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Those Who Entered through the Back Door:

Characterizing Adult ESL Teachers and Their Knowledge

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Those Who Entered through the Back Door:

Characterizing Adult ESL Teachers and Their Knowledge

by

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Dedication

To Great Grandma, Grandpa, and Poppy

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Those Who Entered through the Back Door:

Characterizing Adult ESL Teachers and Their Knowledge

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Elucidating the knowledge base of those who teach adult learners in ESL (English as a Second Language) programs, this research is a qualitative study incorporating multiple data collection techniques and involving practitioners with various backgrounds from different program settings. Although educational opportunities targeting adult ESL students play an essential role in equal and extensive participation in society and academia, the status of teachers who assist these learners achieve their goals is rather marginalized, often because the students themselves are marginalized and ESL teaching is considered an undertaking that does not require special preparation. One way to enhance the professionalization of those involved in ESL is through an explication that the task of providing instruction to ESL learners is indeed an endeavor filled with complexity and requiring a strong knowledge base. This study was an attempt to contribute to this effort in fostering such professional recognition.

Data were collected via a series of focused interviews, consecutive classroom observations, and a stimulated recall procedure with each of 10 teacher participants. Analysis of the data revealed that ESL teachers possessed an intricate knowledge base with multiple categories of knowledge that they called upon to deliver instruction

effectively and efficiently, particularly through the management of student responses and the management of learning. The interconnection among the seemingly discrete knowledge categories further highlighted the complexity and difficulty involved in the provision of instruction to adult ESL learners. By comparing the teacher participants' instructional effectiveness and various backgrounds, the study also illuminated the impact of ESL teachers' professional preparation and language learning experience. Implications derived from the findings are offered for theorists and researchers, and for practitioners and administrators of programs that serve adult ESL learners.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Almost no adult educator ever gets in adult education on purpose; almost all of us have come in through the back door.
>
> —John, a veteran teacher with more than 30 years of experience

Worldwide, the English language has steadily acquired a status as a desirable commodity, or even an object of strong affection that causes zealous "fever" as it "has become the world's second language, the world's lingua franca" (Krashen, 2003a, p.100). The United States has been hosting and serving a copious number of English learners in different age groups, both young and mature. The K-12 sector delivers English instruction to young learners, and educational opportunities for adult learners are mainly available in the neighborhood and in colleges.[1] Adult English learners receiving instruction in different educational settings often have different goals. For instance, compared to learners in neighborhood settings, those studying English in a college program in the United States are more likely to be international students with a goal of obtaining an academic degree (e.g., Shono, 2004). By contrast, in the neighborhood program, enrolled students are mostly immigrants who have been in the United States for

[1] Sufficiently representing the program types, the categorization of the two locales—neighborhoods and colleges—serves the primary purpose of ease of reference. Common neighborhood or community affiliations include, for example, public school districts, religious organizations, and community colleges (Tamassia, Lennon, Yamamoto, & Kirsch, 2007). Community colleges, with a focus on both outreach and academics, are generally also one venue where college-affiliated programs are found (Ignash, 1995). For example, two of the four programs included in this study, each of a different program type, are provided by the same local community college, although their instructional foci and tuition structures are drastically different (see Table1 in Chapter III). In addition to community colleges, programs affiliated with "college" can also be found on university campuses or managed by consortiums among universities or, occasionally, by private language schools.

various lengths of time and who perceive the need to improve basic skills in the language (e.g., Alfred, 2004; Freeman, Freeman, & Mercuri, 2002).

Both the neighborhood-based and college-affiliated programs have experienced growth in enrollment. A survey study released by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in 2007 reported a trend in increasing needs in adult education that was primarily located in the community and in which "ESL represented the largest type of instructional program" (Tamassia, Lennon, Yamamoto, & Kirsch, 2007, p.14). The number of adult students learning English in higher education settings has also been on the rise (Ignash, 1995; Kuo, 2000). The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement website stated that students seeking language training in 2006 constituted 11% of the total of nearly 584,000 international students receiving their education in the United States (www.ice.gov). In 2009, a yearly increase of 6% of international students enrolling in intensive English programs for language training was reported (Institute of International Education, 2009). The offering of English instruction, thus, appears to be a robust field in high demand with the goal of allowing learners more equal and extensive participation, in whichever settings they find themselves, in order to achieve their goals (Kuo, 2000; Tamassia et al., 2007).

