteller involved. It becomes a constant negotiation (Goodson, 2013). A story becomes the space for this negotiation to take place. An individual looks at their lived experiences and attempts to define themselves through the actions that have shaped their experience.

The job of narrative inquirers is to take these moments of negotiation and find a place where the negotiations have ceased, and conclusions have been drawn, no matter how tentative. It is in this moment that a story moves from the space of negotiations to the space of identity formation. These spaces become strengthened each time an individual takes the time to reflect on the negotiations of the stories and moments of conclusion and re-tells their story. The act of re-telling a story by an individual is integral in the story becoming identity forming, as it gives them time to process and reflect (Andrews, 2014).

However, this identity formation does not take place in a vacuum. A story is nothing if no one hears the story or it does not resonate with readers or listeners. To provide an example in the case of being a native speaker of a language versus a non-native speaker of a language, it is through recognition by a native speaker group that one becomes a native speaker of a language (Cook, 1999). This means that even if an individual can speak a language, has flawless grammar and no noticeable accent and claims to be part of the native speaker group, but is not recognized by the community; then, they are not part of the group. However, when they are accepted by the community of native speakers as one of their own, the individual becomes part of the group. It is through acceptance not just affiliation that identity, in this case, is formed. This closely mirrors how a group accepts a story and how a storyteller becomes part of a community, much like a portal in communities of practice (Gee, 2004). When a story is told, a community must accept it as true and real, in order for the individual to become a recognized member of the group. Until that moment of acceptance, there exists a mismatch between the storyteller's identity as a member of the community and their acceptance. In some ways, these moments construct a power dynamic between the dominant and marginalized. The recognized group holds the power and ability to recognize the story of the marginalized, until that moment the storyteller has no power in their

recognition. It is in the moment that power is redistributed, through the story that it becomes part of the accepted identity. The speaker can tell their story and be accepted for their story. It is here in these moments where acceptance by others becomes important for identity formation through storying.

This moment of acceptance is where narrative inquiry becomes pivotal to those individuals who have remained voiceless through marginalization. The term "voiceless," or inability to share aspects of one's identity through constructions of power or because of affiliation within a social group, becomes important for narrative inquiry (Endo et al., 2010). Narrative inquiry provides the space for these stories to be heard and given validity. However, in the telling of a story a question is always raised about if the story factual or fictional (Andrews, 2014; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In the case of narrative, it is not necessary for the researcher to decide if a story is "fact" or "fiction" when the story is being told (Andrews, 2014). The purpose of narrative inquiry is to suspend disbelief in the short term and reinstate skepticism during the process of analysis. A researcher must be critical of what they hear, but also believing that the stories heard are not entirely fictional.

Identity through Juxtaposition

But turning from skepticism of fact and fiction, the job of narrative inquiry is to maintain a freedom to share without fear of being called a fraud or being told that an interpretation of a story is wrong. In some ways a narrative inquirer becomes a sounding board or in a moment of listening: a therapy couch, where it is a judgment free zone, just for the telling. Within this space void of judgment, another space is created. This space enables individuals to interact with the stories of others and to define themselves. Gomez (2010) talks about Latina women who use the stories of their mothers to talk about themselves. By juxtaposing their stories with those of their mothers',

the stories of the mothers are validated through the lens that the daughters measure their own stories. The interaction of stories in this manner enables a certain ability to understand oneself and provide permission for the feelings and experiences that one has had because they have been lived and survived by another. It enables the speaker to have strength in their convictions. It gives these women, who were silenced by their white teacher education peers, the opportunity to move beyond the silence that they felt and their mothers felt and reshape their stories and identities. It is through affiliation of archetypal characters with admirable strengths, their mothers, that women are able to define themselves and who they would like to be. The same could be true for the Canadian man, Michael, who met a Chinese immigrant running a convenience store, Long Him, when he was young (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000 p.53-56). His narrative ran parallel to the one told by his parents as being accepting of difference "they [Michael's parents] would be shocked and offended [by the parallel narrative] because, as he remembers them, they were so conscientiously egalitarian (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 56). The parallel narrative in this story was Michael's parents were perpetuating the stereotypes of being a Chinese immigrant in Canada. While Michael's parents thought they were being accepting, in actuality they were highlighting the Chinese immigrant's difference, in effect "othering" him. Michael only realized that his behavior was not as he had thought as he became older and was a participant in a Chinese immigrant's narrative inquiry research in his adulthood (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000 p.53-56). It is through his exploration in narrative inquiry that he begins to see the fissures present from his past and present conceptions of himself. The stories Michael told about himself and his parents helped to define himself, not as a racist, despite his actions, but as curious of cultural differences, which were later challenged in his working with another Chinese immigrant as a participant. It is the stories that

one tells and the stories others tell about us, that help to create and re-create stories. And, within these stories and affiliation with others' stories that a definition of an identity is formed.

Memory as Identity Formation

Within identity formation memory becomes pivotal. Memories are the heart of what makes up a story. Memories define who an individual is and how an individual has taken the path to selfhood. However, memory is an interesting entity. It is imperfect by nature and subject to suggestion. There are two types of misinformation that can influence memory: post-event misinformation and continued influence effect (CIE) (Ecker, Lewandowsky, Cheung & Mayberry, 2015). The *post-event misinformation* deals with the power of suggestion, when an individual is told something about an event that was not present and then remembers it as part of their memory; for example if recounting an accident and someone mentions a stop sign, but in fact there was no stop sign and the individual telling the story integrates this "fake" stop sign into the story (Ecker et al., 2015). *CIE* is when "[information] initially presented as factual but [is] subsequently corrected," but is continued to be believed as true such as in the case of weapons of mass destruction as the reason for the Iraqi war in 2003 (Ecker et al., 2015 p. 102). This means that a story will always be biased and never be entirely factual. Memories are imperfect and subjective. It is necessary to remember in the case of narrative inquiry. That is not to say that a story is not valid, just that bias needs to be recognized during the process of analysis. It is in the process of analysis that context becomes integral. Context helps a researcher to understand the potential moments of misinterpretation or outside suggestion. The context and history of a story matter, so that the researcher may have an entire picture of how this story has shaped the individual and understand where their biases lie.

Author Function

Narrative exists as part of identity formation and expression. Because an individual tells a narrative, they perceive themselves as the authors of their stories. However, the idea of "author function" questions who the author is and if it matters to the message being presented. Foucault (1984) complicated and explored the idea of author function in *What is an Author?* Author function is not easily defined, but the function has changed through the course of history. As discourse practices have changed so too has the idea of authorship. The discourse surrounding author function has changed from an act to a product (Foucault, 1984). Ultimately, this means that an author has changed from a mere thinker to a producer of an object. The idea of authorship has been reified to change the value of a story. A story has an object value and as such the role of the author has changed (Foucault, 1984). This change in some ways complicates the storytellers within narrative inquiry. The objectification of a process has transformed authorship from belonging to the realm of thoughts to one belonging to the social constructions of the modern world. It has in a sense become a commodity. As such, authorship has transformed to match the needs and desires of an ever-changing society.

It is, in a sense, creating authorship beyond the realm of writing. Authorship, although commonly associated with writing, it is not necessarily tied to the process and act of writing. Writing is just one discourse where storytelling and narrative exploration can take place (Gee, 2004). However, the more common means of expression when conducting narrative inquiry is through the telling of lived experiences, orally. Such exchanges of narrative experience bring into question the idea of authorship and author function. Focusing on the role of the story and the storyteller as a conduit and as part of the greater whole, which complicates how authorship is defined within narrative inquiry.

There exists the possibility that authorship is tied to a singular individual, but to think of authorship in such limited forms is problematic to the conception of authorship. Authorship in many ways is tied to a societal function (Foucault, 1984). Narratives and grand narratives are also tied to societal functions (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Since both authorship and narratives are tied to societal functions the extrapolation that each of these is a collective enterprise, reflecting societal norms, is not a stretch. To say that a story has a single author and is not a reflection of the context in which the story and storyteller exist is problematic (Foucault, 1984). Stories appear to be relegated to their contexts and reflect the themes of the society that the storyteller exists in (Hassett, 2006, p. 149). Authorship then becomes a reflection of a society rather than the individual. Society in some ways is reflective of collective values, making the author not just an individual but also a conduit for the stories that are valued within the community.

Society has witnessed the passage of time and brought the means of documenting these shifts through authorship into the present, enacting change as time has progressed in the westernized linear sense. Because an author has become a product of the role and the functions have changed (Foucault, 1984). An author is no longer a singular entity whereby work and credibility are tied to a name but a collective representation of a whole community, collective memory (Andrews, 2014; Hassett, 2006). This entails a change in how a storyteller is viewed within the realm of narrative inquiry. The storyteller and the story become parts of a grand narrative. The story is important for the individual, but the individual is not important to the story. A story and its telling are important for the understanding of themes within narrative inquiry.

The fronting of a story over the individual, who tells the story, is an area where narrative inquiry excels. And, author function is once again reaffirmed as no longer being about the individual, but a collective endeavor. Authorship becomes less important and the message is more

important "[w]hy does it matter who the author is?" (Foucault, 1984, p.120). This message begins to divulge the importance of content over author. Since authorship is questioned, narrative inquiry begins to open the door for the important message that communities endeavor to share. It matters less who says the story, but rather for the story to be shared.

Researcher Identity

But, it is not just the historical and geographical context of the individual that is integral for understanding narrative inquiry but how the researcher is placed within the context of finding the story. It may seem insignificant that a researcher has an impact on narrative inquiry, but how the researcher is situated brings insight into how the story of the participant is being re-told and understood.

It is in these moments that the concept of "othering" comes into play. To be considered an "other," means that one is not part of a community (Gomez & White, 2010). This concept of being "othered" can be done through lack of affiliation on the grounds of race, skin color, language, socioeconomic status, gender and experience. More often than not, to be viewed as "other" is a matter of physical appearance. Generally speaking, if a researcher looks like the participants whose stories they are seeking, the researcher may not be "othered" initially (Moss, 1992) Although, the idea of being "othered" is problematic for a researcher, the idea of being accepted is an equally great pitfall to the narrative inquiry process (Moss, 1992). If a researcher is a community member and accepted by the group that they may be researching, there may exist assumptions about the level of understanding of experiences, which may not be accurate in the situation. Despite acceptance and not being considered an outsider, a researcher, much like in the discussion of "reality" and "fiction," must be skeptical of what they know and what they perceive to know. This is especially true when community membership is put into play.

Both being "othered" and being accepted by a community have their positives and negatives when conducting narrative inquiry. A researcher's identity impacts how stories are collected. The background of a narrative inquirer as being a member of the community or being an outsider impacts how much participants may trust the narrative inquirer. This, in turn, impacts the types and qualities of stories that may be divulged on the part of the participant. A narrative inquirer's identity impacts the story collection process and interpretation.

Narrative inquirers come to their research with their own contexts or backgrounds, which must be acknowledged, so potential biases may be understood by the audience. These biases impact how a story is interpreted and the outcomes of the research. By acknowledging the biases present in ourselves, as narrative inquirers, it is possible to prevent the biases we posses from impacting how the data is viewed and interpreted.

A researcher need not be a member of the community to understand a narrative, but the affiliation and acceptance within that cultural group provides insights into a world that may otherwise be unattainable. As part of narrative inquiry, the role of the researcher requires an inherent level of trust. By belonging to a cultural group or community or in some way sharing a background, individuals are given trust. The concept of "other" comes into play when there is a difference in the perception of the research by the participants. When the researcher is "othered," by participants, the research must gain the trust of the participants, in order to elicit the most robust stories.

Time and Narrative Inquiry

Trust is earned over time, just as a story is shared over time. Both have a certain beginning and oftentimes, in the prototypical case, a hopeful ending. A western story often begins with "once upon a time" in childhood and ends with a "and they all lived happily ever after." It starts at the

beginning and finishes at the end. It is a straight line—a road map where time progress in an orderly fashion, like children lining up for the school bell. This is the form that is learned for western, and especially European American story telling.

However, life is not so neat and orderly. Time does not presuppose that events will follow in chronological succession (Foucault, 1984). This means that, although, individuals endeavor to put events on a timeline, organizing events in life, the orderly sequence of events is not always possible. Events do not neatly unfold. One event does not cause a second event. When thinking about narratives, in narrative inquiry, organizing lived experiences by the movement of time forward, is oftentimes desirable. However, the desire to organize time is not always possible.

Narrative inquiry is built upon the human desire to tell our story, organizing events so a listener may follow the progression of events in life. Narrative inquiry is built upon the idea of stories and memories. Stories and memories shape our identity. They are built on the remembrance of the past: history if you will, defining an individual and giving voice to their experiences, but time in memory is not so simple. Stories follow a time pattern that often is problematic.

However, the passage of time is not the problem, but the conceptualization of time and its events as relating to the present or past are problematic. For example, a moment in the present may trigger a remembrance of the past; looking at a tree, while walking can elicit a moment from childhood, where climbing a similar type of tree led to a fall. The trees are the not the same, the times are in no way linked, but one memory has triggered the other. It is as if there exists a hole in time where events are linked through their theme, rather than through time. The events are brought closer by the folding of time bringing the events closer although the distance in time may be further. Narrative inquiry reflects how events are presented in a sequential fashion based on the passage of time through their telling in a linear sequence. But, Foucault (2003) has problematized

the notion that time is linear. The distance of time between the events becomes of no importance but is through remembrance of one that remembrance of a second takes place. Time is not the connecting factor but what happened, and the themes produced connect events. The expression of narratives tries to create a linear time line through how the stories are told, to order our events, because perspectives of the west suggest that time should help us order the events.

Memory is the manifestation of the human remembrance and a past that is constructed on a timeline delineating the past. But, to say that memory is only progressive presumes that ideas and thoughts are only categorized through linear time, rather than thematically connected. Time marks the passage of memory, but often the foundational bits of remembrance are not cumulative through time in how one memory relates to another (Ecker et al., 2015). They, memories, are relational and one problem that narrative inquiry does not always address is how individuals presume to learn from the past adding to their cumulative knowledge. The cumulative knowledge exists beyond the passage of time. That is not to say that memory cannot be linked by the passage of time, only that to assume that the passage of time is the only link is not sufficient to understanding the deep nature of time in narrative. Narrative inquiry shows the passage of time through storying. Society often proposes that as time passes and change occurs this a sign of progress, which can be reflected in the narratives that individuals tell. But this supposition creates a one-dimensional sense of time. The idea of memory, which narrative inquiry is built upon, is not so unidirectional

Through the passage of time we learn, or so western societies presume. However, the imperfection of memory inhibits presupposition of learning from the past. Memory is imperfect and open to suggestion. The imperfection of memory is one that needs to be considered within narrative inquiry. The same principle of suspending skepticism applies when considering the

impact of memory on narrative (Andrews, 2014). The imperfection of memory may change the narrative as linear time passes. When producing narrative, many individuals shape their story through ordering events on a linear timeline. The order created by organizing using the passage of time, implies that remembrance is orderly. But, our memory is not orderly, and it is imperfect, open to suggestion and imperfect remembrance (Ecker et al., 2015). It is through thinking and hindsight that time helps to make the chronological progression between our stories and our knowledge. Time for memory is not a straight line where one event neatly follows another event and they all link together in an orderly fashion. One cause leads to a result and the progress follows a western logic. This could be exemplified through learning that a knife is sharp through cutting a finger one time rather than having to repeat the mistake multiple times. However, this simple view of learning, based on memories does not give credence to the complexities that exist within memory and narrative alike. This same western organization of time into a chronological progression often is applied to memory and how individuals are to learn from their past memories through their storying of events. However, memory and collective memory, do not exhibit this same pattern. There is no order to memory. It is connected through other means such as themes.

Although the years may pass in life as we age, going from infancy to childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age, our memories are not always categorized by time. People can remember when they were seven, but the events that occurred when they were seven may be linked by theme to an event when a person is thirty. The event may be put in chronological order, but when we talk about them, the passage of time is inconsequential. We place these events near one another on the basis that talking about one event helps us to remember the other event. It is not by age that we remember, but by theme (Foucault, 1984).

Narrative and counter-stories

It is said that history is only told from the perspective of the winner. In the case of American history, the surviving party is narrator of the story that has been written into the textbooks. Every child learns the adage of how "Columbus sailed the ocean blue in 1492" and brought the Pilgrims to the new world to have their freedom from the tyranny of England. However, the story that is untold in the history books is one where the Pilgrims became the holders of tyrannical power over the natives. It is through this story that we can see the power that narrative creates. Two pictures of the same event exist, but only the one that paints the dominant power on their good side, exists for mass consumption. The other less told story and often ignored story is the counter-story.

A counter-story has a very important function in narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry captures moments through stories. These stories are told in such a way that the speaker or storyteller is reflecting upon their past actions within the context of their history. The history of a story is significant for understanding how the story came to be and why it matters for the storyteller (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). A context is essential in understanding the meaning behind a lived experience. It is in this context that counter-stories become important (Gomez, 2009; Xu & Connelly, 2009). A context is what changes a simple experience and places it into a story and may engender it into a counter-story.

A counter-story exists as a counter balance to the dominant story. Counter-stories come into being through their telling and re-telling; but what makes a counter-story is the narrator. A counter-story runs parallel to the dominant story (Nelson, 2010). This means that two or more stories exist at the same time. One affordance that narrative inquiry makes is that stories can exist that contradict one another and that does not make either story less valid, just different perspectives. Narrative inquiry seeks a sort of "truth" for the teller. However, narrative inquirers

understand that there is more than one truth. Truth like many other ideals is contextual (Andrews, 2014). This means that the truth for one individual may be very different from the truth for another individual. The job of a narrative inquirer is not to decide whose truth is more correct, merely to listen to both truths and find the stories that resonate most for each individual, seeking to find the themes that are repeated by other individuals. A researcher must then draw conclusions about an idea or an aspect of a person's sense of how a moment has shaped them and in that moment the story becomes relevant to the researcher, not the perception of truth, but the emotions present in the story that has been integral to the teller.

Although it may appear that narrative inquiry attempts to find the truth for each individual and this is what creates a counter-story, but a counter-story is more about telling snippets that are untold. In the case of the nurses in Nelson's (2001) book *Damaged Identities: Narrative Repair*, the counter-story was a manner to speak against the dominant narrative that was prevalent in their profession. It was a narrative about the incompetency of women and nurses, how the act of providing care in a personal manner was somehow less than the work of the male doctors. In this case a counter-story becomes about changing the narrative to better represent the work that is being done by essential workers in the healthcare field. It was about providing validity to a job that is primarily dominated by women, a marginalized group, and giving them an opportunity to showcase the importance of their work (Endo et al., 2010). Narrative inquiry provides a space for people to change the narrative that permeates a situation. To infuse not just one side of the story, but the multifaceted nature of the story, showcasing the complexities that are often swept aside in lieu of a simpler more status quo opinion of the situation.

Narrative and power

Power is integrally tied to the ideas of dominant and non-dominant identities in society. In the United States of America, the dominant group is the White middle-class man. This social identity holds cultural capital, inherent in their being, not as a byproduct of their actions (Hollande et al., 1998). As the dominant group, these individuals are endowed with a power that gives their messages a validity that is lacking in the non-dominant group. This idea of cultural capital is integrally tied to status (Bourdieu, 1991). In society, it is possible to see the strata that define society through lines such as race, culture and money. These striations within society help to define the many places that individuals hold within the greater organization of a society. As these striations become fixed within society, the capacity for social mobility is often stifled. This stifling comes in many forms, beyond changing different levels in the socioeconomic realm, but in terms of narrative these striations define who has a right to speak and who has the obligation to listen to these stories (Norton, 2013; Mchoul 1978). These distinctions between the lines of society also provide the regulations of who possesses a story that has merit and who does not. These constructions within a society distribute power. And, power distribution enables different members of different striations within a society to judge whose story possess merit and whose is invalid to the grand narrative of the society. Through the prescribed power structure inherent in society, it is possible to ignore stories so that the grand narrative has continuity and it is individuals within the marginalized communities that are often viewed as possessing invalid stories. The role of narrative inquiry is to break down the prescribed barriers within the striations of society and enable the necessary mobility of validity so that the grand narrative of a society may accurately reflect the stories of all parts of the society, not just those that paint the dominant group in its most flattering light.

Stories are inherent in each individual and the motivation behind them is to present the "truths" behind our individual beings. Oftentimes, this means presenting stories that exhibit what we would like to see ourselves as being. This more often then not displays a positive light on the storyteller. However, the true motivation beyond stories, especially those that are not always flattering is the idea of hope. It is in hope that most power is found. Many individuals come forward to share their stories, often under the cloak of anonymity, so that their lived experiences can be understood and related to by others. Not all lived experiences are negative, but the shaping experiences for marginalized populations are often times ones that are fraught with struggle. It paints different groups in different lights, where the dominant groups are seen as hoarding power and displacing the ideas of less powerful individuals in lieu of maintaining their perceived ideas of order. Defining their status within a society, where they are always dominant and those that are lesser in status are never right, but always inferior (Nelson, 2001). It is through this continued belief that marginalized individuals are inferior, that power is reaffirmed as belonging to the dominant group. By turning a deaf ear to those that have a voice, but not the power to be recognized, dominant groups maintain their status within a society, for example, "the patterns they [the doctors] displayed of contempt for women have to be acknowledged…[and] made it possible for her to agree that the doctors' story about nurses…needed to be resisted" (Nelson, 2001 p. 5). But it is through this struggle that growth comes to take place. And growth and change are where power is repossessed.