However, in spite of such important objectives and increased visibility, those engaged in learning and teaching ESL in either of the settings in the U.S. described above have been characterized as marginalized. Marginalization of English learners is frequently due to the perception that they have deficiencies in need of remediation and that the programs they attend are simply providing remedial services. Through their association with such a deficient group, instructors are thus also likely to be described as marginalized (Auerbach, 1991; Pennington, 1992; Zamel, 1995; in Canada, e.g., Sauve,

1989). The lack of recognition has actually been discerned to be prevalent in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL). Particularly, those involved in TESOL sense that their occupation lacks the status of more established disciplines (Johnston, 1997; Pennington, 1992; TESOL, Inc., 2008; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). Even within the broader field of language education, there has been the observation that English teaching is perceived as primarily skill training, and as a result, its status as lower than foreign language instruction (Auerbach, 1991; Longmate, 2000).

In contrast, perspectives from within the field of TESOL could grant more acknowledgment through the characterization of what TESOL practitioners do as, for instance, “a professional activity that requires specialized training” (TESOL, Inc., 2002, p.1). The field was described as going through “maturing adulthood” in the 1980s (Brown, 1981, p.48) after the recommended recognition of TESOL as a discipline in 1966 (Anthony & Crymes, 1977). Nevertheless, the simple question of whether TESOL is a profession is not easy to answer as it is inextricably connected with the context of where the practitioners work (Johnston, 1997), or in Nunan’s word, “It depends [on] where you look” (2001, n.p.). Nunan (2001) proposed four factors that function as determinants of the extent of TESOL professionalism in a context. At the professional end of the continuum, he positioned prerequisite advanced preparation, delineated practice standards related to the preparation, a field-specific theoretical and empirical base, and influential active advocacy.

Although certain TESOL contexts may meet the criteria outlined by Nunan (2001), many individuals seeking positions as instructors of the English language may still gain entry into the field with minimal or no relevant qualifications. This is due to the pressing demand for teachers to provide such instruction (Andrews, 2003; Bradley, 1998)

despite the abundance of professional education opportunities (Nunan, 2001) and despite the long history of argument that knowledge of English alone does not quality someone to teach the language (Andrews, 2003; Braine, 1999; Diaz-Rico, 2000; Fanselow & Light, 1977; Kreidler, 1986 & 1987; Phillipson, 1992; Reeves, 2009; Robinett, 1977; TESOL, Inc., 2003; Thomas, 1999). In the United States, English language instructors have also been portrayed as under-trained, particularly in programs serving immigrants in the community (e.g., Bradley, 1998; Judd, 2000; Schlusberg & Mueller, 1995).

Implications from the perception and assumption that TESOL is a venture that any English speaker, if not a native speaker specifically (Braine, 1999; Pennington, 1992), could undertake conceivably contribute to the marginal status and lack of professional recognition of the field. Furthermore, the hiring practice as embodied in "the widespread reliance on part-time faculty to lower costs," according to Longmate (2000, n.p.), not only results in under-compensation for all TESOL practitioners, but also "tends to degrade the enthusiasm, quality, and professionalism of the field" (see also Ignash, 1995; Kuo, 2000). Focusing primarily on the neighborhood-based setting, Tamassia et al.'s (2007) survey study found not only that teachers were hired mostly on a part-time basis, the majority of whom did not have an education background in language teaching, but also that staff turnover was higher among part-time staff members than those teaching full-time.

Although changes in hiring practices could be one way to improve professional recognition in TESOL, such modifications may not be quite feasible or promising as hiring is partially, if not primarily, a financial decision made in the vastly various English language programs in light of considerations regarding profits and/or funding. The status quo of diverse hiring practices also explains the perception of one of the study's

participants, John, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, regarding the ease of entry into the profession.

What could change and elevate the status of the teaching of the English language, as some in TESOL have advocated in the 1990s, is a process of professionalization. For example, Pennington (1992) proposed the codification of teachers' knowledge and their work as an essential first step because, in a line of reasoning similar to Shulman's (1987) perception regarding the need to professionalize teaching in general, specialized knowledge holds the key to promoting disciplinary recognition and credibility. However, Johnston (1997), recognizing the benefits from professionalization, as including "a body of knowledge and skills that is recognized and highly regarded by the broader society" (p.702), also cautioned about the danger in such an endeavor as enhancing native English speakers' self-interest in the form of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), particularly in a setting where English is not the primary language used for daily communication.

The Research Questions

Focusing on the teaching of the English language in the United States, the current study investigates the professionally and disciplinarily important issues of what constitutes the knowledge base of teachers working with adult learners in two program settings: neighborhood-based and college-based. A decade ago, Tai (1999) observed a seeming paucity in research efforts in exploring teacher knowledge in language education relative to such endeavors in general education. In addition, in the specific field of teaching English as a language, research on teacher knowledge has remained a priority area (Duff & Bailey, 2001). As inquiries concerning the nature and effect of language

teachers' knowledge have gradually accumulated, the current research joins such efforts in contributing to the collective knowledge base about teacher knowledge. As those involved in English language teaching tend to enter the field with rather diverse backgrounds, this study also explored teachers' experiences with professional training and language learning and their impact on teaching. The two types of experiences also appeared to be rather prominent contributors to teacher knowledge in the research literature.

In addition, the term *back door* that was borrowed from one of the study's participants and incorporated as part of this dissertation's title is not meant to connote secrecy or surreptitiousness. Instead, it is used to describe the diversity among the teachers who took part in the study, particularly in terms of, as will be explored in the discussion of participant characteristics and study findings, their serendipitous entry into the TESOL field and their professional backgrounds.

The following were the specific research questions guiding the study:

1. How are the teachers participating in this study similar or different with regards to their teaching and knowledge base? What factors contribute to such similarities and differences?
2. What role does professional preparation play in how the teachers teach?
3. What role does the teachers' own language learning experience play in their teaching?

The research questions will be addressed in Chapter IV and discussed in Chapter V based on the data collected from the primary participants, teachers, through interviews and classroom observations. The specific techniques used for data collection as well as data analysis will be explained in Chapter III.

Before a discussion of the literature pertinent to the current study in the next chapter, a few terms need defining first.

Definition of Terms

Teacher Knowledge
As the review of pertinent literature in the next chapter reveals, diversity in terminology use is present in teacher knowledge research as well as in what is considered teacher knowledge. In the current study, teacher knowledge is defined as the set of intellectual resources that a teacher brings into the teaching situation. Such knowledge can be expressed in what the teacher believes and can be exemplified externally (e.g., on teacher-made handouts or through talking or writing). In addition, teacher knowledge is drawn on, consciously or not, by the teacher in instructionally related activities (e.g., planning and reflecting on lessons, giving explanations, making decisions, interacting with students, etc.).

TESOL
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. It refers to the field but is also the name of the professional organization whose members are involved in English language teaching.

ESL
English as a Second Language. Part of the TESOL field, ESL is the instruction of the English language to people whose native language is not English who reside permanently or temporarily in an English-speaking country. When the instruction is offered in a country where English is not the dominant language, the endeavor is referred to as EFL—English as a Foreign Language, which is also part of TESOL.

ABE
Adult Basic Education. This type of instruction or programs targets learners who desire to improve basic literacy and numeracy skills to improve participation in society (Tamassia et al., 2007). Instructional focus in ABE varies and could include: GED, literacy, civics, and ESL. ABE instruction is generally offered free of charge throughout a community and is funded through government agencies or philanthropic organizations.

EL/Civics
ABE classes categorized as EL/Civics generally receive federal funding and integrate instruction in English literacy and civics education.

Native Speakers

Although the dichotomous view of native and nonnative speakers of the English language has been challenged as the language itself spreads globally (Canagarajah, 1999), for the current study, a native English speaker is an individual who grew up in an environment where English is the dominant language, or is one of the dominant languages (e.g., where bilingual native speakers find themselves). In addition, Richards, Platt, and Platt's (1992) more traditional definition also informs the current study's use of the term, particularly the statement that "[the] intuition of a native speaker about the structure of his or her language is one basis for establishing or confirming the rules of the grammar" (p. 241). Bilingual native speakers thus possess intuitions about two languages.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF PERTINENT LITERATURE