The redistribution of power is one manner that narrative inquiry gives voice to the voiceless. Individuals become storytellers on a daily basis. It is through the telling of daily events and having them heard and sympathized with that an individual becomes a storyteller; this role is not one that is given conscious thought, but merely happens through the process of telling and re-

telling. But these daily litany stories are not the ones that make narrative inquiry and redistribute power. These stories are not identity forming and that is what makes them unique from narratives. It is through the acceptance and retelling of these stories that they become narratives. It is in the retelling when the stories become more than just a day at the office that power comes into play. Power is manifested at the boundary of events Clandinin and Connelly (2004) extensively discuss the idea of boundary. Boundaries are where significant events take place for an individual storyteller. So, it is possible to draw a conclusion that power sits on the border of these events. It is in these moments that a speaker can define who is or was in power and either juxtapose themselves against the power or identify as the individual holding the power. It is through their placement in their own story that power is manifested. Storytellers can either be the victims of the situation, the individual who repossesses the power or a little of both. It is at the point in a story that an individual realizes that their position in the story is not adequate for how they define themselves that power begins to be redistributed.

This power that is discussed does not have one single source, but the idea of power is inherent throughout the discussion of narrative inquiry. Power can stem from hegemonic principles used to describe people's demographic profiles: race, age, culture, skin color, socioeconomic status and gender. Each of these profiles comes with its own inherent power. In narrative inquiry, traditionally marginalized groups, women, racial minorities, such as African Americans and Hispanics, are the subjects of study (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Dyson, 1997; Endo et al., 2010; Gomez, 2010; Nelson, 2001). They use these stories along with narrative inquirers to take back their power. That is not to say that dominant groups cannot provide powerful stories in narrative inquiry, just the commonplace groups studied in such research are those traditionally marginalized.

And these traditionally marginalized groups often have very little voice in the worlds in which they live.

Power and voice are integrally related. One's voice, not a physical voice, but the idea of saying a story or message and having it heard is the idea of voice. The concept of being heard is what gives a voice power. It is through recognition that power is redistributed to that of the speaker. Without the hearing of the story, there can be no recognition. Without the recognition that a story is "valid," then the power would remain as the status quo. It is the reimagining of the status quo through recognition of a story where the voiceless are given their voice.

Power like many unseeable and untouchable entities is one that is constantly shifting. And it is through narratives that people begin to define themselves. They begin by telling the story that has been created by them. A story that is full of experiences and has been pivotal to where they are in the present moment. Narrative inquiry is a foray into the world of experiences. Narrative is the telling of experiences that shape people (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). These experiences become part of how power is perceived and helps individuals to situate themselves in the world. Narrative inquiry becomes a tool to shape how power is manifested in the world of the storyteller.

Cultural capital

The idea of cultural capital is inscribed in the notion and construction of power. Power is more than just the forces that turn on the lights in our living spaces but help position us within the scope of our social environments. The social environment is the construction of our space through the elements of culture and society (Hollande et al., 1998; Lefebvre, 1991). It is the positioning of elements that are valued within a community such as money, social status and language, which construct an environment and the quantity of each of these entities are what constitute power. However, these are just a few of the elements that are necessary for a social

environment to be constructed. Suffice it to say that power is an integral part to shaping a social environment and the idea behind power relates to status that is often implicitly understood, but rarely discussed beyond the circles of close friends and families. In this case, status refers to the idea of the position one holds in society and how others position themselves in relation to that status (Bourdieu, 1991). This status that is understood, but rarely talked about is defined through the culture where one is situated. Ultimately, this means cultural values define status in a society. This status of an individual defines how she is perceived, which leads to if her voice will have an impact on others. The impact of their voice relates to narrative inquiry as the space for a story to be told and heard. It is all well and good to tell your story, but if no one hears it and there is no impact made, then a story becomes moot. No aspect of society is impacted, and the story cannot carry out its intended function of identity formation, empowerment, reshaping of identity or reappropriation of a narrative.

Voice and story are interwoven. A voice is the ideas of sharing a message and telling a story. This story, however, must have a function, not just a story that is told for a laugh or in complaint, but an intended function beyond mere entertainment. Much like the stories that nurses told about their relationships with doctors (Chan et al., 2012; Nelson, 2001). It was through these stories that the statuses of the nurses were defined in relation to the doctors. But, these stories acted as a manner to redefine how they were viewed. It gave credence to the stories they told, and value was added to their experiences. The stories of the nurses had a function. They were changing the narratives that had been told. They were regaining their status as professionals and recapturing their lost cultural capital. The nurses were repositioning themselves within their peers so that they may be recognized beyond the circle of their peers by those possessing more cultural capital, in this case doctors (Nelson, 2001). The idea of a story must have a function for a voice to matter and

that voice is imbued with a multitude of linguistic factors that inhibit and enable the message. Cultural capital is tied to the function of a story and its linguistic tokens.

The idea of voice is tied to many linguistic concepts, which relate to the telling of one's story and the story's status in society. A literal voice becomes a boundary for how a status is perceived. Although it may not be fair, the perception of an accent informs how people perceive the speaker of a story. In narrative inquiry, this idea of accent informing the story beyond just the words used and the message has to do with the orality of storytelling. When a participant shares their story with a researcher their accent creates a bias within the researcher. Accents are ingrained in an individual, they are learned when speech is learned. But, the perceptions of accents are ingrained in much the same that our own accents are part of the identity one possesses. Since an accent bias may exist within a researcher this is problematic for narrative inquiry. A researcher is supposed to remain neutral when hearing the story and suspend their opinions of participants. They are, as Andrews (2014) pointed out, supposed to suspend their opinions and beliefs until the point of analysis. However, the supposition of this neutrality is problematic for narrative inquiry. To believe that anyone has the innate ability to turn on and off their biases at a whim suggests a robotic nature to research that strips them of their humanity. Researchers are human beings and as such come to their research with previous knowledge and experience. In some ways, this what shapes research, the knowledge, biases and experiences that have garnered the researcher's interest. To ignore these, does not do justice to the research. These biases are instrumental in how people are perceived. As both Andrews (2014) and Clandinin and Connelly (2004) discuss the conductor of research needs to understand how their role as a researcher of narrative inquiry impacts the understanding of a story. As Andrews (2014) mentioned it is not within the scope of a researcher to judge the story as it is being told, but upon analysis to examine for these for their validity. This

can be extended to perceptions of linguistic tokens as well. Linguistic tokens are moments of speech or Bahktin's utterances. Utterances are a moment of speech by an individual, which are a social function (Bakhtin, 1986). Although society has come to expect a listener and a certain interactional component to utterances, that is not the case for the true definition of utterance. In narrative inquiry an utterance has the potential to be heard and interpreted as a goal of the research. A researcher must put aside their tendency to judge a participant based upon their accent, grammar, semantics or syntax, focusing on the message rather than the wrapping of the message.

Ultimately the ideas of the wrapping of a message relates to cultural capital and narrative inquiry. An individual with less cultural capital has less power. Cultural capital and power are intertwined and to talk about them separately ignores the contexts wherein power operates. To understand one, it is often necessary to understand the other. Power is produced through the use of cultural capital. In a manner of speaking, cultural capital is like monetary currency, in the sense that it exists as a manner to purchase and the old adage "money talks" is related to cultural capital. The major difference between currency and cultural capital is that it cannot be exchanged, only earned. It is not possible for one individual to give some of their cultural capital to someone who possesses less. They must earn it. However, a researcher can help them to gain cultural capital through allowing them to share their message or by treating them as an equal. Power can be redistributed through actions. This is often seen in classroom environments, where the teacher possesses the power (Kasper, 2004). This is viewed through where they stand, their ability to decide who speaks when and by assigning grades. This is a manifestation of power, but society imparts the teacher with power in the classroom. This is done through functions of status, generally age and social class in this case. Adults are seen as possessing greater power, when related to children. This is complicated in adult learning situations, but in a traditional classroom the teacher

is older than the students providing a certain respect and power dynamic. However, power can be redistributed when a teacher shares speaking responsibilities, when a teacher allows students to share their opinions and listens to them. The shifting of power dynamics and cultural capital can be seen in the Author's Theatre that Dyson (1997) writes about in her book *Writing Superheroes*. Children are allowed to share their writing and, in some manners, control the classroom, redistributing power so that students become the experts, rather than the teacher. The shifting of power changes how the students view themselves and each other as valuable members of a classroom community. Often, the redistribution of power in this manner translates into the world beyond the classroom. And, the shifting of power redistributes cultural capital.

Redistribution of cultural capital is a significant factor and motivation within the scope of narrative inquiry. Individuals who possess more cultural capital have more opportunities to share their opinions and experiences. Individuals who have less cultural capital, generally those from marginalized backgrounds, do not have the same authority to share and be heard when they share their message. Take for example, Labov's (1972) famous work related to accent and social status. Labov's (1972) work looked at different women working in department stores with different more pronounced accents. The department stores exhibited three different price points low, medium and high, each correlated with different socioeconomic statuses (Labov, 1972). The lower price point had workers and shoppers with more pronounced accents associated with lower socioeconomic status, whereas the higher price point had workers and shoppers with a more neutral, preferred accent. These individuals were treated with less respect when they had a stronger accent and more respect when their accent was less apparent. As such, individuals exhibited more pronounced accents indicative of their region when they were from a lower socioeconomic status, represented through working in the lower price-point store (Labov, 1972). The perceptions of individuals are

greatly impacted by the wrapping of the message. The external factors that become dimensions of identity are significant to how a message is perceived. The meddling of these is both internal and external factors. These external factors are not necessarily choices that are made consciously by the individual such as race, skin color, ethnicity and gender. These aspects of an individual's identity ultimately impact their cultural capital in society. Their power is tied to external factors and this impacts how their story is heard and perceived.

Narrative inquiry provides space for accents, skin color, gender and race, to be minimized so that a story may have the force to be heard by those who possess more cultural capital and to enact change and exercise their status to enable change to be recognized as a necessity. This capacity can be done through how people's words and narratives are presented, fitting the molds of a larger scope of the population. The hope is that through the mechanism of recording and analyzing stories for their greater significance that a redistribution of cultural capital can take place. Those with less cultural capital can gain the ability to have their voices heard regardless of their external factors and lack of cultural capital and perceived social status.

Operationalizing Methodology

International students are becoming more prevalent in American universities, especially at Lake City University. As the number of international students increases and the world becomes more globalized and transient, the need for consideration of the needs and wants of this unique group of students becomes more imperative. These students are not children, but adults who have completed their compulsory education prior to acceptance at a university. Having had the experience of at least thirteen years of education, these students have some idea of what works for their educational spaces and what makes it more difficult for them to accomplish their goals in education. Thus, inquiry into the spaces that students have been "academically raised"

and where they would like to go, will provide invaluable insight into creating spaces where education can be curated by students and co-constructed by students and teachers in an effort to redistribute the hierarchical power inherent in classroom spaces.

ESL, English as a Second Language, students are a unique group to conduct research with, especially when conducting research in the participants' non-dominant language, in this case English. It is not possible to call it their second language, meaning any language that was acquired after acquisition of their native language. A second language may not actually match the number of the language, it merely denotes that subsequent languages are being learned or have been acquired. Second language does not mean that it is actually the second language, merely that it is a language that is not the dominate language of the speaker. It can denote a third or fourth language, even though it is called a "second" language. To clarify this point, one of the participants was from Vietnam and he spoke Vietnamese, French and English. Both, French and English would be considered his second language, since they are his non-dominant language. The distinction between native and non-native, first and second is a debate that is best described as sticky. As such, this is not the space for this debate, merely terms have been chosen to describe language use for these participants that have taken or are taking ESL courses at Lake City University, a large university in a mid-size Midwestern town.

Ultimately, when in possession of multiple languages individuals find themselves having an inherent preference toward one language in relation to the others that they may use and know. Usually this is their native language, but not necessarily. It depends on the context of the students and the duration of their language stay and use. The language participants preferred, in the case of this study, was not English since it was not their dominant language; however, their language level was of the high intermediate to advanced level. Their inherent ease and comfort was in a

language other than English. Individuals in possession of multiple languages may even exhibit different characteristics or personality traits when using one language over another, becoming quieter as parameters of Vygotsky's (1978) language learning comes into play. Participants and language learners alike may encounter their monitor, face-saving techniques and the affective filter, which prevent them from speaking or acting within the classroom spaces or research spaces. As each of these components of the self come into play, a participant alters what they may say or how they say it. This lack of ease in the language of the research conducted, is an area that needs to be remembered through the data collection and analysis phases of the research.

When working with participants in their non-dominant language, there are moments of incomprehension and re-casting, where questions are re-phrased, clarified or even modified for the participant to understand. When conducting the research there were even moments where the question was lost in translation and the answer was absent from the intended question and answer. But within the data collection, these moments of tangent, provide a glimpse into the participants, comprehension and ease in the language that they are working to acquire, providing indirect insight into the process and space for language acquisition. As the participants constructed meaning in the space of the survey and interviews, they were manifesting spaces of learning as an event exterior to the confines of the traditional classroom space. The manipulation and construction of learning as event, helps students to control their spaces, making learning as an event possible.

Population

Participation in this research study was voluntary, although compensation was offered to entice participants to participate in a multi-phased study. All the participants in this study were current students at the time of data collection. The participants in the study were in the process of

completing their ESL requirements. Most of the participants had spent at least two semesters in the ESL program, making their English high intermediate to low-advanced in level.

Understanding the language level of the participants is essential as language acquisition makes comprehension and expression difficult for both the researcher and participants. However, the understanding and fluidity within language learning speaks to the increasingly blurry boundaries between languages. As language contact is no longer just at geographic borders, but are in constant contact, especially at Lake City University and in Lake City. Lake City University is a large R1 research institution that boasts 2,397 international undergraduate students, 347 visiting international scholars, 2,536 and an overall international population of 5,280 (Lake City Registrar, 2016). These numbers speak to the growing population of international students and how their environment needs to be considered so that their education can be as fruitful as their native peers. The population of international students is important to understand because they are an increasing presence at Lake City University and other universities like it. Since these students and scholars are in constant contact with speakers of their native language and the dominate language of Lake City University: English, language boundaries are blurred for this international population. This blurring of boundaries become increasingly important as the language boundaries are no longer fixed in the age of globalization, speakers are becoming as Jan Blommaert (2010, p.28) states "*mobile* speakers." Ultimately the term, *mobile* speakers, speaks to the population of the study since their very nature results on their placement, straddling the boundaries of their home country and their country of education. Their language use is fluid and the environments that cater to this fluidity is mirroring the blurred boundaries of language and globalization, making the manipulation and curation of these spaces essential to language proficiency and acquisition.

A list of ESL students in the ESL department at Lake City University was collected and included 713 students. Each of these students was enrolled or had been enrolled in an ESL course at the time of the study. The ESL department at Lake City University has around five hundred to one thousand students each academic year, including students from around the world. In the last few years the general demographic includes students from South East Asia, including China, South Korea, Vietnam and Thailand. That is not to say there have not been students from other countries, merely that the majority of students that make up the population of the ESL department at Lake City University consist of individuals from these areas.

The ESL department has two programs for ESL students. The two programs are an intensive English program (IEP), for students only focusing on English, and an academic track program, for currently enrolled university students. One of the programs, the academic track, is for the integration and acquisition of necessary academic skills for university level work. The other program is an intensive English program (IEP), which focuses on academic skills, but not all students are in pursuit of a post-secondary degree. The goals of the two programs differ in that the intensive program focuses on helping students acquire skills for post-secondary admission or return to their job with a higher English language competence. The academic track prepares students to perform better in their academic courses.

The academic track program for degree seeking students at Lake City University, includes classes about grammar, reading and writing. Each of the five courses offered for degree-seeking students focuses on readying students for academic integration and completion of university level work. Students will enter the program with varying degrees of English competence, ranging from low-intermediate to advanced. Students are assessed and placed in the appropriate course based on placement tests. The duration of the program can be from five

semesters to as little as one semester. These courses are required for international students but are taken concurrently with courses required for degree completion. Many of the skills learned in the ESL courses are applied to their degree courses, helping students to gain the confidence and skills to enable them to complete their degree more effectively.

The Intensive English Program (IEP) again focuses on the standard ESL skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. The IEP at Lake City University meets for twenty hours a week and focuses on the skills of reading, writing, speaking and listening. Students are grouped by level and the classes contain no more than eighteen students. The students are placed into a level and stay with the same students in the same class during the day. The teachers change for each class, but the students do not. Students are assessed prior to placement, using much the same method as the degree seeking students, with the addition of an oral interview. Students are then placed into a level. Upon completion of the program the ESL students are ready for entry into a university program or to return to their career. The students that attend the IEP are more varied in the demographics, not concentrated in South East Asian region, but throughout the world. Most students remain in attendance of the IEP for one academic year.

The participants of this study were solely from the degree seeking program rather than the IEP. All students in the ESL program were invited to participate in the study, but the degree seeking students were the only ones that responded to the survey and interview requests. There are several reasons for this one being that the students in the IEP at Lake City University may not feel that their language proficiency level was adequate to engage in a discussion about their English learning experiences. It could also be that the survey was not promoted to the same level within the IEP courses as it was to the degree seeking students. Either way, the students that

chose to participate in the study provided robust information pertaining to their experiences learning English both in their home country and the USA.

Method

Working with individuals who are providing their experiences in their second language requires a certain amount of finesse and patience. These individuals were straddling the delicate boundary between their experiences and how they felt about these classes. Most of the students that take ESL courses at Lake City University are not happy about their placements, since most of them have had English training in their home countries, other universities or through private tutoring. These students often feel that these courses are redundant and are not helping them to accomplish their academic goals. The classes that are offered in the ESL department do not count towards students' graduation requirements, with the exception of the terminal writing course in the program. Because of this setup to encourage students to learn the skills, these students often feel that the courses are taking up valuable time in their endeavor to complete their degrees within four years. But, this research is not about the perceptions that these students had towards taking developmental writing and reading courses, but about their experiences in the classrooms where English proficiency was the goal in reading, writing, speaking and listening.

In order to allow these students to process the questions and think about their experiences, a mix-method study was conducted. This study could be considered a form of triangulation, but the initial goal was to give the participants the necessary means to process their experiences and the language to express their ideas and emotions related to acquiring English in both their home countries and at an English-speaking university without the pressure of an initial interview. When interviewing individuals in their second language, it is very important to remember that various techniques may be taken by these individuals so that they do not make language errors. Although,

the participants were continually reminded that their language was not being judged nor were their answers, it is an ingrained and instinctual need to protect one's self from making errors and to minimize embarrassment, face-saving techniques (Mondada & Doehler, 2004). So, a survey was created to begin to scaffold or encourage these participants to think about their experiences in a certain manner. This often mirrors what is done in their English classroom, where students are given the time to process and write and re-write their answers. In the case of this survey, the participants could take as much time as they desired to provide their answers to the questions that were set forth in the thirty-nine question survey. At the end of the survey, the participants could choose to participate in a follow-up oral interview. The follow-up oral interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and a half. The oral interview utilized similar questions to the survey and delved deeper into students' experiences.

Ultimately using the two methods of data collection yielded robust data from multiple angles. From the surveys, it was possible to gain quantitative data to measure the sample against the general population of international students at Lake City University. It also provided additional narrative data for participants who were unable to provide interview data. But, most importantly, the survey maintained anonymity for these individuals so their opinions and voices could be heard. The interviews provided depth, which is often missing in quantitative studies. It allowed there to be faces put to the opinions of the community that is often mixed with the general student population. Their experiences had the opportunity to be showcased in multiple ways.

Oftentimes with narrative inquiry the scope of the study is small, but deep (Andrews, 2014; Clandinin & Connely, 2000; Gomez, 2010; Kohler-Reissman, 2007). However, the depth provides insight into a community that does not always have a voice. But, since the studies are

small it is often hard to generalize to a larger population. But, by utilizing mixed-methods it was possible to gain data from a larger section of the community so as to be representative of a larger portion. It is possible for this to speak to more than just a small population, but one that is wider in nature. The triangulation within the study also allows for continuity and reliability within the data and analysis. The themes that emerge from one portion of the study can be compared to the other portion. This creates a bridge between the data, but also speaks to the overarching themes that emerge from cross-sections of the data. This reliability within data types allows for there to be comparison amongst the types of data collection.

When utilizing a single method of data collection, especially when it is qualitative in nature, there is also a question of replicability. By their nature related to the contexts in which data is collected, it is possible to say that data could never be reproduced because each context for collection is different. Context in this case means the surround attributes for the participants. Ultimately, time, place and experience factor into the collection of data. Because context is not able to be reproduce, the triangulation within the study provides weight to the data and analysis. This makes the study one wherein the data has the capacity to allow its findings to generalize to a wider range of individuals. Hopefully, this will allow ESL students to have recognition brought to their experiences and spaces. Their stories and the narrative that is ultimately constructed surrounding their spaces may enable there to be changes within the existing spaces for language acquisition allowing for greater diversity and willingness to acquire a language.

Survey

The value of a survey within a qualitative study seems like an oxymoron of sorts. Surveys are often about numbers and letting trends speak and the numbers provide the facts. However, this survey was intentioned as a manner to bridge the gap and minimize language related anxiety.

L2 learners often face moments of panic when asked to discuss topics that are unfamiliar and may lead to language errors. To minimize this, a survey was created so that time constraints and face-to-face interactions and expectations could be alleviated. Participants would then have the time to write and re-write their responses without the fear of judgement. The goal of this survey was to function as a priming tool for the participants to think and write about their experiences. However, the results were slightly different than expected. The data that was gathered from the survey was not as intended, which was to be just a manner to gather demographics and engage participants in thinking about what they may want to say during their interviews. But what resulted from the surveys was more than just demographic data, it provided usable and fruitful insight into student experiences.

The survey was designed by the researcher. It utilized a secure server that anonymized the data, so that participants did not have to provide their names unless they elected to participate in a follow-up interview. This was designed for the participants to express themselves freely and talk about their experiences within and beyond the classroom.

In order to access robust data, multiple question types were created. The first type of question that was created was multiple choice, allowing for a single answer selection. This type of question was designed for collection of demographic information about the participants.