Guided by the research questions I sought to address in the current study, in this chapter, I review the research base that has contributed to the professionalization of ESL teaching via explication of the literature on teacher cognition and its connection to what teachers do in the classroom. The review includes scholarly efforts not only in English language teaching and the related field of language education; it also incorporates the comparable agenda in general education. Although there is a growing body of research on teacher cognition in language education, the relative longevity of the field of general education has led the way and contributed to many studies that explore the nature and effect of the knowledge teachers possess on their teaching. Thus, language education being a younger discipline, as Freeman (1996) pointed out in the context of researching teacher learning in language teaching, "it is useful to have some understanding of [the] antecedents in general educational research" (p.353). This chapter is divided into seven sections, with the first four focusing specifically on general education: (1) research on teaching, (2) research addressing teacher knowledge, (3) personal and practical knowledge, (4) a synopsis of differences and similarities in conceptualization of teacher knowledge, (5) language teaching research, (6) research approaches, and (7) a critical review of language teacher knowledge research.

Evolution of Research on Teaching

Influenced by the long-lasting dominance of positivism, educational research had a long history of examining and considering teaching with a focus on measured student

achievement. This research tradition has been referred to as the *process-product paradigm* (Erickson, 1986). Under this paradigm, teaching was studied from an outside observer's perspective in terms of quantifiable teacher-initiated behaviors and activities that were associated with learning outcomes (Shulman, 1987). Emphasizing the learners' perspectives, this process-product view of teaching encouraged teachers and teacher educators to focus on duplicating and building skills that had been correlated to learner results (Shulman, 1986; Valli, 1992). According to Shulman (1987), instructional effectiveness that promoted results in the process-product paradigm mostly concerned the teacher's management of the classroom (see also Brophy & Good, 1986).

The process-product conceptualization of teaching, Shulman (1992) further observed, was unhelpful because, with teaching as "the center of all education and educational reform" (p.14), this view presented only a partial and incomplete depiction. For him, full appreciation for the act of teaching had to be based on an extended understanding that moved beyond the simplified and the mechanical in the process-product paradigm, where "teaching is trivialized, its complexities ignored, and its demands diminished" (Shulman, 1987, p.6; Verloop, Van Driel, & Meijer, 2001). One means of extension was through the inclusion of, for instance, the cognitive aspect of teaching (Shulman, 1992. See also Erickson, 1986; Valli, 1992). And as Berliner and Calfee (1996) pointed out in their introduction to the edited handbook of educational psychology, changes in the social sciences to some extent accounted for the introduction of a cognitive orientation into the originally behavioristic perspective in educational research. Additional measures to improve the understanding regarding the complexity involved in teaching included an attention to the contextual and social aspects (Erickson, 1986; Shulman, 1992).

One strand of scholarship in general education that evolved from the new cognitive focus was attention to teacher knowledge, in which Shulman has been the most prominent figure (Munby, Russell, & Martin, 2001). The endeavor to reveal the cognitive complexity in teaching, as briefly discussed earlier, was also perceived to be beneficial for enhancing the professional status and disciplinary recognition of the field of education and its stakeholders (e.g., Shulman, 1987; see also Lortie, 1975, 2002).

Knowledge Making in Teacher Knowledge Research

The gradual paradigm shift to a focus on teacher cognition began in the mid-70s after about 15 years of influence from the process-product research model and a focus on skill-building. As Shulman (1992) described, the initial attention among scholars rested on teacher thinking, which included "teacher planning, decision-making, diagnosis, reflection, and problem solving" (p. 22). For instance, Clark and Peterson's (1986) work and review of teachers' thought processes also alluded to the shift from a focus on teachers' behavior to their thinking in light of the old process-product and the new cognitive paradigms. The old view assumed a "linear," "unidirectional" (p.257) relationship between teachers and students in the learning process, where the new paradigm portrayed a reciprocal and interactive one between teacher thinking and student learning. Further, teacher thinking in lesson planning that normally takes place before class (preactive) and after class (postactive) appears to be continuous as the distinction between pre and post is blurry.

In the 1980s, a "missing paradigm" was identified in the exploration of teaching and teacher thinking as that of teacher knowledge (Shulman, 1986, p.7). Shulman's 1986 article—"his first fully elaborated thesis on teacher knowledge" (Wilson, 2004,

p.9)—highlighted the importance of the much neglected "content" of teaching. Including what he had proposed in 1986, in 1987, Shulman developed and outlined, along with brief descriptions, the following "categories of knowledge that underlie the teacher understanding needed to promote comprehension among students" (1987, p.8):

- content knowledge
- general pedagogical knowledge, with special reference to those broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organization that appear to transcend subject matter
- curriculum knowledge, with particular grasp of the materials and programs that serve as "tools of the trade" for teachers
- pedagogical content knowledge, that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding
- knowledge of learners and their characteristics
- knowledge of educational contexts, ranging from the workings of the group or classroom, the governance and financing of school districts, to the character of communities and cultures
- knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values, and their philosophical and historical grounds

In Wilson, Shulman, and Richert (1987), there was slight variation such as the substitution of *subject matter knowledge* for *content knowledge* and the addition of *knowledge of other content*.

The intensive study and discussion of teacher knowledge in general education ever since Shulman's elaborated thesis have continued for approximately two decades. According to Munby et al. (2001), researchers in teaching and teacher education are only beginning to understand the nature of the knowledge possessed and utilized by teachers and how it develops. Furthermore, among the conceptualized teacher knowledge categories, of special interest has been *pedagogical content knowledge*, representing "the blending of content and pedagogy…[and] the category most likely to distinguish the

understanding of the content specialist from that of the pedagogue" (Shulman, 1987, p.8) in that it enables a teacher to present the subject matter for student understanding and learning. A distinct and specialized form of knowledge that teachers have developed and possess, pedagogical content knowledge has been conceptually influential and has inspired much research on teaching (Carter, 1990; Gess-Newsome & Lederman, 1999; Munby et al., 2001; Wilson, 2004).

Shulman (1987) also readily admitted cross-article variation in his proposed knowledge categories and observed that "much, if not most, of the proposed knowledge base remains to be discovered, invented, and refined" (p.12). Although Wilson (2004) praised Shulman for inspiring scholarly inquiries "without introducing unnecessary jargon" (p.12), the continuous study of teacher knowledge, as Munby et al. (2001) also pointed out, has been rather diverse as there have been "different views of what counts as professional knowledge and even…how to conceptualize knowledge" (p.878; also see Borko & Putnam, 1996; Breen, Hird, Milton, Thwaite, & Oliver, 2001). Multiple attempts among scholars to introduce an abundance of terms for characterizing teacher knowledge have caused this subfield within the study of teaching not to be compact, to borrow MacDonald's (1994) term and concept of disciplinary development, because of the absence of a high degree of communal problem definitions and refined concepts, constructs, or classification systems. Nevertheless, much of the introduction of terminology has been based on Shulman's work. For example, viewing Shulman's pedagogical content knowledge as in line with the development of the craft of teaching based on experience and as concerning content representations to facilitate teaching, Grimmett and MacKinnon (1992) perceived the need to propose *pedagogical learner knowledge* that, like pedagogical content knowledge, is part of a teacher's craft knowledge and "a further amalgam between general pedagogical knowledge and

knowledge of learners…[It] revolves around procedural ways in which teachers deal rigorously and supportively with learners…[and] can be defined as pedagogical procedural information useful in enhancing learner-focused teaching in the dailiness of classroom action" (p.387).

Proliferation in terminology and conceptualization also applies to the effort in distinguishing terms, for example, between *beliefs* and *knowledge* (e.g., Calderhead, 1996; Eisner, 2002; Grossman, Wilson, & Shulman, 1989; Richardson & Placier, 2001; Tsui, 2003, in English teaching), between *knowledge* and *understanding* (Feldman, 1997), or among *beliefs*, *assumptions*, and *knowledge* (Woods, 1996, in language teaching). However, distinctive proliferation in this area has not been as extensive as it might have been because initial straightforward distinctions often ceased to exist, and the concepts are used interchangeably. Verloop et al. (2001) explained the less-than-distinct characteristic of the terms by citing Alexander, Schallert, and Hare (1991). Alexander et al. (1991) explained that "knowledge" mostly refers to "all that a person knows or believes to be true, whether or not it is verified as true in some sort of objective or external way" (p.317).