The next type of question that was used involved open-ended questions asking participants to describe their classrooms. Most participants provided physical descriptions of the layout of their classrooms, which when asked about a space is the most common area an individual thinks about. This provided a general backdrop of the different classroom formations in terms of organization of desks, teachers, students and the blackboard.

The third question type was comparative in nature, asking students to pick their preference of language learning setting. This was used to determine an environment type so that a follow-up open-ended question could be asked so as to understand what made some environments more or less anxiety inducing. It also provided an interesting insight into the type of language, formal or informal, which participants preferred to learn. This was unintended in terms of what the question was asking but speaks to the needs that education as an event needs to accommodate.

Finally, the last question type asked participants to rank their experiences using a Likert scale. The Likert scale was comparative in nature because of the implicit nature of ranking against other entities. It asked to compare their classroom interactions in their home country and at Lake City University. They were to rank who was the central communicator within the classroom space for both their home country and Lake City University. This was not followed by an open-ended question in the survey but was discussed within the interview.

Although the survey was meant to function as means to inform the face-to-face interview questions, which it did, it ultimately provided rich data on its own. The survey seemed to provide honest answers since it was anonymous. The participants spoke to their likes and dislikes without fear of retaliation, because their names were not linked to their responses, unless they chose them to be. This freedom to respond generated data that informed not just the interview questions, but also yielded data in its own right. Because there were no time constraints placed on the competition of the survey, the participants could take the survey at their leisure as well as stop and start. Since it was available on both mobile devices and computers, the flexibility to respond on whatever means, most likely lead to a higher response rate.

Ultimately, the survey response rate was relatively high for the proportion which it was sent to. There were about one hundred responses to the survey, with many overlapping themes, which will be discussed later.

Despite their digital nature, there was surprising depth in some of the responses that would have led to fruitful interviews, but the participants did not always choose to participate in the interview process. Although this was a disappointment, their responses were adequate in providing the information to generate questions to the participants in the interview.

Interviews

Interviews are the foundation of narrative inquiry. Therefore, it was a forgone conclusion that interviews would be used as a means for data collection. But, interviews were complicated for this particular subset of participants since the data was being collected in their L2. L2 participants often needs special considerations when conducting spontaneous speech interviews that are focused on content rather than language use.

As has been discussed, when working with L2 learners there are inherent complications, often discussed within works about working with L2 learners. Vygotsky (1978) discussed them through his work, which was then taken up by individuals such as Bilmes, 1988; Guaïtella, 1998; He, 2004; Kasper, 2004; Lantoff & Thorne 2006; Markee, 2004; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mchoul, 1978; Mondada & Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004; Wagner, 2004 to name but a few. Each of these researchers talked about managing the complexities of anxieties of L2 participants in classroom, which translates to interactions that include the exclusive use of their L2 over their L1. Having worked with L2 learners mitigating the affective filter and monitor to allow participant to produce their most genuine answers without fear of errors is often reduced through using scaffolding techniques, whereby individuals are given tools or time to

practice to help gain the skills necessary to complete a task with confidence (Canagarajah, 2004; Gutiérrez, 2008; Ivey & Johnston, 2013; Krashen, 1984). The purpose of the pre-survey was to give potential participants the opportunity to think through their answers and manipulate the language that they planned to use. Thus, the interviews were meant to invoke the least amount of anxiety possible for these potential participants.

The interviews were intended to be structured and a full list of questions was prepared prior to the first interview. This was meant to give a certain consistency when processing data and analyzing the data that was collected. However, the list quickly became a guide after the overly formal and anxiety inducing first interview. The structured interview caused the topics to jump from idea to idea rather than following a more natural progression that enabled follow-up questions from ideas expressed in each question. This more natural conversation style of semi-structured interview allowed for the participants to ask for clarifications and expand on ideas, even in some cases they went back to questions to expand as one idea led to another. Although this was more disorganized form of data collection made processing data and analysis slightly more difficult the data was more organic. It also allowed the participants to allow their language to be fluent rather than overly structured.

Despite the semi-structured nature of the interviews there were a few questions that were continually placed within the interviews because these questions yielded very robust data. The questions that were always asked beyond the demographic questions revolved around the participants' memory of their early English classrooms in their home country, their classrooms throughout compulsory school and their classrooms in their current university setting. Each of these questions was asked as paper and pen were placed on the writing surface nearest them. It yielded tactile data, meaning the participants drew their classroom spaces. Another question that

was always asked was about what the participant's ideal classroom space would look like and why. Again, this question generated a drawn diagram of the spaces that they preferred. These drawings were unintended but extremely helpful in understanding where the participants had started and done the bulk of their learning and where they would like their classrooms to move to.

Most of the interview questions asked the participants to discuss their experiences acquiring their L2: English. The data generated stories of their education lives that were peppered with emotions, speaking to the multiple layers that spaces include beyond just the physical constructions and linguistic landscapes of the classroom spaces. Ultimately, this speaks to the complexity present within the walls of the classroom and how education as an event must move beyond the walls to encompass the topography of the spaces where students are.

The interviews allowed a glimpse through the eyes of the participants as they navigated the complexities of their situations and changing cultures within the spaces of education. Although they were often unaware of the social, linguistics and culture gymnastics that they performed, they nonetheless spoke about the challenges of their spaces and emotions that were provoked throughout their experiences.

Analysis

The analyses of each artifact collected in this multi-modal study uses inductive and deductive metrics much like Gomez and White (2009). The themes were inductive in that they revolved around the patterns that reoccurred for the participants. These themes were emergent in the data that was presented by the participants; they were not pre-meditated on the part of the researcher. The themes came from the data, as the data was analyzed. They emerged through the telling of the lived experiences of these students (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The artifacts

were deductive because themes emerged from the data collected that were expected. It was expected that students would talk about how their educational settings in their home countries as more structured and rigid, whereas the United States presented a more relaxed atmosphere where students and teachers were not so segregated.

The survey data was analyzed, like the interview data, using inductive and deductive means. The surveys, despite including Likert-scaled items, multiple choice and true/false questions, yielded the most robust data in the open-ended questions. These written artifacts were used in conjunction with the interview data to observe the themes that occur across metrics. Although there were no drawn artifacts in the survey data, there were stories that emerged about the experiences of the participants. These stories were used to triangulate the data, giving gravitas to the small sample size of the interview data (n=6) (Mays & Pope, 1995).

Finally, the drawings will be utilized to understand what the students want in their classrooms. This is a truly inductive analysis, because there were no expectations of what students would want. It was expected that they would not want fixed classroom settings, such as lecture halls with immobile desks. However, the theme that emerged within these drawings spoke to the desire for equity in access to each other and the teacher. This theme was not predicted but was emergent upon the continued interviews with the participants that explained what they preferred in the classroom and why.

Conclusion

Narrative inquiry, as a methodology, is not without drawbacks, but it has the capacity to fulfill the needs and wants of both a researcher and their participants. It is a space where disbelief is suspended on the part of the researcher allowing for a certain safety for the storyteller in the face of sharing a counter narrative that poses a risk to individuals. Inherently, all stories have

some risk when being shared. It is possible for a story to be rejected if the listener does not agree. This risk could be greater depending on the story's position within the social hierarchy. When challenging a dominant narrative, the risk of exclusion and being ostracized is a reality that exists not in the metaphoric sense, but in actuality. This risk is a reality because by sharing one's narrative, which runs counter to the accepted narrative, one may not be accepted. But it is in this moment of risk that the most is to be gained by sharing one's perspective of the world, one where a change to the status quo means change and evolution.

Evolution, change and recognition are three of the pillars of narrative inquiry. The scale of the study may not enact widespread change, but it nonetheless acts as a call to action. It is a wake-up call to the inconsistencies and moments of fissures within a society, whereby individuals lose their capacity to speak. They become voiceless through the constraints of a society that does not recognize that difference and injustice exist. Injustice is, unfortunately, part of society, but recognition through narrative inquiry is a stepping-stone on the path of change. Narrative inquiry affords researchers a glimpse into the lives of others and the capacity for understanding. These moments are the goal of narrative inquiry; to find a space where storytellers share their lived experiences and themes emerge so patterns can be seen. The patterns, although, small are the start of understanding.

Chapter 4: Data

Introduction to Data

In talking to students, as a teacher, it became apparent that their experiences and attitudes toward learning English was shaped well before their two feet landed on American soil. But the most interesting aspect was the metamorphosis their English learning took. As they entered the classroom, there was trepidation, resistance and a general air of exasperation. And, in working with foreign students for so long, the implication of why never left me. I often wonder/ed about their previous experiences and how it has shaped their perceptions of their current environments. These ESL students evolved from when they entered the classroom, some more than others, but they appeared if not changed by their experiences, at least open to the American way of learning a second language. This change in perception led to the research questions:

1. How do students experience their educational spaces, both the physical space and beyond the physical?

2. How does a linguistic landscape help us understand the social construction of space?

3. How does the linguistic landscape include and/or exclude students from the spaces where a classroom is co-constructed?

    b. How can exclusion be minimized to ensure students are in control of their own spaces and education?

4. How can spaces be shaped to meet the needs of students from their own lived experiences?

In narrative inquiry, it is necessary to gather stories from individuals' lived experiences and their remembrances of these events (Andrews, 2014; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Nelson,

2001). However, in working with students who are using their second language, allowing for the preparation of answers and the associated language is not just a kindness, but a means of procuring robust data. Therefore, a survey utilizing questions that were measurements of the sample (demographics) and more quantitative questions asking about measurable data such as age, ethnicity and gender, were utilized to ensure that the sample was a representation of the greater international student population at Lake City University. The survey also included fixed answer questions and open-ended questions. This information was used in creating the semi-structured interview questions that were used to gather oral narratives related to the individuals' experiences learning English in their home country environments and American environments.

The responses that were collected from the surveys were used in conjunction with the stories from the interviews. Together this data was combined to create robust information about the experiences of the students. Narratives provide depth, whereas the surveys allow for some breadth. This depth and breadth in terms of data allows for a more complex narrative to be constructed. It can help to transition the stories of the individuals to more widely relatable narratives "to identify similarities across the moments into an aggregate, a summation" (Kohler Riessman, 1993, p. 13). In order to understand the impact of the data, it is necessary to first explore the data.

In this section the data from the surveys and the narratives will be described. First, we will look at the surveys and the representative sample. Then we will move on to what was found in the fixed answer and open-ended questions to consolidate the information. Once this is complete, six narratives will be examined to understand the more personal experiences of students. All of this data will be analyzed in the next chapter to understand the potential answers to the research questions.

Survey

The survey, which is included in Appendix A, was 39 questions long and could be conducted on a smartphone or computer. This flexibility in the means of taking the survey allowed for the participants to start and stop, but also to complete the survey anywhere. Such flexibility contributed to the number of willing participants that took the survey. The survey was sent to 713 students in the ESL department at Lake City University. The survey was started by 100 participants. And, 83 participants completed the survey entirely. Five of these participants did not consent to their participation and the remaining twelve consented but did not complete the survey. A sampling of 83 participants is not large, but it is not inordinately small when the original target group was 713. This means the survey had a response rate of 11.64%. This is not surprising given that most students are flooded with emails every day and that is how the survey was distributed. In fact, this response rate was larger than expected.

Demographics

The survey was sent to all students in the ESL department in Spring 2016. Of the 713 students 83 responded, to become subjects of this research study. In order to understand the population of the students that responded to the study, it is important to remember that international students make up a small proportion of the entire student population at Lake City University. There are 5,280 international students out of 40,814 students in attendance at Lake City University. This means that international students account for 12.9% of the entire student population. Therefore, a small sample size is not surprising.

The international student population overall is 55% male and 45% female. However, the survey had a gender distribution of 56% female, 42% male and 1% other. So, the survey was not entirely representative of the gender distribution of the international student

population at Lake City University. The survey skewed more female than male. In fact, it inverted the gender distribution. This can be accounted for through many explanations including that the researcher is female with a very gendered European American name: Lauren, but this result could simply be that more of the ESL students that are willing to respond to surveys are female. The gender imbalance although interesting will not affect the responses. In further research, a study about gender perceptions of spaces, would be interesting, but the focus of this study is about the perception of educational spaces and how that impacts students regardless of their gender. Next, the language distribution of the survey respondents is important, because it speaks to the variety of languages and individuals who were willing to respond to the survey.

Figure 4.1

The majority of participants were Chinese or Mandarin L1 individuals. This is not a surprising finding, considering the growing population of international students from China at this university. Most of the participants (92%) of the survey defined themselves as "Other Asian," which aligns with the application language for Lake City University. As such, the

languages that are spoken in Asian countries are represented in the study by 89% of the

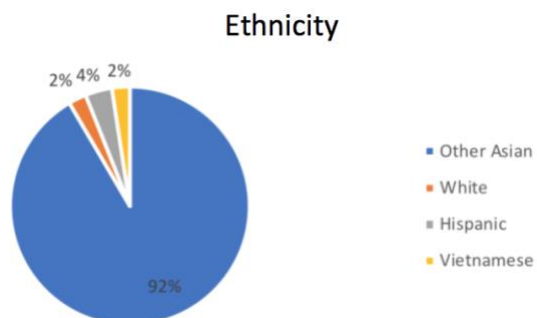participants speaking languages that are found on the Asian continent.

Ethnicity

Figure 4.2

Such demographic information is important to understanding where the students are

from, but the overall representation of self-identified ethnicity is important as well. It also

allowed the sampling to be judged as representative or not of the ethnic representation among

international students. The students are from diverse areas of the world, and the participants were

also diverse in not just their ethnicity, but in their L1 language. However, it is possible to see

how the students are representative of the growing Asian community within Lake City

University. Since they have become such a large part of the post-secondary world, it is important

to understand their language backgrounds in order to help them to reach their language and

educational goals.

In addition, it is important to note the year in school they consider themselves to be. ESL

courses can be taken concurrently with degree credits, but students often take them early in their

college career to prepare themselves for other classes, but also to finish requirements. Therefore,

it is not surprising that the majority of participants are early in their academic careers. This study

did not include just undergraduate students. Graduate students are typically not required to take

ESL courses but may elect to take them to get a teaching assistant position or because their

advisor suggested it. Like the undergraduate students, they take these courses early in their coursework so that it may help them in their other courses. However, the majority of participants were first year students (Freshman). Thus, their experiences are as relevant as any other students' experiences.
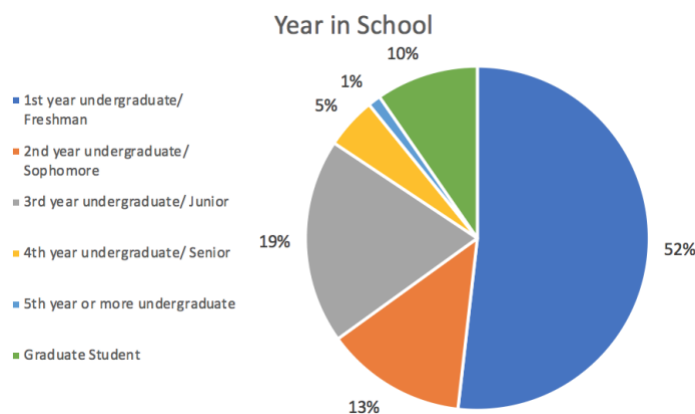
Year in School

1st year undergraduate/ Freshman

2nd year undergraduate/ Sophomore

3rd year undergraduate/ Junior

4th year undergraduate/ Senior

5th year or more undergraduate

Graduate Student

10%
1%
5%
19%
52%
13%

Figure 4.3

Each of these demographic measurements explains how these participants fit into the overall context of the international student population at Lake City University. Although the international student population does not make up a large portion of the student population, they are nonetheless impactful on the community. Their impact is one of cultural diversity to a generally homogeneous white, middle class university. These students not only bring their individual experiences, but their culture, language and traditions. This diversity is helpful to creating an educational context that has little diversity. These students have invaluable experiences, which allow them to take their education and contribute to the growing globalization taking place. It is possible to conjecture that the international student population will continue to grow, and their English abilities may continue to need support. As such, their

needs and how to help them control their learning environment will continue to be relevant as we move forward.

Duration

The average time it took for participants to complete the survey was 97.3 minutes. However, there were some outliers (5) that may have left their survey open. These participants took two or more hours to complete. Since this was so far out of the range of all other participants, these were removed from the average as outliers. A total of 78 participants were counted in the survey. Their average time to take the survey was 30.9 minutes.
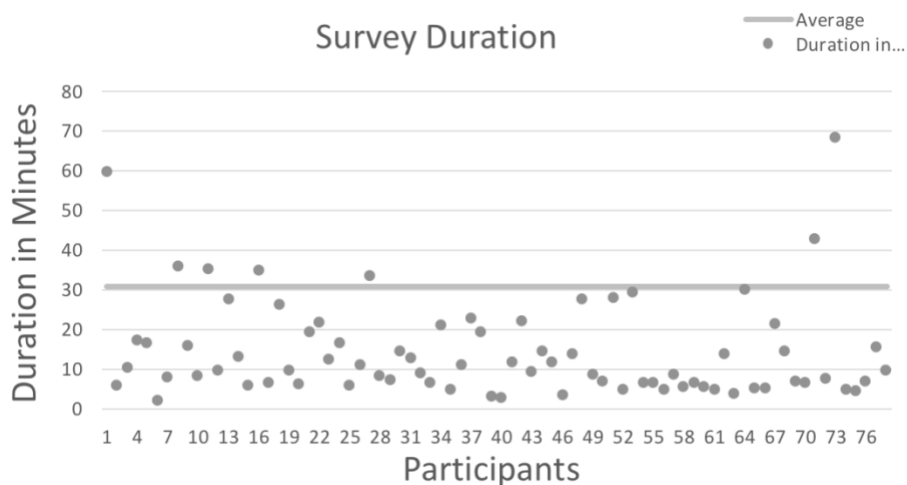
Figure 4.4

The survey did not take an inordinate amount of time, but for busy students 30 minutes or more may have been too much long for them to complete. However, from the graph in Figure 4.4, it appears that the majority of the participants took under 30 minutes to respond. This may have been for several reasons including the types of responses that were given in the open-ended questions or simply their ability to focus just on the survey.

Exploration of Survey Data

Although the survey contained demographic data as represented above, the data that was most robust in the understanding of participants' experiences learning English went beyond the demographic data. These questions asked about preferences, experiences and perceptions. These questions provided limited answer selection from a list of prescribed answers. These answers allowed for consistency across participants and the ability to track what a majority of participants felt. This kind of data is different from narrative analysis, in that the saturation point is more obvious, but like narrative data, it does reach saturation. Saturation means "[t]he point of saturation is… [a] rather elastic notion… but there are diminishing returns, and the cut off between adding to emerging findings and not adding, might be considered inevitably arbitrary" (Mason, 2010, p. 16). Ultimately, this means that saturation is reached when there is nothing new being added to the narrative that is being constructed.

Before the open-ended questions are analyzed, it is important to understand the responses to the prescribed answer questions. These allow for easily described trends in the data because there was uniformity in the answers. Each of the questions that were examined will be presented with the answers selected by the participants and how they ranked in terms of what the participants selected, an explanation of the questions and then a description of the data.

Who does most of the speaking in your classroom?

The question about speaking arrangements in the classroom allows for an understanding of the classroom hierarchical power arrangement. In recent decades, language education has moved away from teacher-centered approaches to ones where the students are the focus of the classroom (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 2008). However, this is not true in all communities of the world. In fact, it is not uncommon for more teacher-centered approaches to

be used in different cultures. These methods focus on de-contextualized language and the students are not active participants in their own education. To illustrate this trend of difference, the question about who does the most speaking assessed this arrangement. Keeping in mind the participants' countries of origin, it is not surprising to see a vast difference of the perception of speaking in the classroom.

	Home Country	Lake City University (USA)
Equal Student and Teacher Speaking in Class	12%	58%
More Teacher Speaking in Class	85%	19%
More Student Speaking in Class	4%	23%

Figure 4.5

When asked about the speaking arrangements of their past home country experiences and their current or recent past Lake City University experiences, there was an overwhelming change. About 12% of the respondents selected that there was equal teacher and student speaking in the classroom, whereas Lake City University classrooms displayed equal teacher and student speaking 58% as identified by participants. When comparing the home country classrooms of participants, teachers took the majority of the opportunities to speak. Whereas, at Lake City University, participants did not perceive this as frequently, with just 19% selecting it as the balance. Finally, the perception of students speaking in classrooms in the home country was relatively rare at just 4% of the responses, however, almost a quarter of the participants selected it as the speaking balance at Lake City University.

The overall trend here speaks to how different the two classroom environments are. These differences can be attributed to teaching philosophy, cultural expectations and even learning outcomes, but the focus of this study is about the perceptions of students in their

educational spaces. These differences speak to how the two environments are different. It will later be explored what these differences mean for these participants. The take away here is that ESL classrooms at Lake City University, which is not an atypical university, are more centered around balancing the speaking between students and teachers or allowing students to have the freedom to communicate in the target language. And, classroom environments in countries where English is not the dominant language may have a different focus and therefore the need for a teacher to be at the center of all interaction is the expectation. This could be correlated with how students feel in these environments.

Where do you feel most comfortable learning English?

Since student perception of their spaces is the target of this study to understand wherein students feel the most comfortable learning, this question aligns with the idea of preference in the classroom. Students can tell you where they learn a language best and the classroom is an environment that can be intimidating. One participant stated their preference beyond the prescribed answers as:

"The feeling that I will not get judged by my broken Enlgish makes me feel more comfartable speaking in Enlgish."

Knowing where students feel their embarrassment will be minimized and will allow them to grow beyond what they perceive of as good or bad English is necessary for an education space to be effective.

The question of *Where do you feel the most comfortable learning?* was given four different choices, one of which was not selected. The majority of participants (59%) felt best learning English in the United States in environments beyond the language classroom. Some

participants (29%) indicated that they preferred an American classroom setting to learn English and few (12%) indicated that they preferred a classroom in their home country.