The diversity in terminology and concepts could also be attributed to the relative new status of research on teacher knowledge, as Shulman himself indicated by using words such as *discover*, *invent*, and *refine* (1987, p.12). In comparison, scholars have generally shared the consensus that teacher knowledge is field-specific and varies across subjects (e.g., Carter, 1990; Grossman, 1990; Munby et al., 2001; Shulman, 1987; Wilson, 2004). This field-specificity also lends support to how a generic approach emphasizing skill-building, as in the process-product research paradigm, will likely be futile and miss the target (Verloop et al., 2001). In general education, a significant body

of research on teacher knowledge has accumulated in school subjects such as math (Hill et al., 2004; Santucci, 2004; Schoenfeld, 2000), English (e.g., Grossman, 1990; Grossman & Shulman, 1994), and science (Gess-Newsome & Lederman, 1999; Hashweh, 1985, 2005). Other subject areas are social studies, which Carter included in her review (1990), and physical education (McCaughtry, 2004). In addition, elementary school teachers have also received attention (e.g., Salmon, Kemeny, Rossman, & Winter, 2008; Schoonmaker, 2002).

Making Meaningful Knowledge

With the plethora of inquiries on teacher knowledge, Munby et al. (2001) described the accumulated knowledge base as informative and valuable particularly for the progress towards the idea of a knowledge base for teaching. In addition, such a knowledge base is applicable to teacher education and the process of learning to teach (Carter, 1990; Munby et al., 2001). However, as teaching, and particularly teacher learning, involves both the theoretical and the practical, in their review, Munby et al. (2001) noted a tension in the research of teacher knowledge and development between propositional and procedural (or practical) types of knowledge—what they introduced as Bruner's (1985) paradigmatic and narrative thoughts. They observed a "gradual move toward a reconciliation of propositional and practical knowledge [that] reinforces our view of the complexity involved in rendering the field into neat and exclusive categories" (p.878). Examples of the reconciliation can be found in inquiries conducted through the lens of teachers' personal theorizing (e.g., Cornett & Setenyi, 2002; Schoonmaker, 2002). Schoonmaker's longitudinal study of an elementary teacher proposed that, for teacher education programs to effect an "intellectual groundwork that will keep teaching

interesting and challenging…[t]his groundwork has to include more than what we have thought of as the knowledge base of teaching" (p.135). Following the same teacher participant for nearly a decade, Schoonmaker was able to observe "how teachers construct personal theory out of a dialectic between personal knowledge, teacher education knowledge, and practical experience" (p.ix).

In addition to the reconciliation between the propositional knowledge in teacher education programs and knowledge gained through practical experience, Schoonmaker (2002) further recognized the role of personal knowledge in the teacher's theorizing process. In addition, the situated nature of the dialectic theorizing process is also evident. A part of the terminological and conceptual proliferation in teacher knowledge concepts, such as the aforementioned craft knowledge (Grimmett et al., 1992), placed emphasis on a combination of the personal, situational, and practical forms of knowledge. Other proposed teacher knowledge conceptualizations with a similar combination of attributes include *practical knowledge* (Elbaz, 1983) and *personal practical knowledge* (Connelly, Clandinin, & He, 1997). Both conceptualizations also explicitly stressed a theoretical (particularly in a personal sense) and experiential nature as well as the complexity of a teacher's world. Connelly et al. (1997) suggested the term *professional knowledge landscape* as a way to convey such complexity that encompassed the interrelated intellectual, personal, and physical environments in which teachers work (see also Connelly & Clandinin, 1995).

On this more "personal" end of conceptualization about teaching, there have also been philosophical accounts of teachers' doing and knowing. In the examination of teaching from a moral orientation, Noddings (2001) has been prominent in theorizing about caring that is also situational (as interperson or intraperson) and interactional (as

involving responses from the cared for). Feldman (1997) conceptualized teaching as a way of being, stressing that "teachers are people in the role of a teacher, who act as teachers, and teach in educational situations, and make meaning of their role and the situation," such as understanding themselves, their actions based on deliberation, and their interactions with others (p.759).

The situational and interactional nature of teaching and teacher knowing is evident and common in this line of conceptualization that focuses more and explicitly on the personal aspect.