It is not surprising given that the data about the speaking arrangements within the classroom showed that in the home country students were less likely to be given the floor. They were likely passive in their interactions. These participants preferred there to be interactions with peers and their teacher. However, with the teacher doing the majority of the speaking in the home country, this was not a possibility. When the participants changed the country of their language classroom, the balance of speaking moved toward them mirroring their preference for a more interactive classroom environment.

What makes is easiest for you to learn in a classroom?

The next question that students were asked related to what made it easiest for them to learn in a language classroom. This question was divided into their home country and Lake City University Classroom, but for the analysis of this question, the responses were combined. This question was an open-ended question that allowed participants to craft their own responses. Some participants chose not to respond to this question. This question had a relatively low response rate at only 38% of the entire survey respondents.

But the responses that were given showed what these participants felt made a difference in their learning environment. There were five individuals who indicated that a teacher made it easier for them to learn. Most did not indicate what aspect of the teacher made it easier for them to learn. Although one participant explained:

"Teachers can guide me in learning English and show more patience towards my speaking."

It appears that the teacher's interaction with the students and their patience towards errors is what makes the environment more conducive to participants learning English. However, the other responses that appeared multiple times included:

1. Small class size

2. Not being judged

3. Diverse students

Each of these responses appeared two or more times in the data sample. Although these responses are not innovative in their complexity or analysis of what helps students learn, it does speak to what may have previously been missing in their classroom environments.

Did you notice any signs or posters in your classroom?

As with most spaces, what decorates the walls is not often noticed unless there is something unusual on them. A classroom is not different in this way. There are parts of a classroom that are seen but not necessarily noticed. For example, it might be odd to see a billboard in a classroom, because it does not belong there. But decorations that contain words, can speak to the community that it serves (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). And, classrooms are no different. It is possible that the decorations on the walls of a classroom could act as a portal, including all language backgrounds through their use of only the target language or the inclusion of all languages within the classroom community (Gee, 2004).

Since students spend most of their time in a classroom, they may notice what is on the walls, but remembering it may be difficult because it became normalized at some point. Since participants were thinking back to their classroom experiences, it is not surprising that participants either did not or could not remember what was on the walls of their classroom

spaces. In some cases, there might not have been anything on the walls other than a chalkboard or whiteboard and windows.
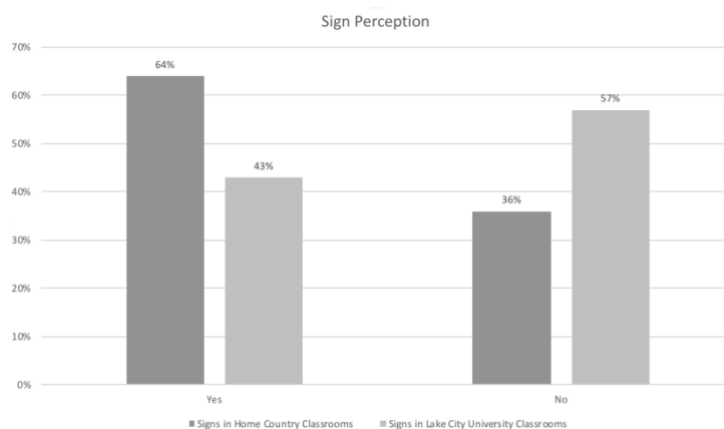

Figure 4.6

However, a large percentage of participants did notice what was on the walls. In their home country, 64% of participants remembered seeing decorations on the walls of their classroom and could identify what language these linguistic tokens were in. The language varied between participants depending on their home language, but the home language was the most common language on the signs and posters. It is important to note that for most of the study participants, they were still in compulsory education (K-12 schooling) and the classrooms were not utilized in the same way that classrooms are in a university setting. In terms of noticing signs and posters within the classroom spaces at Lake City University, it was split with slightly more participants not noticing any adornments on the walls. This is not surprising because the classrooms typically lack any decor beyond what is legally required in signage, i.e. exit signs and furniture organization and what is necessary for teaching and learning purposes, whiteboards or chalkboards.

Description of the Signs and Posters.

Since this study focuses on the exploration of space through the lens of language, one question that was asked was about the languages that were present on the signs and posters. The question attempted to ask the participants about what they perceived on the sign. As was mentioned, if there is some part of the sign that is abnormal or different from the environment, it may make more of a lasting impression. Some of the participants may have responded in such a way to speak to the logic of the location of the sign. But the perception of the signs and posters is just as important as what was actually on them. Memory is suggestable and can be influenced by outsiders, however, this should not degrade our perception of the participant as they remember and retell from recollection (Andrews, 2014; Ecker, Lewandowsky, Cheung, & Maybery, 2014).
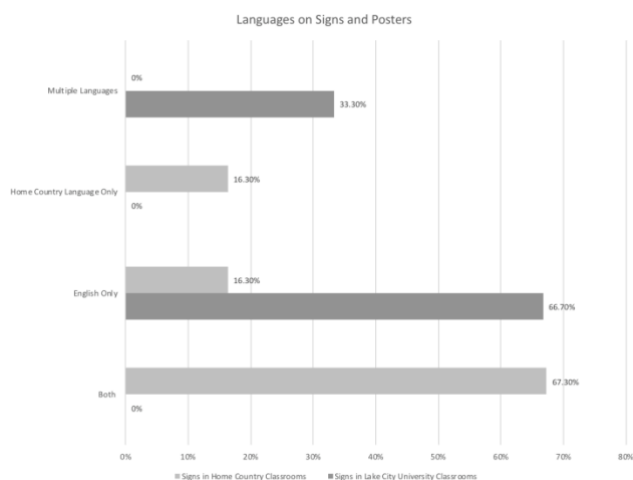

Figure 4.7

The participants were not asked to describe what the content of the signs and posters were, but they were asked about what language(s) appeared on these signs and posters. These signs and posters were more homogeneous in the participants' native countries, displaying only the target language, English, or the native language. At Lake City University the signs were for the most part in English, as this is the dominant language in the United States but included

languages beyond the participants' home country language(s). This could be because the participants were in a country where there is no official language and universities tend to be open to multiple languages to entice students to join language clubs or groups. But, in general there was more diversity in the languages of the signs at Lake City University when compared with the participants' past schools.

Although this data speaks to the shared experiences of the participants in the study and how their answers can be quantified to understand the general trends that these participants may have experienced throughout their education experiences, it does not provide as much depth in the understanding of classroom spaces and spaces of a multi-layered nature that could be shaped by the participants and students. In order to truly understand how the participants were interacting in their education spaces, more than just quantifiable data needed to be utilized to understand how experience interplays within the classroom.

Therefore, the study utilized more open-ended questions to allow participants to express their feelings about their learning environments. These questions were to be a bridging point with the interviews to allow participants to prepare for more in-depth interviews. However, this data also was robust in providing communality across methods of data collection. But, the survey responses were shorter and not all participants chose to answer all of the open-ended questions. These questions included information about their preferences for where they learned English, how they learned English best and what they noticed in their language learning environments. Some of the respondents left these open-ended questions blank and moved on to questions that did not require longer responses, but the responses that participants provided spoke to the diversity of experiences through the participants' time learning English.

Narrative Data

The survey data provided one perspective to the student experiences, but stories, which were constructed from individual interviews of six international students provide a different understanding: the educational experiences of these students. The stories that were crafted from the interviews focus on data concerning the experiences of the participants, their feelings about learning a second language (English), the perceptions of their spaces and their ideal learning environments. These stories are unique but share many of the same themes with the survey data and across the stories.

Although the numbers and generalized survey data can explain the consistency amongst participants, the act of triangulation through data speaks to how to understand the sampling. Triangulation is the idea that through multiple data sources, saturation in data has been reached (Jick; 1979; Mathison, 1988). And, this saturation provides a gravitas to the data, making it not just understandable, but provides gravitas to the conclusions that are drawn. By including these narratives with the more quantitatively focused survey data, it is possible that some interviewer bias may be mitigated (Andrews, 2014; Clandinin &Connelly, 2000; Rhineberger, Hartmann & Van Valey, 2005). But first the stories will be recounted, before a narrative can be formed from the similar threads that are interwoven into each of the individual stories.

Meg

Meg is a transfer student at Lake City University. In academic status she is considered a senior, but at the time of data collection, she still had 2 semesters to complete. Meg's educational history is interesting because she spent half of her compulsory education years in the United States and half were spent in Japan. She considers her first language to be Japanese but received most of her post-secondary education in English. So, her English is very strong. Meg transferred

to Lake City University after attending an American University in Japan and then transferring to an American campus and finally ending up at Lake City University.

Meg's education experiences can best be described as difficult. She talked about how she never quite fit in to either educational system. This might be explained by where she attended middle and high school: rural Japan. In rural Japan she explained, English speakers were uncommon and people rarely left Japan. She was a novelty of sorts, having done most of her elementary school in the United States. When she returned to Japan, she explained that other students looked at her differently because she could speak English so well. She stated that she was not as smart as the other students because "Japanese students are really smart." She had a hard time understanding the language, despite being Japanese.

But, she felt comfortable in English class when the volunteer English Aide was in the classroom. Although, she explained that her initial experience in her English class was difficult as she grappled with the accent she should use. She explained that she struggled between speaking English with a Japanese accent, which she was not certain she could do, and speaking English with an American accent, which she felt both more and less comfortable doing. She thought that by speaking English with an American accent she would make herself appear more different from her Japanese classmate than she already was. She also mentioned that she felt isolated: "teachers didn't understand what it feels like to come back from a totally different country…students open to having [a new person]." She mentioned this several times throughout her interview, that she was different, othered and isolated. Such isolation magnified how "the girls weren't very nice" and "they were curious." The other students' curiosity added to her feeling different and not accepted.

The one place where Meg felt accepted was around the foreign teacher. The foreign teacher is a common feature in most English classes in Japan. The role of this "teacher" is to pronounce words correctly for the teacher when asked. They typically sit in the corner or walk around, helping students. They do not teach the class, but function as a classroom aide. These foreign teachers made Meg feel comfortable because they shared experiences. But the idea that there was someone on her side made English an outlet for Meg and a place to escape. The foreign teacher and Meg passed a notebook back and forth allowing her to improve her English, but also make a friend in an environment that was not always welcoming, as the other teacher(s) and students did not make Meg feel welcomed and accepted, but an oddity of sorts.

Although the social layer of the space was one full of interesting interactions that shaped Meg's experiences, the classroom's physical structure and organization also had an impact on what she experienced in being accepted or othered. Her initial schooling had classrooms without doors, but noise was never an issue. Classes were generally quiet, and students did not make a lot of noise. The classrooms were grouped by year, so they were more of a pod organization. Students had individual desks that were assigned A-Z by the teacher. The position in the class rotated every two months. But, Meg preferred a spot in the back by the windows, so she could look out and observe anything but the classroom. She liked to do this so that she could think of other things because her classes that were taught in Japanese were too hard and the ones in English were too easy. In the back, the teacher would not notice that she was not paying attention and she could hide from answering questions. She talked about answering or asking question as an anxiety inducing event because she thought it took her too long to formulate the questions. Much of the classroom setting caused Meg to feel disengaged or anxious.

When asked about the wall decorations, Meg explained that in elementary school there was some student created work on the walls, but as she progressed in grade level to high school, there were fewer decorations on the walls, moving toward blank walls with utilitarian signs talking about class schedule or going to college. Generally, the teacher stayed at the front of the room, talking at the students. There was very little movement by the students. The classroom had clearly defined teacher and student spaces. Teachers were relegated to the front and the students remained in their assigned places ready for the information that teachers intended to share. There was little choice in the compulsory classroom for movement or where you would sit, this was challenging for Meg.

However, college was a departure for her. She was in a smaller classroom. Generally speaking, she likes smaller classrooms and smaller class sizes. College allowed her to make friends and feel that she was judged less. This could be because she went to an English university in Japan and then transferred to an American university: Lake City University. But, the most important idea that Meg noted in college was that the teacher paid attention to everyone and explained more. She mentioned that there were still individual desks, but there were more discussions. She was able to be confident in her abilities because there were fewer people to judge and people were open to her and her abilities. Much of the same atmosphere continued in her ESL courses at Lake City University.

Ly

Ly is a first-year student at Lake City University. He is Vietnamese American and spoke mainly English at home because his mother is American. His mother also spoke French, so they had a dual language household. Since Ly considered his first language English, he was not

pleased by his placement in an ESL course. This is not surprising since many students are often frustrated by their placement into the ESL program.

Since English was Ly's first language he does not remember learning it in school, but he does recall learning French in school. He explained that he did all of his school in Vietnam, coming to the United States for college. His primary school was taught in English and they would sing songs to learn. The classroom was small but set up in a way that the students sat at tables and the teacher taught from the front of the room. The classroom, like many elementary school classrooms, was full of children's artwork.

Most of Ly's experiences were described through the rooms and the experiences. He explained that his classrooms were generally forward facing, meaning the desks or tables faced the chalkboard. They did not contain many decorations on the walls because students moved to different classrooms for different classes. However, the little decorations on walls were in French throughout his middle and high school years.

The language classrooms were in a different building, and he mentioned that English had its own building. These classrooms were described in detail because the walls were different from the normal stark white of the other classrooms. The walls were a "weird color;" he described it as green. The English classes were set up as rows of tables and students picked where they sat, but the teacher organized students if they were being too noisy. Since the teacher had a dedicated classroom, the walls were decorated with artwork and posters in English.

The classroom that Ly enjoyed the most was his Mandarin classroom. He explained "I tend to associate my favorite classroom with the experiences in the room." The teacher made the experiences and therefore the room for Ly. He talked about how the classroom allowed students to choose their seats and there were group activities. The teacher moved about unless he was

lecturing and then he went to the front of the room. But the students were arranged in a "U" shape that made everyone visible. Like the English classroom, this room had Chinese specific artwork including a picture of Mao. What made the classroom and the environment beyond the teacher being a fun guy was that Ly had friends in the class and they used their language outside the classroom.

Ly talked about learning language the naturalistic "you know how learning a language is easiest when you are in the setting and everyone else around you is speaking the language." He felt this acutely in the ESL setting at Lake City University. He talked about how it was "quite special and we managed to make connections." He talked about how group work made them feel like a community and the class was really close and he made friends in his class. The idea of making friends and using them to help you improve a language was prevalent throughout the discussion of his experiences.

Finally, after talking about his past experiences when learning his five languages, he talked about what his ideal classroom would be. Ly preferred a classroom with windows because it keeps you awake and a whiteboard for the same reason. A chalkboard was not part of the ideal classroom because of the screech of chalk. The desks would be set up as a "U" shape with mobile furniture, preferably tables, in a big space, but with a small number of students. Ly mentioned specifically how the "arm desks" were too small and it makes it hard to work with others. Group work and space were two areas that Ly emphasized while he was talking about his ideal classroom space. This would allow everyone to easily move around. In addition, connecting with the teacher is important. He mentioned how connecting with the teacher was easier in the USA and it was not forced as in other settings. Overall, he talked about the positives of his experience in ESL, despite his initial frustration with the placement in the class.

Serena

Serena is an 18-year-old female student from China. She is just completing her first year at Lake City University and has many opinions about her abilities and the ESL program at Lake City University. She did not describe her education as privileged, but she did talk about how all of her schooling was done at private institutions.

Very quickly, Serena distinguished "actual learning" from not real learning. Most of what she talked about was very black and white in the sense that she defined what was beneath her and what was adequate for her learning.

Serena explained that her first English class began in first grade and the same style of learning continued through fifth grade. This was not real English learning "I don't consider it my first formal English experience because all they taught us was red/green or something." She explained that most of the class focused on listening and repeating. If the students did well, they were rewarded with being allowed to play. She explained that this is not real learning and her teacher was a "grumpy old lady" and her teachers did not really speak English. She did not really care about learning English and it was easy like math. Since it was easy, it did not count as formal learning. In sixth grade is when Serena believes her "formal English learning" began because her teacher was from London and he was very good. He liked her a lot, so it made her interested in learning English. Her initial experience in this class was not good, since she got a 56% on a pre-test and she was "devastated." She was used to doing well in school and learning that she was not great at something was difficult. So, this is what initially drew her to languages. She took the time to memorize all the vocabulary and textbook. This memorization was not what she considered to be really learning English that came later when she began to talk to her teacher

and go to his office for more English practice. English for Serena was a place where she could excel and interact. Interaction was very important for her to want to engage.

In most of her schooling in China, Serena experienced small class sizes with only about 38 students in her overall class, but English classes included only 19 students. These small class sizes are something that was important to Serena since she was able to interact with her teacher more because of it. Serena explained how the teacher and the interactions were important to how she felt about her classes. When she respected her teacher, it was a good class. When she did not think highly of her teacher, then the class was not "formal learning."

Despite her fortune at going to private school through middle school in China and a private American high school in Virginia, Serena was very concerned with fairness. At Lake City University, Serena was placed into an upper intermediate English course for one semester and an advanced English course called "Academic Writing." She explained that it was unfair to be placed in this program and these courses. It was unfair for two reasons. One, because she went to an American high school and two, because she should be treated the same as everyone else. She does not want any advantages over anyone else. She talked about how ESL at Lake City "messed up what she had learned in high school" and how it was not fair to be in these classes. Despite her discussion of how her ESL courses were taught, she did describe the interactions within the classroom as positive. She explained that much of the classes involved them, the students, moving and interacting. They talked and shared their ideas in almost every class. They did not sit, and she talked to her teacher frequently.

Although she did not describe the physical spaces of her Lake City University classrooms, she did talk about the spaces where she had done her previous education and what she would like to see in her ideal classroom. Her previous classrooms included many windows

and tables. Two students sat at the tables, giving them plenty of space. This was a theme that Serena emphasized: having enough space. Her classrooms were very large, 8 meters by 12 meters. This size allowed for students to move about the space and feel that they had a space within the larger space. Like many other classrooms, there was a blackboard at the front, where the teacher stood and lectured. Neither the students nor the teacher were expected to move from their prescribed places within the room. The only classroom where movement was encouraged was in the English classroom. Students were placed at tables that were grouped together. They worked together on many activities and used the open spaces in the center of the room for group work and sharing ideas. Students sat on the carpets on the floors or the couches that might be in some of the foreign language classrooms. Serena made the classrooms feel like they were spaces where students were comfortable and where they would interact. She liked these classrooms because she would make friends in the classroom. Making friends was an important part of a classroom and class being good. She needed the interaction to make learning formal and enjoyable. Most of these classrooms were undecorated because the teachers would move from with the students to different rooms. But the students had spaces where they could keep their things. This was their "base" and it made it easier for students to get from room to room.

Finally, her middle school classroom and building structure is what Serena viewed as her version of the ideal classroom. She talked about how the tables would be a circle with the teacher in the middle and the student on the outside. Then, the teacher could see all the students and interact with them. The students would be able to interact with each other and there would be space in the middle for them to work in groups on the floor. Serena talked about the floor being a place for students to truly interact and make friends, because if you are on the floor you have to talk to each other. Serena was very concerned about how students would see the blackboard, so

she thought a projector that could project on all of the walls would be the best. This would ensure that the classroom was fair, and everyone could see.

Although Serena went to private schools, she had seen several different schools and was able to articulate what she preferred and what she did not. She did not talk about ever being embarrassed in a classroom, but she talked about how she was very driven to excel by how she felt about her teachers, which depended on how they felt about her and her sense of justice and equity. If she was not interested or thought she had been treated unfairly, then she did not like the class or the teacher. This is important to understanding how Serena viewed interactions as the marker of a good or bad class.

Sun

Sun is a PhD candidate at Lake City University. She is in the early stages of her PhD and very quiet. She grew up in South Korea and considers herself to be South Korean. However, she did do some of her compulsory school in Japan. She explained that Korean is her first language and that most of her schooling was taught in Korean.

Unlike some of the other participants in this study, Sun did not have to take the compulsory sequence of ESL classes that undergraduates are required to take. The bar of English is much higher for graduate students and the presumption is that their language skills should allow them to complete their degree program. However, it can be recommended that a graduate take some ESL classes to help develop their skills in English. As such, Sun took two semesters of ESL. She took written communication for graduate students and oral communication for graduate students. These courses focus on the skills graduate students need to be successful in the world of academia. So, the focus is on writing research papers and giving presentations such as those found at conferences.

For the most part, Sun was very quiet and often hard to hear because she spoke so softly. But, she was able to talk about her English learning experiences. Unlike some of the other participants in the study, Sun started English when she was in fifth grade. This is later than some other Asian countries. Typically, China starts their students in English classes much earlier, but fifth grade appears to be typical for South Korea.

Sun described her English learning as one shaped by individual learning, isolation, and embarrassment. English learning for Sun started in small audio booths, which she called cubbies. The students would sit in these cubbies and listen to English and repeat it back. They could see the teacher and the teacher could see them, through the front of the cubby, but they could not see one another. These labs were part of the learning English initially and they did not help Sun gain confidence in her abilities. She talked about being called on to speak in front of the class later in her English education and "sometimes it was humiliating when I can't pronounce correctly." So, this forced Sun into listening and not speaking. So, she did not use English very much.

As her English learning progressed, the situation did not get better. She felt the teacher was always monitoring and she could not pronounce her words correctly. As she continued through learning English, vocabulary was always the focus and this teaching method was not great. She often talked about wanting to learn English in a more natural manner: "I wanted to learn English more naturally." Throughout her time in Korea, Sun hid in the middle of the classroom, where the teachers could not see her, since they stood at the front. She preferred the middle because she would not draw attention to herself and the back made her not pay attention. Although, she had little control over where she sat, she often hoped to be near a window and in a middle row.