Know Thyself

In the teachers' theorizing to derive practical knowledge, the personal aspect plays an important role in their development as a teacher (Connelly et al., 1997; Elbaz, 1983; Grimmett et al., 1992). In Cornett et al. (2002), teachers' understanding about their work and responsibilities as teachers that constituted their personal practical theories in civic education mediated "educative efforts" (p.200), applicable for "the stated curriculum, the planned curriculum, the enacted curriculum, and the hidden curriculum" (p.180). Schoonmaker (2002) described the development process her participant, Kay, went through: "Kay's implicit theoretical perspective must be teased out of the statements that she makes about herself as teacher and about children and schools. These might be described as *theoretical inclinations*, and they are precursors to theory" (p.3). These personal practical theories and theoretical inclinations, as well as Feldman's (1997) more philosophical description of teaching as a way of being, highlight what teachers understand, or know, about themselves.

Using the term self-knowledge, Hamachek (1999) reviewed and listed personal, intellectual, and interactional characteristics that had been found to be associated frequently with more effective teachers. The characteristics are synopsized below:

- warmth and interpersonal responsiveness to foster positive student attitudes
- enthusiasm and energy
- proactive stance to set reasonable goals for students
- humanness characterized by friendliness, fairness, a sense of humor, and a pleasant manner
- thorough lesson preparation
- organization with built-in flexibility for the expected as well as the unexpected
- responsibility and relationships to correct learning obstacles
- clear expectations and directions to prepare students for new learning
- thoughtful self-examination of their practice
- specific, discriminate, and personalized feedback and praise for students
- positive rapport with and high yet reasonable expectations for students
- sufficient time allocation for student learning
- direct teaching with small and explicit steps, periodic checks for understanding, and promotion of active involvement, in combination with indirect approaches to interact to students

(pp.192-206)

Although he recognized the difficulty in creating objective definitions for some of the teacher's "personal" characteristics, according to Hamachek (1999), self-knowledge is important because "it can be said that the more that teachers know about themselves—the private curriculum within—the better their personal decisions are apt to be about how to pave the way for better teaching" (p.209) because transference, countertransference, and personalization could be managed, and self-perceptions and perception of others are clearer. The importance attached to self-knowledge is similar to Cornett et al.'s (2002)

observation, particularly in terms of the impact on what is taught, and to the study of teachers' professional identity (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004).

In their review and study of teacher identity, Beijaard et al. (2004) argued:

> Professional identity implies both person and context. A teacher's professional identity is not entirely unique. Teachers are expected to think and behave professionally, but not simply by adopting professional characteristics, including knowledge and attitudes, that are prescribed. Teachers differ in the way they deal with these characteristics depending on the value they personally attach to them. (p.122)

In addition, the development of professional identity is "an ongoing process of integration of the 'personal' and the 'professional' sides of becoming and being a teacher" (Beijaard et al., 2004, p.113), an argument not unlike the inquiry into teachers' personal practical knowledge. Beijaard et al. (2004) thus urged teacher educators to begin "by exploring the teaching self," or the self-as-teacher (p.109).

The emphasis and exploration of teachers' personal beliefs and theories in their development and work has frequently been traced to Lortie's (1975, 2002) idea of the apprenticeship of observation regarding how, before individuals become teachers, their prior schooling, in which they assumed the role of student, impacts their conception of teaching and of being a teacher. In addition to implications for teaching practitioners' practices, this schooling-based conception has been regarded as particularly pertinent in light of teacher preparation. However, Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon (1998) have cautioned against uncritical and uncontextualized adoption of generalizations as assertions of truth. They argued that principles should be based on whether careful examination and investigation has been conducted to explicate such alleged truth, instead of merely on repeated references. An example given by Wideen et al. (1998) was the much cited apprenticeship of observation, which they argued has frequently been taken as

true in the research of teaching irrespective of context and research design. Wideen et al. (1998) thus called for educational researchers' critical reflection in their adoption of theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

Many have indeed investigated the impact of teachers' prior schooling (e.g., Grossman, 1990; Levin & He, 2008). One finding from such examination illuminates Lortie's (1975, 2002) characterization of the limited impact professional teacher preparation had on "[offsetting] the unreflective nature of prior socialization," that is, the apprenticeship of observation (p.71). However, in describing the practice in teacher education, Hamachek (1999) argued, "At the moment, the development of the self-knowledge component is left largely to chance rather than afforded opportunities for growth through systematic and guided study" (p.219).

One method of cultivating growth in the self-knowledge and awareness of personal beliefs in teachers, both novice and practicing, is reflection. Donald Schön has been the most recognized name in the literature on reflective practice (Loughran, 2002). Schön (1987) distinguished reflection-on-action from reflection-in-action and favored the latter, which does not require practitioners to pause in the middle of the action, and associated this type of reflection with professional artistry and competence. Critical accounts of the applicability of reflection-in-action to teaching have emerged. For example, Roth (2002) posited that generally reflection-in-action is impossible when teachers teach alone because of the immediacy that is characteristic of teaching and because teachers are usually not consciously aware of what they do until "there is some sort of breakdown" (p.33). For new teachers, he favored the model of co-teaching where "one of the teachers can step back…[which] allows for a crucial timeout necessary for reflection…This slight removal afforded reflection-in-action" (p.108).

Whether reflection is conducted during or after action, in characterizing teaching, Feldman (1997) noted "a growing expectation that good practice requires reflection" (p.758). Loughran (2002) further argued that "experience alone does not lead to learning; reflection on experience is essential" (p.35). In the realm of personal theorizing, Ross (1992) observed:

> The source of knowledge for reflection is found in both the context of the action setting and in the practical application of personal knowledge. The function of reflective thought and the knowledge it produces is to *transform* practice, not simply to solve technical problems. (p.187, emphasis original)

Regarding the awareness of self an important aspect, Beijaard et al. (2004) developed a model for teachers' development of professional identities that emphasized raising the awareness of the personal practical knowledge through individual and collective reflection.

Some scholars have pointed out the prevalence of individual reflection. For instance, Zeichner and Liston (1996) referred to an "individualistic bias" in reflective teaching that "makes it less likely that teachers will be able to confront and transform those structural aspects of their work that hinder the accomplishment of their educational mission" (p.75). Regardless of whether reflection is carried out individually or collectively, as Ross (1992) pointed out, the deeper level of transformation has generally been attached to effective reflective practice. Grimmett et al. (1992) described "a view of reflection as an emancipatory activity. Critical reflection allows a practitioner to articulate and, ultimately, to eliminate the social, political, and cultural conditions that frustrate and constrain self-understanding" (p.399).

Two Sides of the Same Knowledge Coin

The reconciliation Munby et al. (2001) observed between the practical framework of teacher knowledge and the propositional outline, for which Shulman's work (1986, 1987) was foundational, did not appear to have involved two drastically different and distant camps of thoughts and inquires. After all, scholars in the two camps have derived their conceptualizations from the same pool of research participants—practitioners in the classroom.

Each side of the knowledge coin has a different emphasis, yet both sides perceive their conceptualizations to provide an inclusive lens. For example, Wilson, Shulman, and Richert (1987) characterized the emphasis on the "'practical' or commonsense knowledge" as "a truncated conceptualization of teacher knowledge" (p.108). They argued, "Teachers have theoretical, as well as practical, knowledge of the subject matter that informs and is informed by their teaching; any portrait of teacher knowledge should include both aspects." Connelly and Clandinin (1995) actually shared a similar perspective about their understanding of teacher knowledge that does not appear truncated:

> What we mean by teachers' knowledge is that body of convictions and meanings, conscious or unconscious, that have arisen from experience (intimate, social, and traditional) and that are expressed in a person's practices. We see the term *expression* to refer to a quality of knowledge rather than to its more common usage as an application or translation of knowledge… [P]ractice is part of what we mean by personal practical knowledge. Indeed, practice, broadly conceived to include intellectual acts and self-exploration, is all we have to go on. (p.7)

Other examples of assertions in the inclusiveness of the proposed lens include Noddings (2001): "if we approach teaching from the moral orientation of caring, everything we do is examined in its light. Such conversations among teachers are good in themselves, but

they should also help to support teachers in their commitment to care" (p.104). Feldman (1997) compared other views of teaching and proposed a conception of teaching as a way of being:

> When we look at a person in the role of teacher, being a teacher, teaching, we can see the accumulated knowledge, the reasoning and the actions that come from deliberation, and we can see understanding and acting through the web of moments in time, space, and relations that constitute her educational situation. Like the blind men encountering the elephant, teacher educators view teachers and teaching from multiple perspectives that provide complementary but incomplete views… [In] developing the teaching as a way of being perspective, I am not arguing that we ignore the view from the other perspectives. Instead, I claim that a complete and vibrant picture of what it means to teach and to be a teacher can only be constructed by combining the views