When she was in Korea, there were few times when she moved throughout the classroom. Students rarely worked in groups and when they did the focus was on translating. The teachers moved classrooms, but the students stayed in their same spots throughout the day. The classrooms and their curriculum were focused on learning for the test and doing well. So, Sun viewed English as a skill that she was not very good at and one that was embarrassing. The humiliation was a topic that Sun described on many occasions, as speaking was not her strong suit and the teachers were quick to point it out, reinforcing Sun's desire to hide and not speak.

Finally, this began to change in college. Sun attended college in South Korea, but it was radically different from her previous experiences. She described college and learning English as overwhelming. The focus moved to conversations and speaking, not just memorizing. The goal of her college level English classes was to get a native accent. This was hard for her because speaking was a challenge. This was especially true when Sun came to the USA. The class sizes became smaller and students were encouraged to share in English often. Although she became more comfortable, it is clear that she is still worried about speaking incorrectly because her language was slow to be produced.

As Sun was describing her experiences, she talked about what she liked in her classrooms and what made it easier for her to learn. One idea she pointed out was the smaller class size. She enjoyed the classes that had 10-15 people because this prevented embarrassment and allowed her to feel comfortable. Like some of the other participants, Sun talked about how tables are preferable over a desk because it produces better quality conversations. And, she enjoyed when the teacher was accessible to her, as well as the white boards. She explained: "sometimes if we sit here can see board directions… any sitting it is better to have more boards in the classroom."

This means when she can see the board, and everyone can see the board, they can understand the expectations better.

Although Sun's experiences learning English were not always the best, there were some positives that she mentioned as she progressed through her education. She learned that smaller classes work better for her and that she can overcome her embarrassment. Ultimately, Sun talked about what she had done and what she hoped for in her future education.

June

June is a first-year student at Lake City University. She is Chinese and 19 years old. June considers herself to be Chinese but did most of her compulsory schooling in Japan. She speaks three languages: Chinese, Japanese and English. Throughout her school June studied English at different stages and took frequent breaks from learning English. English is not always taught to the same age group depending on country.

June began her education in China but moved to Japan when she was in seventh grade. In China, English is started early in the educational system. June began her English studies in second grade. She called her English learning informal because they were not graded, and they just learned the alphabet. This distinction between formal and informal was brought up several times to talk about how formal education culminates in a test in her opinion, but informal learning is ungraded. Most of June's experiences learning English in China were not positive. The culture of testing is prevalent in education there, forcing students to memorize. June talked about memorizing vocabulary for the frequent tests in her classes. This testing regimen began as early as third grade. She talked about how she and her classmates were tested at least two times a semester and these were just the large tests. There were smaller tests that were present as well. This testing led to stress as she learned English, focusing on the memorization for the test.

This opinion of stress and dislike was mirrored in her classroom descriptions in China. She talked about how the classrooms were old and dark. She described her class as small with only twenty students, maybe fewer. She went on to talk about how her teacher often wrote on the board in English but would speak in Chinese. June was not impressed by this and found it hard to express herself in English. She talked about how they just memorized the words and it was not fun.

Despite her negative perceptions of English learning in China, when she moved to Japan and started to study English in Japan in seventh grade, she found the class to be more enjoyable. She described her classroom as "bright and pretty." She liked her teacher because she was super nice, and she could not speak Japanese, so she had to use English. All of the students had to use English too, so they had to do well in English. June talked about this in a very positive light, saying she wanted to do well for her teacher. Although they did not move around the classroom, they still learned a lot.

As June continued through middle school, her classrooms were still similar to her initial Japanese classroom, but the students moved around more, "moving is happy." This movement in class was different for June because in China students rarely move about the classroom. They talked in class and even had a foreign English teacher to help them with their pronunciation. June's English continued to improve as she moved through her school. She continued to get good grades and enjoyed the process of learning English when she had good teachers who did not treat her differently because she was foreign.

Eventually she decided to study English at Lake City University in the USA. June's experiences continued to be positive. She was in a classroom that had windows on one side and a teacher who she enjoyed. The class moved around a lot, so that the students were forced to talk

to one another. June enjoyed this, since moving was important to her. She described her teacher in much the same way she described her other English teachers, nice and pretty. For June the impact of the teacher was important. She talked about how her teachers made her feel.

Finally, June described her ideal classroom, after describing her classroom in the past as being similar with walls full of windows, blackboards and teachers who moved about the class. At Lake City University, she said her teacher moved around more, but still stayed in the front of the room to talk. June talked about how she liked the "U" shaped desk arrangement because she could talk to the teacher easily. She liked the projector and being able to work in groups easily. Like many other participants, she preferred tables to a desk.

Ultimately, June's experiences were dictated by her feelings towards her teacher. These feelings were often impactful for how June understood her surroundings. She used words that indicated her overall experiences and mood toward the environment she was in. Despite doing well in English classes, they were not always pleasant for her.

Ellen

Ellen is an 18-year-old Chinese woman. She came to Lake City University and was in her first year. She started studying English when she was in third grade, which she explained is the mandatory age for Chinese children to begin English, but lots of kids start earlier. She was not one of these kids that started learning English early. She started in third grade and they mainly focused on vocabulary and dialogue. The focus was on grading and memorizing.

Ellen went on to explain how her class had seventy students in it, which is pretty standard in China. She sat in the back, because she is pretty tall and that means you have to sit in the back. Tall people block the view of shorter kids, so they are placed in the back. Her classroom was arranged with columns and rows. The students stayed in their rows all year, but they rotated

columns weekly. She explained that all the classrooms are "pretty formatted in China." By this she meant that all of the classrooms have decorations on one wall that are specific to the subject, a big blackboard in the front and a small blackboard (cork board) that is decorated by the lead student. The classrooms all have these components throughout China, she explained.

This standardized format of classrooms carried over to how the students learned English. Most students memorized English vocabulary. The students were tested weekly on listening and writing. Ellen described the testing focus as intense because they were in nine subjects and there were tests in each subject every week. Most of her classes, when they were not taking tests, focused on listening to the teacher and taking notes. She made a point of saying in China students are not supposed to talk during class. They are supposed to listen and quietly take notes. This format of listening and not participating is reflected in where the students remain, in their desks, and where the teacher stands, at the front near the large blackboard. Ellen talked about the importance of moving in class. She explained "[Moving] definitely makes you stay engaged." In China, students rarely move beyond their desk spaces, which is not surprising since most classes have fifty students or more. This lack of movement took place in all courses, even English class.

English was not always enjoyable for Ellen. She expressed her frustration about teachers who used Chinese to talk about English and the simplicity of learning English in school. She always described the embarrassment that was constructed from instances where she would answer a question wrong. This environment was not one that was best for learning and exploring a language, which inherently makes one vulnerable. However, with a new teacher, Ellen found that English class could be enjoyable in China. She described this impactful teacher as knowledgeable, caring, respectful and understanding. This teacher began to change Ellen's

perception of her English learning and the non-physical spaces where it took place. English was not a chore, but enjoyable.

Although Chinese classrooms and spaces did not feel liberating to Ellen, the spaces where she studied English began to feel different especially as the perception of the teacher changed. This was more pronounced as Ellen began her journey at Lake City University, taking English classes. She described the American style of learning English as completely different from the Chinese style. She described her English learning environment in the USA as impactful because "you really have to learn it." The education spaces in her Lake City University experiences moved students away from memorizing and provided them, the students with more opportunities to speak and interact. The students were allowed to speak up whenever and say whatever. There was never a moment where they should feel bad for making a mistake. This was a departure from China, where you "gotta speak it right." This change allowed Ellen to feel confident in a way that she had not in China, even as the class leader. She never felt that she would get made fun of, but felt encouraged by her peers and teachers. Her classroom became a community of sorts.

This community atmosphere was reflected in how she described the space, as one of her ideal learning spaces. The classroom was organized with tables in a "U" shape. The teacher was in the front but moved around frequently. Students were asked to move, this "wasn't necessary but helped us stay engaged." There was lots of discussion and students were asked to think and share often throughout the class. Although, Ellen did not remember all of the items on the wall, what she did remember were some posters or signs in English. Although, this classroom space was good, there were of course some areas where she would change things in her ideal classroom. More windows were one of the features in her ideal classroom. And, of course, tables

are preferred to desks. Most importantly, she mentioned the importance of small groups and classes because then you cannot be as embarrassed when you make mistakes.

Although Ellen's journey through English learning had lows and highs, it had generally improved. No learning experience is perfect. The classroom space is never perfect, but it can be improved when students and teachers work together to create an environment that minimizes embarrassment.

Conclusion

Since the data came from two different sources: the survey and stories, it was important to examine the entire body of research. The stories that are constructed above and supplemented by the survey will be fruitful in examining the themes that emerge across data types. These data types and their continuity in answers help to create validity through triangulation meaning "cross validation when two or more distinct methods are found to be congruent and yield comparable data" (Jick, 1979, p. 2).

Each of these experiences is valid, but their combined impact makes the stories more than mere stories of singular individuals, but narratives that have the ability to relate across community borders. Through the analysis in the next chapter the themes that emerge will help to construct this narrative, which will hopefully lead to a greater understanding of the shaping experiences that linguistic landscapes and classroom environments have on adult second language learners.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis-Understanding the stories

Introduction

Individuals learning a second language are vulnerable. For children, the weight of society is not often as heavy, and they often are not yet as self-aware as adults. So, it is in some ways easier to learn a second language when you are younger than when you are older. Since the focus of this study was on the experiences of ESL students as adults and how their perceptions of classroom spaces shaped their learning and attitudes toward learning a second language, how these adult language learners felt and understood their surroundings is impactful for their educational outcomes.

In this chapter, I will explore how the study participants experienced their educational surroundings throughout their education and how that shaped their perceptions of their educational spaces. This study was guided by several questions:

1. How do students experience their educational spaces, both the physical space and beyond the physical?

2. How does a linguistic landscape help us understand the social construction of space?

3. How does the linguistic landscape include and/or exclude students from the spaces where a classroom is co-constructed?

   c. How can exclusion be minimized to ensure students are in control of their own spaces and education?

4. How can spaces be shaped to meet the needs of students from their own lived experiences?

These questions will be answered after a discussion of the emergent themes in the data in the next chapter.

In order to understand the data, first individual stories were constructed by the participants and re-told by the researcher (see Chapter 4: Data). Mishler (1990) describes this process as "I take for granted that the account produced during the interview is a reconstruction of the past, shaped by the particular context of its telling" (p. 427). Understanding that the stories that are told by the participants and re-constructed by a researcher helps to contextualize the stories as a stepping stone to the narratives. What this means is that a story is an individual entity, but a narrative is one that has the ability to take multiple individual stories and turn them into a larger entity that may speak to more individuals. The researcher had to take the stories that were often out of sequence and full meaning which can only be understood through the oral representation of the story and transform it into a relatable written description (Kohler Reissman, 1993). It is these descriptions that were coded for repeated themes by the participants. These themes are then examined to understand how these answer the above research questions. Therefore, before the research questions can be answered it is best to examine what the themes and what their significance is within the greater narrative that is constructed through the lived experiences of the participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Isolation

Spaces are multilayered. They are experienced through the many layers that are present within all of the spaces where our lives are lived. These layers help to shape the space (Burns, 2009). And, a classroom space is no different. It is through the manipulation of the spaces that a space becomes owned by the community, "a space between their desires and their realities…, a space where words could simultaneously create coherence and disruption" (Dyson, 1997, p.19). One layer that a classroom space interacts with frequently is the emotional space. This particular layer of space is impactful for students because it will color their experiences within a classroom.

When examining the narrative data from the stories of the participants in both the oral interviews and the surveys, a theme of isolation continued to emerge. The participants talked about how they like to hide in the classroom, by sitting at the back or near windows. They did not want to draw attention to themselves, because they constantly felt different in the classroom. One participant explained "teachers didn't understand what it feels like to come back from a totally different country" and "students were also not open to having [someone different]… they [the other students] were curious" and "the girls weren't nice" (Meg's Interview). The other students and the teacher made Meg feel like she was an oddity in the classroom. She often felt different from everyone around her because she did not speak Japanese well, but had a "Japanese face." She talked frequently about feeling like she was an outsider. These feelings were magnified by the lack of interactions that she had with her teacher and the negative interactions she had with other students. It made her disengage from the learning process, because she could not perform as expected. Meg was not the only participant that talked about feeling isolated. Sun, the Korean graduate student, felt isolated and fearful every time she had to speak in front of the class, which was a frequent occurrence, as that was how their abilities were assessed. Sun explained that "sometimes it was humiliating when I can't pronounce correctly." This same sentiment was shared by Ellen and June. They talked about the fear of getting the wrong answer and the embarrassment that would cause. These feelings of fear and embarrassment ultimately lead to a feeling of loneliness.

These feelings of fear, embarrassment and loneliness are not constructed individually. There are events and actions that cause these feelings to be co-constructed in the classroom. Much as Gee (2012) talked about how language has a shaping effect on context, this is mirrored in the linguistic landscape of the place (p. 97). The oral language of the space and what is said to

others or how others react to someone, shapes the experiences of the place (Shohamy &

Waksman, 2009). This language use and the reaction to it becomes a fabric of the linguistic

landscape. Because the students and sometimes the teacher reacted negatively to a student's

language production, the student understands that there is a space for fear in the classroom.

When others laugh or treat students who have different experiences, as if they are an oddity, the

perception of isolation is further intensified.

The intensification of the reactions and the social meaning of the reactions speaks to how

the emotional space is created in conjunction between many individuals in the classroom. When

an emotional space is constructed through reactionary means (ie a student laughs at another

cruelly) and the behavior is not addressed, the receiver of the negative feedback feels othered

(Nelson, 2001, p. 87). This expression of othering is not uncommon in narrative analysis. In fact,

the use of narrative inquiry to subvert the dominant narrative is a key to changing one layer of a

space. Nelson (2001) used stories to allow individuals to form a community through affiliation.

They were able to leverage their stories and create a larger narrative from their individual stories.

The narrative that was created acted as a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative.

This discussion of emotional spaces within the classroom and the attention that needs to

be paid to them is the moment where a counter-story can be created to combat the negative

impacts on the emotional and social spaces within a classroom. Although little can be done to

change past experiences, the perception of the feeling of isolation by participants in this study

can be a starting point to understanding the impact the emotional space has on the construction of

the third space for knowledge creation. When students feel emotionally disengaged, they are not

likely to interact with their peers because they are fearful of rejection (Markee, 2004). This

rejection does not allow these students to co-construct their knowledge or be active participants in their educational trajectories.

Interactions

Interactions shape the spaces and often dictate how students feel about their educational settings. Students and teachers define their spaces, at least the social dimension of their spaces, through their interactions. This bleeds into the physical perception of the classroom space (which will be discussed in the next section). Here interaction is defined as part of social interactions, which Gee (2012) describes as meaning making, negotiation, contestation and agreement. These interactions are variable and context dependent (p. 21). For this understanding of classroom spaces, it is important to realize that the social interactions that students experience dictates their engagement within the classroom.

One area that almost all of the participants in this multi-method study highlighted as an important aspect of their journey through education was the interactions within their educational spaces. For many participants what dictated their learning experiences was the ability to feel both accepted, thus preventing isolation, and making friends. As one participant said, "Here, I was encouraged to talk and listen to others rather than just reading" (survey data). The idea that the classroom space in the USA revolved around the interactions of students was a counter point to the interactions in many other learning contexts and countries.

Within the stories from the interviews, both Serena and Ellen talked about how the expectations for students in the classroom were radically different from those in their home country of China. In China, they explained the teacher speaks and students are expected to listen and sometimes repeat what they hear. This method of interaction has generally been moved away from in recent decades as the more current methods of teaching are student-centered (Pinar,

Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2008). This unidirectional interaction (listening and repeating) defines the power dynamics within the classroom setting.

In a traditional classroom, the teacher holds the majority of the cultural capital. In the interactions that the participants (survey responses, June, Ellen, Sun and Meg) describe where the teacher does most of the speaking, this is a type of self-selected turn taking that is an expression of the power an individual may hold (Mchoul, 1978). Students generally have less cultural capital in the classroom than the teacher. Therefore, the students are often respectful to the social structure within the room. It is through the dynamics of this power structure that the interactions between teachers and students are defined.

In some countries, but from this study mainly Asian countries, the teacher reinforces the idea that success will be rewarded with more attention. This comes in several forms, Ellen described her success being rewarded with being made lead student. The teacher then imparted some power to Ellen to decorate different areas of the room. Another reward that participants, including June, Sun and Ellen described was that the teacher(s) would pay more attention to the students who were doing well. This made the teacher inaccessible to them if they were perceived as not doing well. This interaction in many ways excludes underperforming students from actively engaging in the classroom. This social relationship teaches students who are struggling that they are not valuable members of the classroom community. This in turn reinforces feelings of isolation and creates a negative perception of the classroom as a space for judgment and "othering" as Meg described in her educational stories.

However, these feelings can be mitigated by positive interactions within the educational setting. For Meg, Serena, June and Ly, the moment a teacher or a teaching aide expressed interest in their abilities, the classroom moved beyond a place for potential embarrassment and

judgment to one that celebrated their unique abilities. Meg explained how a foreign English teaching aide changed her experiences in a classroom. Because of the support from the teaching aide, an English learning environment became a respite in a world that had previously judged her as deficient ss Dyson (1993) described "a space where words could simultaneously create coherence and disruption" allows a space to transform in a world beyond the goals of testing and performance, but to one of success and acceptance (p. 16).

The interactions with a teacher are not the only defining relationships in a classroom environment. In fact, in some ways the interaction with peers dictate the classroom experience more. As Gee (2012) describes "[s]chool is seen, not as a place just to learn, but as a place to forge more friendships within the peer-based Discourses that supports her present at school and mediate her relationship with the school" (189). Making friends in the classroom was an area that helped the participants to feel included or excluded in their spaces.

The survey responses explained how English classrooms allowed them to experience different cultures and learning about others in a way that was not confrontational but open to their differences and, as one student responded on the survey, "[a]nd learning English gives me the opportunity to make friends that are not from my country, giving me the chance to learn other cultures." The ability to affiliate within a classroom makes learning not just about the knowledge, but the formation of a community within the space.

This community is important because learning makes individuals inherently vulnerable, as mistakes are possible and because of social interactions, these mistakes either can be celebrated as opportunities for learning or moments that are anxiety inducing. Ly, one of the interview subjects, talked about how his most positive language learning experiences included fun "group activities." These group activities allowed students to experiment with their language

in a way that was not being monitored for accuracy. The idea of monitoring for appropriate or inappropriate behavior or performance is one that is prevalent in school settings, functioning as a panopticon of sorts, reinforcing narratives of fear (Foucault, 1975) but can be subverted with moments of sanctioned experimentation.

One way to ensure that a community is being formed is through allowing students to create relationships with other students. This will allow students to have advocates within their peer groups and potential externally through teacher support. In order to ensure that interactions are possible, it is necessary to pay attention to the social dimension of space, where student/student and student/teacher relationships are formed. One way to ensure that a classroom is constructing a positive social space is through the physical design of the classroom.

Classroom Organization

The physical organization of a classroom is what has been called throughout this study, the first space. The first space is the tangible space in which students and teachers interact (Burns, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991). It is where the desks, decorations and movement occur. These tangible items in the space inadvertently tell students about social position in the classroom—the ability for interaction and the power that they possess within the space.

Although this section will focus on the physical organization of the classroom, there are many components to the physical classroom that impact students' understanding of their spaces. The participants in this study focused on several aspects: the decorations on the walls, the physical movement of themselves and the teacher in the space, their choice to interact and sit within the space and the physical size of the room.

Decorations

The rooms where students learn are often the background for their education. When first entering a room, it is possible to notice right away what is decorating the walls or what the walls might lack. In linguistic landscaping, the written language on the walls shapes the landscape of the entire space; as Rancière (2009) comments, "[w]ords describe what the eye might see or express what it will never see; they deliberately clarify or obscure an idea" (p. 7). The words in the written sense that decorate the walls tell a story about the community the classroom hopes to create. The story that is created through the decorations alone allows for individuals to feel ownership of their space or feel as though they do not belong. Words are powerful and tell a story. The choices behind the words explain how these decorations shape the space as much as the words themselves. The decorations explain who belongs in the space, what language should be used and how it should be used.

The linguistic landscape of a space also explores the notion of who has dominance in the space, based on the language that is part of the linguistic landscape (Huebner, 2009). This means that the words on the signs explain the preference for a certain language in the space (Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre & Armand, 2009, p. 257; Trumper-Hecht, 2009). The language preference presented on the signs is further strengthened by the language people choose to orally communicate with within the space.

In terms of the classrooms that the participants experienced, decorations were sparse. However, one participant, Ly, talked about how his language classrooms were decorated with artwork from the different target language countries, so Mao was featured in his Chinese classroom and American movie posters were featured in his English classroom. Ly spoke about these language tokens in a very positive manner. It made his classroom a space where he enjoyed

interacting with the language. Ly also talked about how his early classrooms were full of children's artwork. This made the space one where the students felt comfortable. In much the same vein, Ellen talked about her classroom's decorations being chosen by the lead teacher, which she was, and how she enjoyed it immensely. She dictated the decorations with the input of the teacher. This ownership of even a small part of the class décor made her proud of her educational space. And, it made it her want to continue to perform well, so that she could maintain the honor.

For the most part, the artwork and decorations of spaces were limited, but participants talked about the language used on the chalkboard. When in English class, the language being used on the board was English, but the explanations were given in Chinese. This dichotomy of language use was frustrating to participants like June. This frustration could have been a byproduct of how English, the target language of the classroom, was not given the preference over Chinese and her learning was impacted. It speaks to the value that English is given in this Chinese classroom. Ultimately, the use of oral Chinese and written English describes a situation where spoken English may be viewed as a less valued entity. Since the participant had buy-in for learning oral English, her choices were rejected, ultimately resulting in frustration. The selective use of one language over the other created a sense that preferring to speak English was undesirable. This often made students good at English feel othered. This "othering" would be caused by the inability to communicate in both the target language and the dominant language, while some students were able to understand either language, or both.

Such shaping of the linguistic landscape plays an important role in helping students to either band together over their frustration in the shared miscomprehension of the target language and the ability to fall back on the dominant language, or reject notions from both. However, the

landscape has created a space where there is preference for those that have the ability to understand the target and dominant language. However, if the target language remains the focal point, all students could bond over their shared inability to understand. It is the use of the dominant language that creates a vacuum for those that are not part of the dominant community. And, it therefore reinforces the dominant narratives about language preference, even in spaces where the majority language should be sidelined in lieu of learning.

Like the oral language that shapes a space, the written language of the space expressed through decorations can help the space create an equilibrium. It defines the space as one for a certain language, where all involved in that space have the desire to become proficient in the target language featured on the signage. The decorations are also important for allowing all to feel they have ownership in either their understanding or their choice of decorations. Although the choice is not always possible, the ability to appreciate always is possible. It can be through the appreciation of the decorations and the language use that a classroom space helps promote the buy-in for the language use in the space.

Furniture/ Positioning

Much like the decorations help students feel at ease within their educational spaces, the choices that students make about where they sit, who they sit near and even what type of desk/table they sit at has an impact on the perceptions of their learning environment, making education more than just a sedentary passive construction, but a transactional one (Rosenblatt, 2005). This means that students are active participants in their learning, even if they are only sitting at a desk. It is a choice to pay attention and engage within an environment. Certain spaces encourage this type of engagement, whereas others discourage engagement. The choice for engagement falls to the students in the classroom, but there are spaces that invite those within the

space to participate in a meaningful way and others encourage students to hide. However, these spaces are not meant to be presented as being only binary, but the choices are one that is perpetually made and that is what makes it transactional.

To understand the impact that the choice for engagement has on a space, it is important to understand the impact of the furniture students sit at in the classroom. In a prototypical classroom, students have smaller desks and teachers have a larger desk. The size of the desk in some ways speaks to the control and power the teacher has in comparison to the students. The teacher possesses more space and the students possess less space. These spaces could correlate to the amount of power that is held within the space. However, as time and the classroom materials have changed (books to tablets, pencils to computers) the need for space has changed. Today, students need more space to contain the implements of educations. Books, notebooks and a pencil require less space than a computer, a tablet, a stylus and sometimes a book. Therefore, the furniture of the classroom needs to update with the times. Participants talked about the need for more space in terms of where they sat. This consideration for the materials of learning were just one area of concern as all the interview participants lamented the problems of the arm desk.

The desk/table debate is not one that is just important for the new implementation of technology, but the goals of the classroom. Ellen put it best "[i]t was pretty formatted in China." She meant that the classrooms were all set up the same way. There were rows of desks and the students did not move beyond their desks. They may rotate the columns, but they never changed rows in China. When the participants described their classroom experiences, especially Sun, they talked about sitting at forward facing desks, where the teacher could see you. The students did not move. Group work and collaboration was rarely done from the perspective of the

participants. There was much memorization and repeating, as was the expectation. The desk reinforced the idea of individual learning and individual success.

These same participants talked about how their classrooms transformed when they came to an American setting for learning English. The desks were often replaced by tables, so there was more personal space for each individual. The students were expected to talk to one another and share their ideas and language. This change in furniture and style (individual to collaborative) spoke to the divergent goals of the classroom. The students were no longer expected to be vessels for knowledge consumption, but active participants in their learning: collaborators "[s]ometimes, it is encouraged to talk to other students who sit at their side, which was not allowed in my earlier classroom" (Survey data). The design of the classroom furniture is conducive for this type of learning.

Movement

Much as classroom organization, furniture and artwork make the first physical space, so do the movements of the bodies within the spaces. Movement is often allowed or disavowed by the individual in charge "confrontation between the power and the impotence of a body" (Rancière, 2011, p. 80). Within the classroom the teacher dictated where and when the students move. This is enacted through expressions of power that manifest as societal rules. Students are taught to respect the teachers. Teachers therefore dictate the movement of the students.

There is a belief that Foucault dispels about the control of the body. It was previously believed that the control of the body leads to docility and that the mind can be controlled when the body is docile. However, "[t]he body, required to be docile in its minutest operations, opposes and shows the conditions of functioning proper to an organism. Disciplinary power has as its correlative an individuality that is not only analytical and 'cellular,' but also natural and

'organic'" explains the need for movement within the classroom (Foucault, 1975, p.156). It is generally believed that students that are docile are easier to control. And, students that do not obey are treated as outsiders in the space, because they have not been conforming to the expectations of classrooms. This creates a sense that students are not in control of their own spaces or themselves within these spaces.

In a classroom, participants explained how "[moving] definitely makes you stay more engaged" (Ellen, personal interview). The need for movement in the classroom spoke to how the classroom is an event. However, the desire for movement and the participants' beliefs of movement in the classroom were generally not honored in their classrooms. The need for movement comes from the need to engage. However, this movement is difficult when classrooms are extremely large and class size is a problem. It makes these participants feel that they are not individuals with educational needs or control of their educational environments, but masses that must be controlled.

The idea of movement or the lack of it is not just an expression of control or choice, but of the need to pay homage to the desires of students within their educational spaces. Students as has been shown throughout this study understand what works best for their educational experiences and how to enact the events that promote their own success, making education an event. When the movement of students is limited in the classrooms, it does not allow individuals to control their spaces for education, making them perceive of their educational spaces as less welcoming.

In addition to the lack of student movement, even the movements of the teachers were limited. Many interview participants (Sun, Ellen, June, Serena) talked about how the teachers often stayed at the front of the classroom. The teachers only moved about the classroom to

interact with few students, which led to isolation, and created a barrier between the teacher and the students.

This barrier reinforced the power structure in the classroom. Much as the control of the movement of the students reinforces the power dynamics in the classroom, so too does the teacher not making themselves available to the students. In some ways this preference the teacher's needs over those of the students. By operationalizing this idea, it teaches these students that the space where they gain an education as an event of the contexts is not one where they are in control or where they have a voice. The students are the non-dominant community defined through the eyes of the dominant teacher. This does not allow for a community to form within the classroom. It allows for students to be treated as outsiders in the community of the classroom for behaviors that seem organic to them. Ultimately, the movement within a classroom either encourages a community by allowing everyone to affiliate as needed, collaborate and co-construct knowledge. Creating barriers between teachers and students and restricting movement reinforces narratives of dominance and the dominant narrative that students are vessels for learning and should not have their experiences viewed as equal to those in a higher position of power.

Class Size

Just as furniture and positioning within a classroom have an impact on educational spaces, class size was a dominant theme as well. Most participants described their class size as large. Ellen talked about how her classes had over sixty students. "They were large," she said. As a counterpoint, Serena who went to a private Chinese elementary school described her class size as small at just 38 students. The idea of a large class is so commonplace in China that Serena mentioned how her classes were small at least four times throughout her story of her education.

Even Meg and Sun talked about how large their classes were in Japan and South Korea. Both women expressed a desire for small classes and enjoyed how college allowed the classes to be smaller.

Class size had a negative impact for participants when it was large and a positive impact when it was small. The size of the class is a topic throughout most of education, it is a common fear for parents as their children enter overcrowded schools that their child will be lost in the space as teachers' attention is drawn away to more needy students.

Teachers are often pulled in many directions and the role of the teacher is "to properly focus" (Gee, 2012, p. 110). But the question of how a teacher can focus on each individual student as the metric of education have become those of "'learnification' of education: the transformation of an educational vocabulary into a language of learning" (Biesta, 2010, p. 14). As the educational landscape has changed from one where teachers had agency in their classroom to one where the agency is given to a testing metric (Biesta, Priestly & Robinson, 2015) classrooms, especially with large numbers of students, impact the perception that students have when constructing their lived experiences within their educational stories.

Since the classes were so large, participants in this study often talked about feeling embarrassed and isolated within their education experiences. In fact, the stories of Sun and Meg revolved around the fear that education produced within them. Their class sizes reinforced their fear of embarrassment because Sun explained "sometimes it was humiliating when I can't pronounce correctly." Ultimately, students performed orally in front of an audience, causing students to feel on display. The space created one where performance was preferred over affiliation and learning "this power is revived, reactivated in the performance of the former, in the intelligence which constructs that performance" (Rancière, 2011, p. 3). The class and the

performance to assess knowledge is what allowed for the portal to the community (Gee, 2011). However, this manner of performance, when students could not perform led to the othering of these students. The act of standing and being judged in the physical space was a gate keeper of sorts for the students.

When the class size grows, it is better, at least from the perspective of the participants to conform to norms and try to excel within the structure of the classroom organization, rather than fail. This type of performance in front of a class, especially a large class, led to a community where shame was possible. This shame, when experienced, contributed to the feeling that not all students belong. The students who struggled were not encouraged in a large class but discouraged from trying by the fear of embarrassment. This is not a new concept, as mob and crowd mentality are often the drivers of power as Foucault (1975) describes in the opening torture seen in *Discipline and Punish*. Although individuals would not act out these moments of violence individually, when they become a mob, they would rather affiliate than risk being made to feel like an outsider. Being so "othered" is dangerous in both educational spaces and in Foucault's (1975) torture scene, because a mob, or a group of students, can quickly turn on someone who is different. This fear is what forces individuals to align.

It is not the class size itself that is the problem. A large class that promotes community and encouragement within the educational space can be as nurturing of difference as those that are small. However, the problem is in constructing a space that is not overrun by the dominant narrative that is possible when there is a large group of people. Therefore, participants using their own experiences, described their preference for smaller class sizes. These smaller classes were described in the survey data as "[t]here were about 13 students in a class…The class was relaxing," and "[i]t's more opened to talk with classmates." These surveys describe why the

participants viewed the smaller class size as conducive for their education as an event. The smaller class size allowed the teacher to move about and reach all of the students, enabling a community to form through interaction rather than just being in the space (Gee, 2004).

In some classrooms it is the membership in the space, the merely being there, that is perceived as community forming, but interactions and the potential for them are what enable a classroom space to transform from the first physical space (Burns, 2009) to one that is a portal (Gee, 2004) to the third co-constructed space. Although the size of the class is important and smaller class sizes force interaction, it is not always a guarantee that a space will meaningfully bridge the gap between the physical and the shared. However, the experiences of the participants in this study speak to the importance of a small class size. If the feeling towards smaller class size is one that allows the power to be re-distributed in the space, allowing students and teachers to have agency in the process of education, then small class sizes are a feature that a space needs to attend to when it is being constructed.

Teacher Perception

Classrooms are not shaped only by the walls that surround them or the physical objects that reside within the physical space, but the interactions within the first space construct the second spaces (middle layers) that create a bridge to the third space. The interactional space is one of the many layers of space. The impact that this layer has on space as a whole helps to construct the portal to the third space (Gee, 2004).

Interactional spaces are instrumental in shaping the linguistic landscape as well. Although interactions are not always verbal, when they are, the language choices are impactful in the linguistic landscape. The language choices that are chosen, as has been mentioned before, include or exclude different groups of people. Since students are sensitive to these issues, it is

important to consider how students will perceive of the language being used within the interaction. If it is the target language within the classroom, the misunderstandings and miscomprehensions are part of the learning process, but if the dominant language is used, it might imply an unintended message that the student is not proficient enough in the target language to understand the interactions. This may inadvertently cause students to feel like outsiders, causing negative associations with the space.

Ultimately, interactions are complicated within any space, but a classroom space with its many layers can be even more challenging to navigate. Therefore, the interactions that teachers have with their students is a driving factor in the educational experiences of the participants "teacher is really friendly and helpful" as a survey described. The perception of the teacher is one where participants often are willing to share. The perception of the teacher was not limited to the teacher as a person, but the types of knowledge they possessed as well.

Knowledge

A theme that was presented by two interviewees was the idea of privileged and preferred knowledge. In terms of the hierarchy of knowledge, there are some types of knowledge that are preferred over others. For example, math and literacy are two types of knowledge that are sanctioned and prevalent in compulsory education (k-12). Jim Gee (2004, 2011, 2016) talks about literacy in the traditional sense and reconstructs the idea of what it means to be literate to include more types of knowledge to make all types of knowledge valued. However, this new way of privileging knowledge is not one that all consider to be true. For Serena and June, knowledge and what was taught had to fit into their criteria of "real" learning. For Serena, she did not consider it formal learning if she did not find value in what she was learning: "I don't consider it my first formal English experience because all they taught us was red/green or something." June

had a similar sentiment as she talked about being rewarded by being allowed to play when they did something right in class and not receiving grades. These two participants typify Biesta's (2010) "learnification," where the idea of learning is a transaction. It does not allow for the play that is needed for learning. There is a "tendency to replace a language of education with a language that only talks about education in terms of learning" (Biesta, 2010, p. 201). This transformation of education as an event comprised of multiple experiences to one that is solely about facts, is presented by these two women motivated through success within their classrooms.

This narrative that June and Serena constructed is part of education not as a space for play, exploration and discovery, but for privileged knowledge only. This rigid belief system of knowledge may have been reinforced by the structure of their educational upbringing: rows facing forward, restricted movement and deference to the teacher. This belief is one of valid concern in the exploration of educational spaces. Education is an event, meaning that play and discovery are essential. However, when the dominant narrative exists that education is a transaction and learning is commodified, a value in the monetary sense can be placed on education. This is wherein an educational space constructed on productivity can be created. However, education is not commodifiable. It is a set of experiences which is dependent on the contexts and communities that form it. The actors may appear again and again: teacher, students, desks, books and boards, but the outcome is always evolving. When a space is created that prizes a certain form of thinking over another, the possibility for excluding those that do not subscribe to the same set of values or have the same attributes continues to grow. Therefore, the educational spaces where students experience education should be open to the multiple literacies possible within any context (Gee, 2011).

Attitude

Much as students perceived certain types of knowledge as valid or worthy of learning, the perception of their teachers also had a huge impact on the classroom spaces. When learning a language, there is a slight bias toward a native-speaker accent since the goal is to sound as native as possible (Jenkins, 2013). This, in turn, translates to how students perceive their teachers. For the most part, students that experience their teachers as having a native-like accent view them as more knowledgeable, at least in terms of this study. Serena talked about her first formal education experience being with a British teacher. He is the first teacher that expected students to do more than memorize information "that's how I started actually LEARNING English. I wouldn't consider the prior five years of English classes be like…it's like Spanish programs for TK students here in America, so they don't actually learn anything" (Serena, personal interview). But, accent was not the only dictator of how participants felt about their instructors.

Participants also described their positive experiences with teachers as those that encouraged them. Three of the interview subjects: June, Ellen and Sun, explained that the teachers who encouraged them to try made them want to learn English more. Even Serena, who was the most critical of her language learning experiences, talked about how seeking out the teacher and forming a bond was essential for her engagement within the language classroom. For most students there is "a social need among users to engage with other voices" (Zappavigna, 2011, p. 790). The need to seek approval and interaction with teachers is not surprising. Learning a language or any new skill set makes an individual vulnerable. This vulnerability is usually quelled by a teacher who does not criticize for mistakes but helps students to correct their errors. Ellen explained that her teacher was understanding and respectful of the students, but she only found this type of teacher in the USA at Lake City University.

The interactions with teachers are shapers of the educational space, but the very demeanor of the teacher also dictates how the classroom environment will feel. Students and teachers often experience the energy in the room and that dictates their feelings to not just that day in class but can be an overlay to the entire experience. Serena described one of her teachers as a "grumpy lady." This forced the students to not interact or to enjoy learning. The expectation was that they must sit quietly at their desks to prevent getting into trouble. The demeanor reinforced the already fearful environment at times. As a counterpoint, Ly talked about his Chinese teacher as being a funny guy and this made Chinese class even more enjoyable. There is a lightness that teachers bring to a classroom. This lightness does not necessarily have anything to do with the actual light in the classroom. June described some of her classes as being light and bright. Although this could talk about the physical environment, it could also be descriptive of the general feelings in the air.

Such lightness and openness often translated for the participants to an environment that was open to students trying. Students, as expressed by the lived experiences of the participants, feel "judged by my broken Enlgish" (survey data). Meg talked about the judgment here that teachers had for her American accent and experiences living abroad. This judgment is further promoted by the performance aspect of classes where students are expected to recite in front of the classroom. Ultimately the environment of judgment does not allow students and teachers to create a space of shared experiences (Gee, 2011), but treats students as less worthy. This treatment can make an educational space feel oppressive rather than open to the experiences of all the participants.

Teachers, more than any other actor, will shape the spaces since they possess most of the social capital expressed as power in the classroom (Bourdieau, 1991). This shaping of the space

allows for the community formation and expression by all participants in the room. The room is shaped not only by the teacher themselves, but also the interactions between teachers and students. Each element is a component that shapes the spaces for education, transforming it into an event of education. The event of education requires the space be shaped purposeful and by everyone.

Past, Present and Future Classrooms

The spaces of our past set our expectations for the present and construct our future experiences in a space. The hope dictates what we would like to see within a space, knowing what provides us with the most support. It is as if the past writes the expectations of the future, using the narratives of the past and present to construct a future story that is forever shaped by the etchings of past experiences "every social space has a history" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 110). The etchings of the past leave remnants on the space, helping to grow the space beyond its past constructions. And, the only way to grow this space is through producing a space that is divorced from its past (Lefebvre, 1991).

To truly understand the experiences of the participants in their educational spaces and how the events of education shaped their understanding, participants described their educational spaces, often drawing the spaces (see Appendix B), to describe what the physical educational context looked like. Their remembrances were an important feature in their stories, "the generative past are forever leaving their inscriptions upon the writing tablet, so to speak, of space" because it provided the backdrop for all of their experiences (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 110). The spaces gave the participants a place to shine or hide, succeed or fail, participate or withdraw. The classroom spaces were the events of education shaping the space to promote learning or to create fear.

Past

The participants in the interviews talked about their classrooms as being in large spaces, to accommodate the large number of students and their desks, which were always double, and were always in straight neat rows and columns. There was a rigidity to the classrooms, which Ellen called "formatted." In the classrooms the blackboard was at the front and a bulletin board was in the back. The teacher's desk was in the front of the room to the left of the blackboard. The students faced forward and were organized based on their height, so as not to obscure anyone else's view of the front of the room. These arrangements did not adjust throughout the year beyond moving along the columns; the row of the students never changed.

Although this fixed organization is not bad, it did not allow for students to meet their needs and wants for movement. It did not also allow for students with visual or hearing difficulties to sit in a seat where they could meet their needs when engaging with education. These spaces focused on one type of learning from the participants perspective and that was testing and performance. Some of the participants talked about the rigorous testing schedule and others, including Sun and Meg, talked about performing by speaking in front of the class.

This fixed type of classroom was functional for the goals that needed to be met in this space, but it did not allow for students to "learn in the natural way" (Sun, personal interview). They often listened and repeated, but interaction was limited. The teacher would talk in Chinese and write in English on the board. This did not allow the participants to gain the fluency that they sought. The speaking through the writing, also created a sort of hierarchy of language (Chen, 2016; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). The hierarchy of language created a space, where the native language of the country, Chinese in this case, was also perceived as the preferred and comprehensible language. Even in the English courses, where the topic was the language,

English was the dispreferred means of communication. This implicitly informed students that English was not to be used when explaining, since the teacher modelled English as a mode of written communication, but not oral communication. This created a tapestry of sorts, where English use was one where mistakes were not encouraged, but only perfection, because even the teacher, the perceived expert, would not use the target language. This created a layer of fear of performance in the space, reinforced by the unwillingness to use oral English.

The rigidity of these spaces meant that the students were used to a fixed classroom setting and a fixed manner of learning. This allowed these participants to talk about what they viewed as "real" learning and not "real" learning. It is not dissimilar from the ways that Foucault (1975) talked about organizing bodies and observing them in spaces. Such rigidity can function for students that work well in the mold that was created. However, it can be problematic for students that feel like outsiders like Meg and Sun.

Present

When talking about their experiences at Lake City University, most of the participants talked about how different the classroom rooms were. This may have been because the classrooms are different since they are just shells for spaces, meaning they serve many classes, at the university level. The classroom could have a statistics class in it one hour, an English class at another time and history shortly after that. The classroom spaces in a university, especially a large one like Lake City University, continually use their classroom places for different functions. Therefore, the flexibility in the space is necessary.

The participants talked about how they still faced the board, but they moved during their ESL classes. The participants said they would move around at least once in each class period. They sat at tables and regularly interacted with their neighbors. The participants also remarked

that the teacher was available to them throughout the class. The teacher may have been at the front at points during the class but did not stay there. Also, the students talked about how they chose where they sat.

For the most part, the participants described how the space felt different in some ways. They talked about the community and the ability to make friends in their ESL class. They mentioned the positive interactions and how that helped them. The classroom spaces were different from their past experiences, which allowed there to be a change from their past experiences. These classrooms are set up to meet the goals of their education as an event. This means that testing in these ESL courses was not the focus but understanding and applying what was learned. Therefore, the space needed to be different to meet this educational need.

The space was constructed to allow for interaction. In some ways the space created an interactional layer for students to use so that they could access the third space. Interaction became the "portal" to their co-constructed knowledge formation in the third space (Gee, 2012). The movement within the space and the access to both the other students and the teacher allowed students to change how they thought about their experiences of education as an event. It allowed them to control their interactions and make the educational space their own, whereby they chose their knowledge acquisition and made their goals within the confines of the educational space.

Future

Participants used their past to help describe what their ideal classrooms would looked like. It was not expected what the participants would describe. For the most part the participants talked of wanting sufficient space to move around and easy access to their classmates and teacher. It was also important that they have enough space at their tables or desks to put their laptops, books and notebooks. Each of these features speaks to the need for convenience and

comfort within the classroom. It also projects the participants desire to create a space that was a community. Interactions allow for the portal to the third space to be formed (Gee, 2012). When asked what they hoped for in a future classroom, participants were unsure how to answer, but they all had an opinion. What was surprising about their answers was that they all valued the same aspects of the classroom. Most of the participants wanted equity in the classroom. They wanted equity and fairness in seeing the board, access to the teacher and talking to each other. They wanted spaces that introduced opportunities for interaction. Several of the participants drew round tables (See Appendix B). They viewed these round tables as allowing them to interact with each other at will. It also allowed them to easily access their teacher.

The spaces were uniformly described as being bright. Light was an important feature to the participants and most described a desire for windows in their classrooms. Few talked about wanting technology integrated into their classrooms. To the participants, the interactions superseded the need for technology. The spaces that the participants envisioned spoke to their desire for interaction. The lack of interactions is what drove their previous experiences to be difficult and what made their American experiences better. The forming of a friendship in the classroom is a gatekeeper in vulnerable situations such as learning a second language. The space the participants described paid heed to this need.

Conclusion

The themes that shape the experiences of participants were varied. It appeared that the journey through education was not always easy. Participants described what it felt like to struggle and succeed; what it was like to be treated as different from everyone else. The experiences that each participant had within their education were legitimate and should be

considered when thinking about constructing a space where students will spend that majority of their childhood and adolescence. The stories that are created allow for a community to be formed "*the* primary way—human beings make sense of their experiences is by casting it in a narrative form" (Gee, 1985, p. 11).

The process of aging itself is difficult, but a classroom can be a tinderbox where a student can feel like every day is a struggle to just fit in or it can be a haven where they are acknowledged for their accolades and accepted despite their struggles. The participants shared their stories and then they were compiled in a meaningful way that would be understandable to an outside observer. The themes that emerged from these stories allowed for comparison across experiences, but the stories were hopefully true to the original intentions of the teller "a potential warrant for the validly of my interpretation is whether it makes sense to the respondent" (Mishler, 1990, p. 427). Ultimately, the themes that emerged from the stories that were constructed by the participants and the survey interview data will help to answer the research questions in the next chapter.

Spaces in any shape, but especially classroom spaces, are a balancing act as the actors and the spaces form to create a community or an environment that treats education as more than a transaction, but an interactional relationship. Education, as an event, takes the experiences of each actor and allows them to construct a space for their own education, making all knowledge valid within its space. "To reconfigure the landscape of what can be seen and what can be thought is to alter the field of the possible and the distribution of capacities and incapacities" (Rancière, 2011, p. 49).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Students each experience their education in ways that are unique to them. The experiences that the participants in this study shared were incredibly diverse and robust. Their experiences detailed what it meant to them to be English learners in multiple educational contexts. They talked about their struggles and successes throughout their education, depicting their classrooms as spaces where they were actors but not shapers of the space. They used the spaces for their benefit, but also to hide in plain sight when they just did not fit in. The spaces were more than just the background for their education, but where they began to interact with the linguistic, cultural, social and temporal layers of space, allowing them to modify the spaces to form access points to the third space— a space that pierces through the other layers of space, allowing for co-construction and sharing of knowledge. This third space, when activated, is where education as an event occurs.

Thinking of classroom spaces as more than just physical spaces allows them to be transformative for knowledge acquisition and the melding of multiple forms of knowledge. The classroom spaces became more than just physical locations, but spaces where community formation was possible through the co-construction of multiple layers. Educational spaces can gradually transform into communities of practice as Gee (2012) and Holland et al. (2011) describe. This transformation allows them to move from mere affinity spaces (Gee, 2012) to ones where the active participation in the spaces creates ownership and engagement in not just the space as a physical location but the co-construction of the spaces to build education as an event with others as a co-constructed community.

These classroom spaces are the first communities that individuals belong to beyond their families and their family–affiliated communities. Therefore, classroom spaces, for younger

students initially, are where they begin to understand and shape the inter-spaces between the layers of space to not just learn about the boundaries but construct their third spaces. These spaces are shaped by the students and the students shape the space. It is transactional, as Rosenblatt (2005) described, and the spaces are produced by the social, cultural, linguistic and temporal layers that participants bring into a place (Lefebvre, 1991).

Therefore, it is important to understand how the spaces of education are shaped and perceived by the individuals that construct their lived experience within and through them. Using the data collected and "chosen as representative of patterns I was finding in the full data set," I will answer the research questions in this closing chapter (Mishler, 1990, 427). The questions were answered in the study, but the answers were not necessarily what was initially projected as the response. Without a space that is created through the manipulation of the physical realm, social realm, cultural realm and linguistic realm a context for the classroom as an event and education as a goal seems difficult to meet.

How do students experience their educational spaces, both the physical space and beyond the physical?

Space is not a single layer, but a collective of layers. As Burns (2009) explains, the first space is the physical space. This is where students begin to interact with both their physical classroom environment and the educational experiences that are planned for them within the space. The experiences in the physical space ultimately shape the ability to create a third space where knowledge can be co-constructed.

In these spaces, it is understood that the educational environment that is being co-constructed first begins with the understanding that spaces are rooted in their temporal experiences and those carry with them the legacies of the past. For students, this means that their

past educational experiences, which may be reflected in the physical organization, dictate the expectations of how the environment of the class will be organized. This means that if students see formatted classrooms with straight rows and columns of desks, they will expect to learn through memorization and that there will be little interaction between themselves and their peers or their teachers. The expectation will be that there will be testing and performance, but little academic interaction in the space. This is what students surmise will take place. However, if the first physical space is organized differently, it "forces a radical break between the historical and economic realms" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.75). This means that the historical legacy present in the physical space does not shape the economy of the space, in the sense of the potential interactions within the space. The changes in the first physical space allow for the detachment from the legacy of the past. Students are allowed to see the potential in the space as different from the past that has dictated their education. That does not guarantee that the experience will be an improvement for each individual student, merely that it will be different, and the experience may be beneficial for the students that struggled in the past, as most of the participants did.

The first physical space enables students to understand the implicit expectations in the classroom, understanding if the traditional education power hierarchy will be enforced or if the hierarchy will be modified in lieu of the perception of the physical space. Oftentimes the person at the front of the room, the teacher, wields the power over the students. This expectation is not unlike what was discussed in discipline and power through the panopticon (Foucault, 1975). The panoptic allows for everyone to be observed and to observe. This mutual observation leads to monitoring for behavior, a type of policing if you will. The policing enables discipline for unfavorable behavior. The behavior is not solely defined as physical action, but also language monitoring (Gregg, 1984).

This monitoring is part of the experiences in the first space of a classroom. The physical layout of the space dictates the experiences of the other spaces and enables or prevents interactions and establishment of other layers of space. What this means in terms of the data, is that students who perceive their classroom spaces as being similar to their past experiences, expect their learning expectations and outcomes to be similar. They expect that the teacher will follow a similar procedure to their past experiences, which was being lectured at and being expected to perform in front of their peers. Ultimately, this means when the classroom's physical space stays consistent with past experiences, the expectations for future interactions will be similar to those from the past.

However, the past can be divorced from the present and future when the first space exhibits a different form. So, for these students it means changing the desks to tables or allowing for movement and interaction. It can even be as simple as the teacher walking around the classroom, allowing students to engage. The ideal classrooms that were presented speak to the desire for interaction and movement in the classroom. This allowed the participants to experience learning as a form of interaction and education becomes an event within a space.

It is through these first physical spaces of classrooms that individuals within the space begin to access the other spaces present. The physical space provides the portal to the third space (Gee, 2012). When the physical space is constructed to allow comfort and safety, the students are able to explore the linguistic landscape and be active participants within the space, rather than passive consumers of information. A space is what allows these students to be participants of education, making their goals through the co-construction of the spaces.

How does a linguistic landscape help us understand the social construction of space?

Although I initially thought the linguistic landscape would help to understand the social construction of space in the classroom, and it did, but not in the expected manner. Linguistic landscapes are traditionally viewed as the written linguistic tokens that adorn spaces, but the oral language-scape created a more powerful understanding of the social constructions within the space.

The election of who can speak, when they can speak and what they can speak created a social hierarchy within the classroom space that impacted learning as an educational event. In the past experiences of the participants, the oral language-scape conveyed the power dynamics of the classroom. In the traditional classrooms of the students, the teacher was the only individual that possessed the cultural capital to speak at will. The teacher had the ability to self-select (Mchoul 1978). They had the ability to interrupt and to dictate when the students were to speak. This choice of when and who could speak helps to communicate the social construction of the classroom. The participants were made to feel that their position within the space and their right to the space was limited through the ability to define their own interactions.

Verbal interactions are one manner that helps to construct a space. It helps to create a community through building language together. However, when such interactions are limited, the social actors are limited by their lack of communication. Therefore, interactions become essential for a social learning space to be created. By social learning space I mean one where students have the ability to construct meaning through their language use. It is a freedom of sorts to allow students the ability to communicate using the medium of instruction: English.

Despite interactions being important to the construction of a social space, only using interactions to shape a social space would lead to a chaos that may not allow for education to

occur. Diversity in interactions and the physical organization of a space allows a social space to be constructed "illustrate[ing] how classroom diversity is a potential classroom resource for individual and collective growth" (Dyson, 1997, p. 6). A social space requires not just language to form it, but a diversity of experiences. Therefore, the language was not the only aspect of space that constructed the social space. The physical organization of the space also contributed to creating a social space. When teachers remain at the front of the room, continually monitoring the students for preferred behavior, the physical space constructs a social space that uses "fear" to build compliance. The teacher's positioning in relation to the students creates a sense of social hierarchy, where students are deferential to the teacher, heeding their ideas to those of the more powerful individual in the room. This is further enhanced through the movement in the room. Teachers have historically been able to choose where they go throughout the room and where they can sit. However, the participants in this study were rarely allowed this luxury during their education history but were allowed to move more within their educational spaces at Lake City University. These changes allowed for participants to understand the social space of a classroom as different from the past.

The social spaces that are shaped in the past present the expectations for the present. The participants understood their roles in the classroom but were asked to reimagine their social standing in the space as they entered a new context: Lake City University. The re-organization of the social space did not mean less respect for the teacher, but was a redistribution of social capital, allowing the students to understand that their knowledge was valued in this new space. It allowed them to understand that educational experiences are co-constructed when they are most meaningful to learners. And, it enabled the space to be created through and within equity. The students in a space should feel that their voice is impactful for their own education. Allowing

impact and equity to be pillars of education spaces, creating confidence within students enabling them to transition the knowledge taught in the classroom to meaningful knowledge for them, which is applicable beyond the walls of the classroom.

Although the linguistic landscape and oral language-scape were important to understanding the education space, they were not the only shapers of the space. The organization of the physical was instrumental to the construction of a social space. Language may reinforce the social understanding of a space and the linguistic landscape may convey information about the actors within a space, but it cannot be the only tool that shapes a space into its current understanding. Much as spaces cannot be shaped alone, but are best shaped through co-construction, language cannot be the only medium to create a space. The space can be defined and refined through language, but it is not constructed only through language. This would not allow for the other layers of space to be instrumental in the creation of space.

How does the linguistic landscape include and/or exclude students from the spaces where a classroom is co-constructed?

How can exclusion be minimized to ensure students are in control of their own spaces and education?

Language ecology is difficult to understand through an environment and each individual will perceive of the linguistic landscape differently. As has been mentioned, linguistic landscapes are not solely written language, but spoken language as well. For the participants in the study, the linguistic landscape either made them feel included when they succeeded in speaking well or excluded when they did not perform as expected. However, this same linguistic landscape could be prohibitive and demoralizing when the students perceived themselves to being "failing" or "being different." The language may have been homogeneous in the sense that everyone was

working toward the same target language, but the ability to perform in that language was dramatically different. In a way, this created a linguistic landscape that privileged individuals who had the desired language abilities and accent, giving them more confidence within the language space. But the perception of being different, even if it meant being more fluent in the target language, as in the case of Meg, meant that speaking well created the feeling of being an outsider, effectively losing cultural capital. Since Meg had an American English accent and better control of the language, her knowledge was not welcomed in the classroom and perceived as "showing-off," being too knowledgeable or being too different. Therefore, her mastery was not celebrated or used as a means to encourage others to improve but was used to embarrass her for being different. Her English skills were used to present her being less Japanese, but not American enough. She was always lacking cultural capital in these spaces.

Although spoken language contributes to creating a linguistic landscape, so too does the language that is used on the whiteboard. In addition, the linguistic tokens that decorate the walls also shape the space. The languages that decorate share a story about a common educational goal but do not act as a gatekeeper as it does in most linguistic landscaping (Shohmany & Gorter, 2008). In the classroom, the linguistic tokens were informers of the language choices of the space. In much of the linguistic landscaping research, the written tokens in environments beyond classrooms acted as a manner for a community to affiliate through their shared language. This was not unlike a classroom. But the languages presented in the exterior environments acted as a manner to assert claim to a space and leverage linguistic power. Graffiti is a form of marking of territory through language and symbols, alerting others that the area belongs to one group and not another. In the classroom environment, written linguistic tokens did not have the intention of marking territory for prohibitive means, but as a means for students and teachers to understand

that this space was to be used for learning a second language. The goal of these signs was not to keep other languages out, but welcome a new language in. The linguistic landscape in these classroom spaces can create a linguistic layer that speaks to how students can create a space of interlanguage, which is a mix of multiple languages that is comprehensible to the speakers (Ortega, 2009). This linguistic layer of a classroom is a bridge between the layers. This means that the physical space helps to create a portal and the community is the door, but the linguistic layer of the space acts as the bridge between layers. It is what allows the participants in a classroom environment to form a co-constructed space. The language is the vehicle for meaning-making in the space.

Although the linguistic landscape was not constructed using billboards or graffiti, as traditional linguistic landscapes, that are studied are, the space that was created using language was no less diverse. The students in a classroom are speakers and writers. Their language trials are what create safety and acceptance in the space. "This shared power of the equality of intelligence links individuals, makes them exchange their intellectual adventures in so far as it keeps them separate from one another, equally capable of using the power everyone has to plot her own path" (Ranciere, 2011, p. 17). And, it is not the perfect use of one language or another, but the act of learning a language that makes the space accessible and balances the power dynamics within the space, allowing for inclusion.

The linguistic space also is integrally tied to the physical space because the spoken language, rather than the written language, was more actively shaping the classroom spaces. Written language is often chosen by an individual who holds power within the space. Spoken language, however, is often interactional in a classroom. Therefore, the use of spoken language creates a linguistic space, where there are many community members who have shaped the space

rather than a singular individual within the space. This collaborative use of language is instrumental in forming a community of practice and enabling an access point to shared knowledge. In order for the language to shape the space, interactions need to be possible. Therefore, consideration to the first physical space is necessary to allow a linguistic landscape to form organically in the classroom. In much of the data that shared the participants' past educational experiences, the teacher was the shaper of the linguistic landscape, creating a story that said the target language should only be used for speaking of decontextualized language, but never for the creation of language. However, the classrooms in a new environment define the linguistic landscape through the interactions that took place, often enacting an English space that was not free of error but accepting of the linguistic differences. These language spaces were dramatically different, but nonetheless shaped the experiences of the participants and will continue to shape the experiences of future students.

The language ecology of the space is not noticeable to everyone, but it is always present. The linguistic landscape shapes the space through the inclusion or exclusion of languages but becomes increasingly important as a target language is being taught. The linguistic landscape is what allows the spaces to be bridged in the multi-layered spaces of educational experiences.

How can spaces be shaped to meet the needs of students from their own lived experiences?

Spaces are co-constructed and each individual within a space has an idea of what they would like to see and experience within a space. Rancière (2011) explains this notion the best, "[i]t is the multiplicity of folds and gap in the fabric of common experience that change the cartography of the perceptible, the thinkable and the feasible" (p. 72). Participants in this study could imagine what was possible from education after they had experienced a different educational context. It was through using their lived experiences, past and present, that they

could think through what they would like to see in a space. It was through using their common experiences that the possibilities of what students want, that a possibility could be formulated in this meta-analysis.

For most of the participants and individuals in general, equity is important to how a space is experienced. By this, it could mean a student being able to see the board without their view being obstructed or being able to hear clearly. The participants throughout the study talked about how they wanted access to the knowledge that they privileged in the form of their teacher, but also in the ability to form a community that was supportive and not overly judgmental of their experiences.

The lived experiences of students are what allowed there to be a retrospective look at the past and it "is a reconstruction of the past, shaped by the particular context of its telling" (Mishler, 1990, p. 427). Each participant was able to take their experiences and shape them into a story of their education. Every story was a lived experience and because of its grounding within reality helped to understand the experiences and languages that shaped the spaces of participants' education; the stories were not always happy, nor were they objective in their telling. However, they were all valid and helped to create a narrative of learning English in different countries. The lived experiences do not allow for "traditional notions of reliability simply do not apply to narrative studies, and validity must be radically reconceptualized" (Mishler, 1990, as cited in Kohler Riessman, 1993, p. 65). Therefore, the lived experiences of the participants were about the perceptions and these perceptions are what will shape future spaces if and only if there is attention paid to how students understand their spaces.

Conclusion

In answering the research question, it became apparent that the answers were tied to one another but left the opportunity for more questions about what classroom spaces mean to students and teachers and how these spaces are impactful for education as an event. Learning in a space can take many forms, but to not attempt to understand what impact the space may have on the goals of education does not pay respect to the complexity of what it means to experience education and create education as a co-constructed community event. The spaces where students and teachers co-construct knowledge impacts them throughout their journeys through education. The spaces are the backdrop of education, but continue to shape the emotional experience of education, dictating the engagement with materials. Just as the actors of education transact their knowledge (Rosenblatt, 2005), so too does the space transact itself upon the experiences of students; "the institutional stories of school profoundly shape us all" (Clandinin, 2013, p. 319).

The spaces are shaped through their layers, but the access point to the third space, where knowledge is made, is through the understanding of the physical space and how that is expressed through the linguistic landscape. Students will understand their worth through the language wherein they tell their stories as individuals, moving to construct narratives from a collection of stories, moving into a master narrative that allows the experiences to transcend a community. The spaces of education are complicated spaces, not unlike any other space, but they are the spaces where so much time is spent for children, adolescents and adults. Therefore, the spaces are a part of the lived experiences that help to create our stories and education is what bridges what could be done to what can be done (Vygotsky, 1975). The spaces become a part of the story, much like walls become part of a physical space. The space is the frame of the story, separating it from other stories that have formed the storyteller.

Through listening to the perception of spaces and their impact on individuals' views and experiences of education, we may shift attention from solely subject specific focuses to one framed through the goals of education, where the space helps the educational goals to be reached. As further research is done about education, spaces are one area where a solution can be found that is easily enacted at the micro-level, the classroom, but has impacts through the social, cultural, language and temporal realms of individual students. Although the understanding of the perception of spaces can be integral to shaping a classroom, it is not the only aspect of education as an event that is impactful for students and teachers. Space is one area where a possible solution can be enacted without re-designing buildings or starting from scratch. A space can be changed simply through allowing students to select where they sit, giving them respect, trust and cultural capital that may be absent in other aspects of their lives beyond their educational environments.

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Appendix A

Default Question Block

<u>**Informed Consent Form for Understanding Spaces of Educational Experiences**</u>

Title of the Study: Understanding Spaces of Educational Experiences

Principal Investigator: Mary Louise Gomez (phone: (608) 263-6527) (email: mlgomez@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Lauren Primuth (e-mail: primuth@wisc.edu)

Description of the Research

You are invited to participate in a research study about understanding how students create their educational experiences.

You have been asked to participate because you are currently or have been an ESL student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The purpose of the research is to understand how educational experiences are shaped by ESL students both within and beyond traditional classrooms.

This study will include past and/or current ESL students from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Procedures

You will be asked questions about your English as a Second Language learning experiences both within and outside of the classroom. The questionnaire consists of 26 questions and will take approximately 30 minutes or less. Questions are designed to understand your experiences in ESL and EFL settings. This questionnaire will be conducted with an online Qualtrics-created survey.

Risks/Discomforts

Risks are minimal for involvement in this study. Although we do not expect any harm to come upon any participants there is a risk that your confidentiality may be breached.

BenefitsThere are no direct benefits for participants. However, it is hoped that through your participation, researchers will learn more about what students feel in their classrooms to improve ESL experiences for future students.

Confidentiality

All data obtained from participants will be kept confidential using fake names and all information will be kept secure using a locked cabinet or secure servers. All questionnaires will be concealed, and no one other than the primary investigator and assistant researches listed below will have access to them. The data collected will be stored in the HIPPA-compliant, Qualtrics-secure database until it has been deleted by the primary investigator.

Compensation

There is no direct compensation, however, participants will have the chance of winning the $20 Amazon giftcard (e.g. 1 in 200).

Participation

Participation in this research study is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime or refuse to participate entirely without jeopardy to your academic status, GPA or standing with the university. If you desire to withdraw, please close your internet browser.

Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact (Lauren Primuth), primuth@wisc.edu.

Questions about your Rights as Research Participants

If you have questions or you do not feel comfortable asking the researcher, you may contact (Dr. Mary Louise Gomez) at 608-263-6527 or mlgomez@wisc.edu. If you are not satisfied with the responses of the research term, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB office at 608-263-2320.

By selecting this answer, I consent to participate in this survey. (Please provide your name (first and family names).)

By selecting this answer, I do not consent to participating in this survey.

With what gender do you identify?

Male

Female

Other

Are you a UW-Madison student?

Yes

No

What level in school are you?

1st year undergraduate/ Freshman

2nd year undergraduate/ Sophomore

3rd year undergraduate/ Junior

4th year undergraduate/ Senior

5th year or more undergraduate

Graduate student

What is your ethnicity?

African American or Black

American Indian or Alaska Native

Hispanic or Latino/a

Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander

Hmong

Laotian

Vietnamese

Other Asian

White

What is your mother language/ native language?

[   ]

What is your home country?

[   ]

How many languages do you speak?

[   ] 1 language (please specify)

[   ] 2 languages (please specify)

[   ] 3 or more languages (please specify)

What languages did you learn in a traditional educational setting (school or classroom)?

[   ]

What is your major?

[   ]

234

Have you taken any English as a Second Language (ESL) courses at the University of Wisconsin-Madison?

Yes
No

What English as a Second Language (ESL) classes did you take at the University of Wisconsin-Madison? (Check all that apply)

ESL 110
ESL 114
ESL 115
ESL 116
ESL 117
ESL 118

[   ]Other (please specify)

How many semesters of English have you studied at the University of Wisconsin-Madison?

1 semester
2 semesters
3 semesters
4 or more semesters

Did you study English in your home country?

Yes

235

No

How many years of English have you studied total?

1-2 years

3-4 years

5-6 years

7-8 years

9-10 years

11 or more years

Where did you first begin studying English?

My home country (where English is not the dominant language)

In a country where English is the dominant language

Did you learn English in a classroom, when you first started learning?

Yes
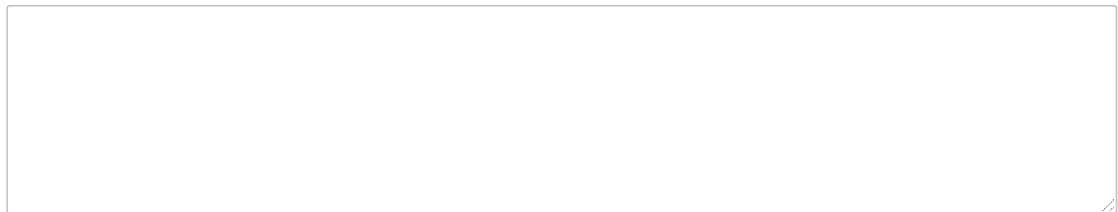
No

Please describe your first English learning experience:

What did your classroom look like? (You may want to talk about the desks, other students, the teacher, the books and the wall decorations. Any and all details will be helpful.)

[ ]

Please describe your English classrooms at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. (You may want to talk about the desks, other students, the teacher, the books and the wall decorations. Any and all details will be helpful.)

[ ]
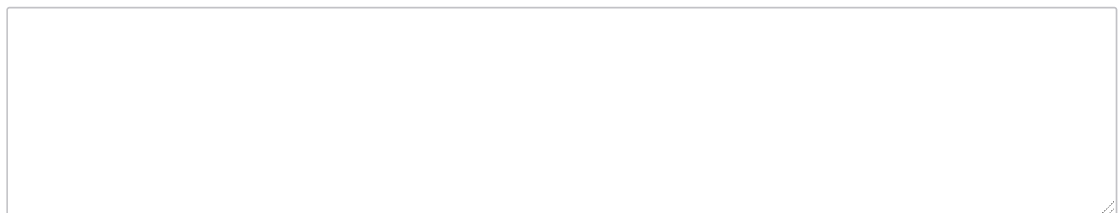
Have you enjoyed learning English?

Yes
No

Please explain why you have liked learning English?

[ ]

Please explain why you have disliked learning English?

Please describe your English learning experiences:

How much listening or speaking was done in your classrooms?

	Teacher did most of the talking	More teacher than student talking	Equal teacher and student talking	More student talking than teacher talking	Students did most of the talking
In your home country	○	○	○	○	○
At the University of Wisconsin-Madison	○	○	○	○	○

Where do you feel most comfortable learning English?

In a classroom in my home country

In a classroom in at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

In an English speaking environment (on the streets in an English speaking country, making friends with native English speakers)

What makes is easiest for you to learn in a classroom in your home country?

What makes is easiest for you to learn in a classroom at the University of Wisconsin-Madison?

What makes it easiest for you to learn in an English speaking environment (on the streets in an English speaking country, making friends with native English speakers)?

In your home country, did you ever notice any signs or posters in your classroom?

Yes

No

What languages were the signs or posters in?

Only my native language
Only in English
In both my native language and English

At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, have you ever noticed signs or posters in your English classroom?

Yes
No

What languages were the signs or posters in?

Languages other than English
Only in English
In multiple languages

Would you like to talk more about your English learning experiences?
(Compensation will be provided for follow-up interviews)
If yes, please provide your e-mail address so an interview can be scheduled.

[   ]Yes

No

Would you like to be entered to win a $20 Amazon gift card? Please provide your e-mail address and a selection of yes.

[   ]Yes

No

Thank you for your participation in this survey

Appendix B

Serena Drawings

Middle School Classroom:
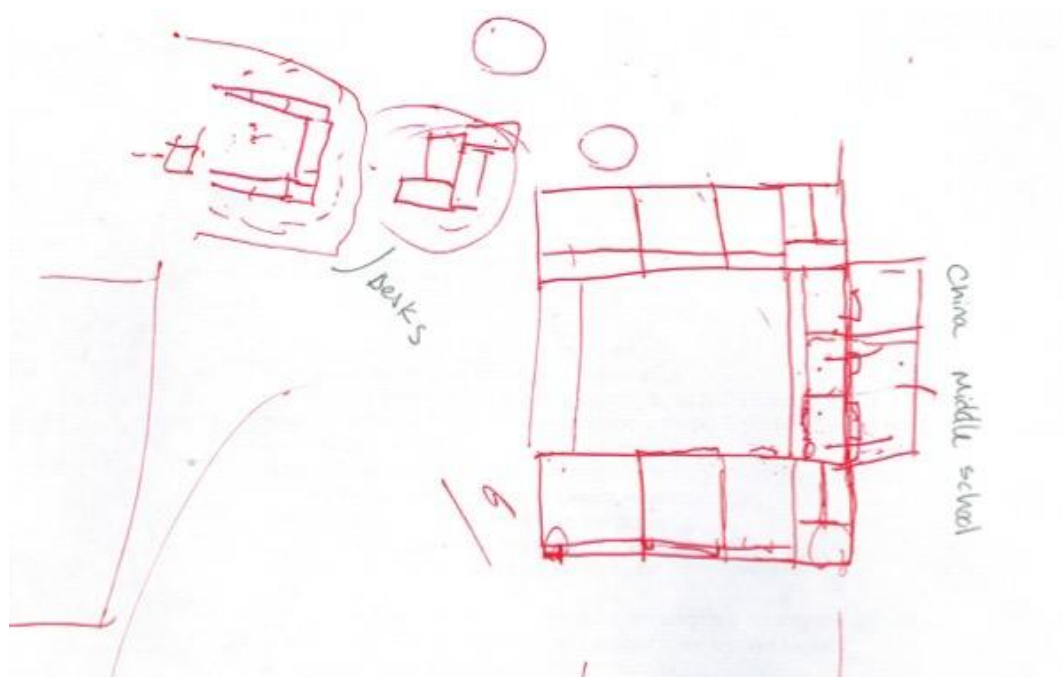
High School Classroom:
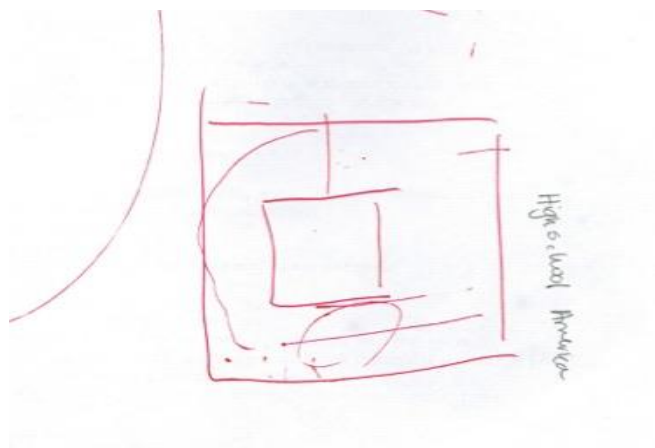
Ideal Classroom:
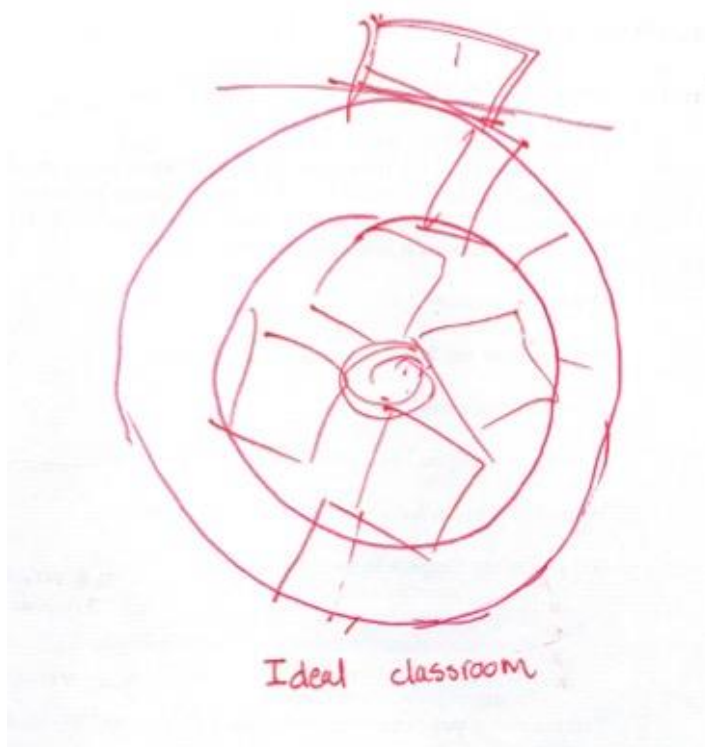
Ideal classroom

Meg

Home Country Classroom:
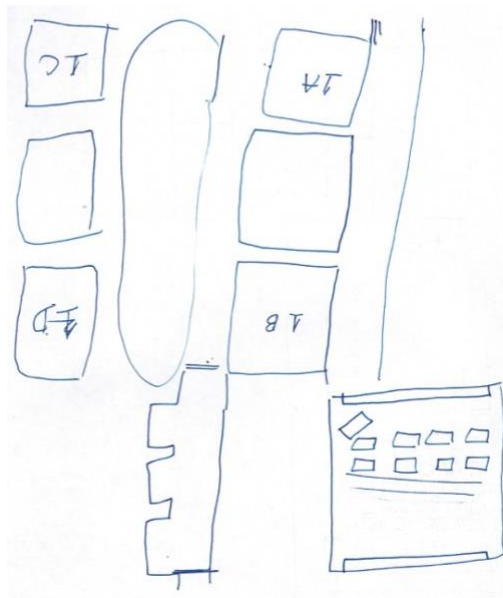
Home Country School:
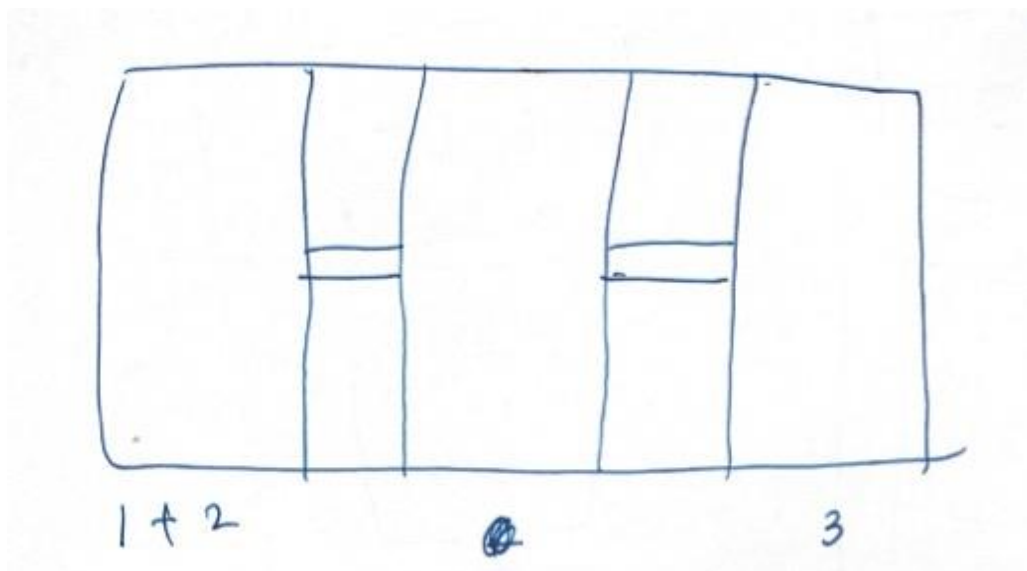
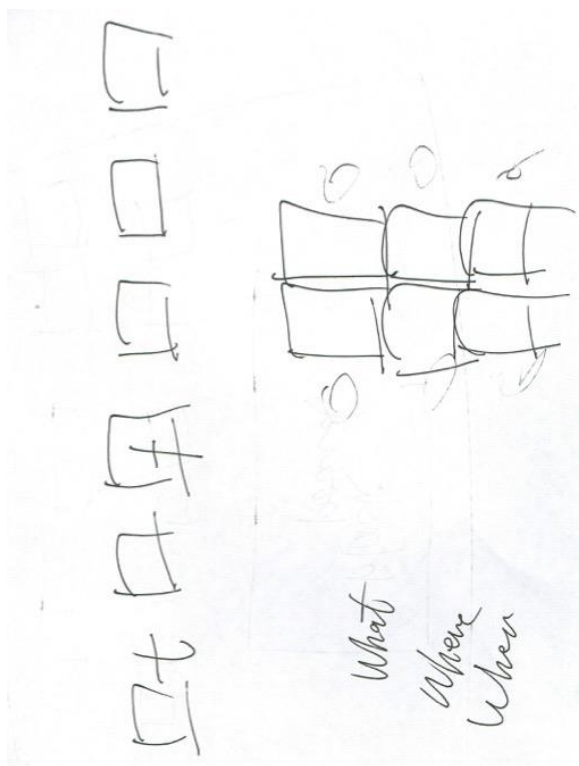Lake City University Classroom:
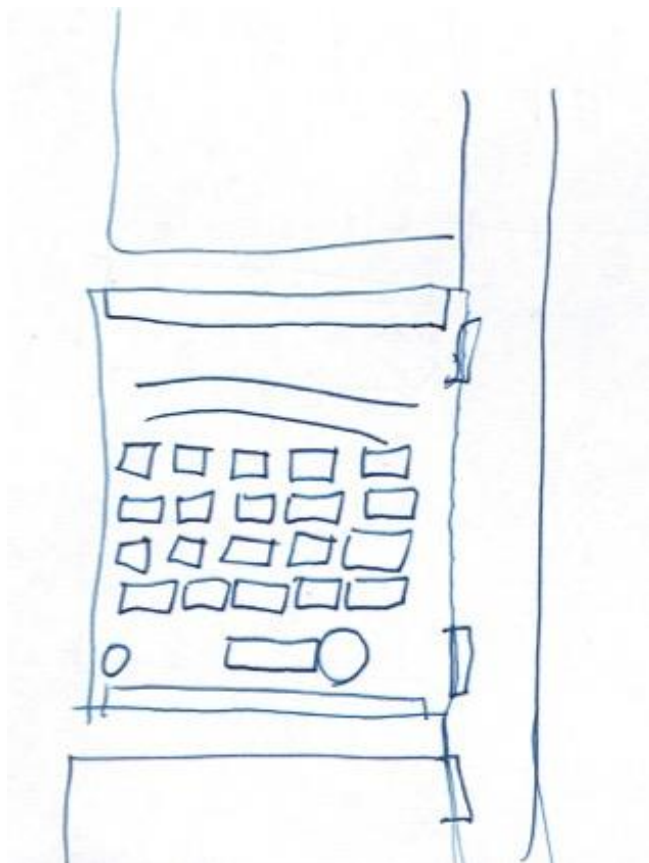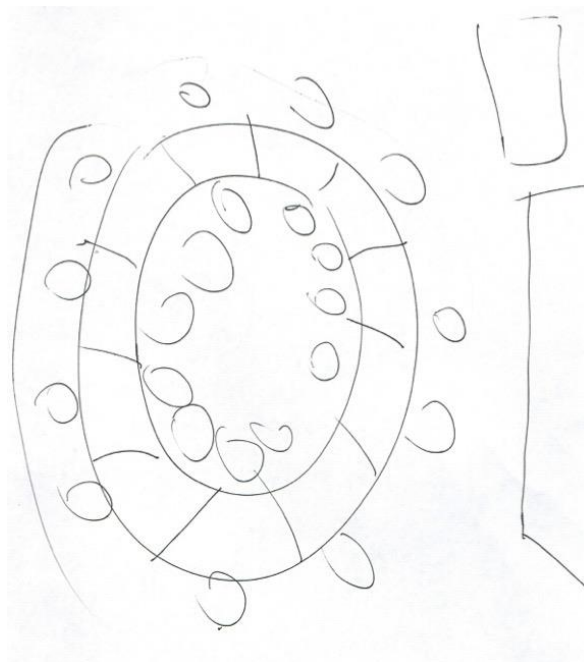
Ellen

Home Country Classroom:

Ideal Classroom:
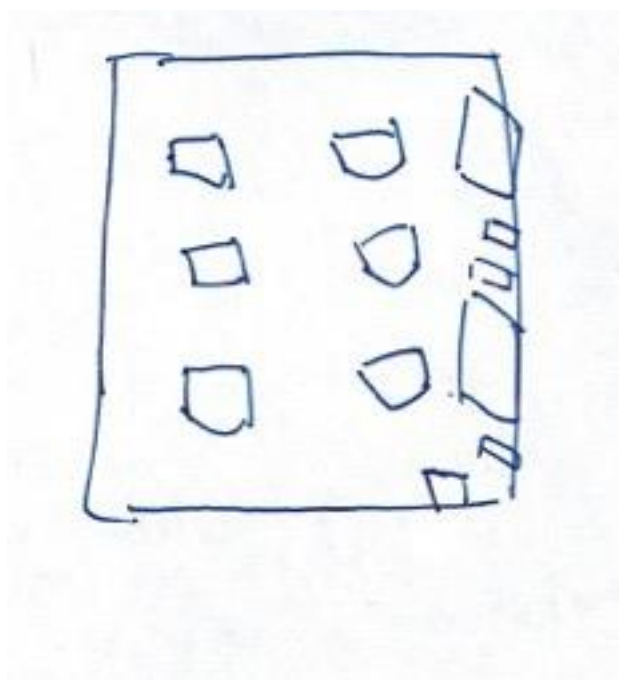
June

Home Country Classroom (Japan):
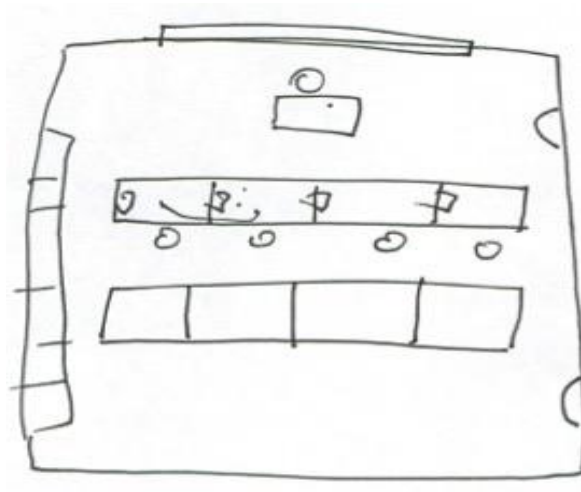

Home Country Classroom (China):
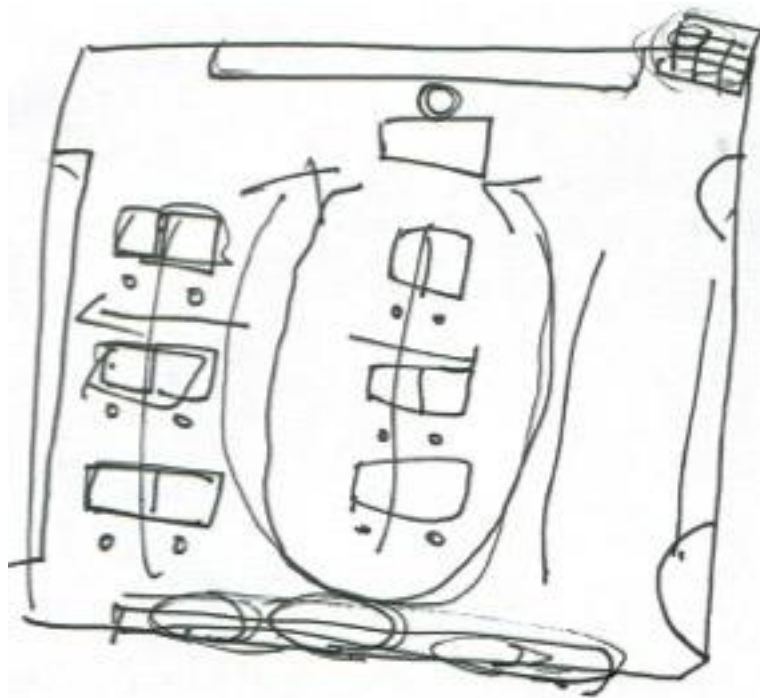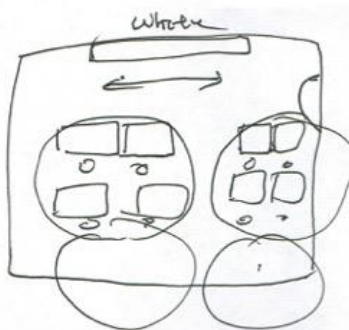
Ideal Classroom:

Sun

Home Country Classrooms:

Elementary School

High School

University Classrooms:

Ideal Classroom: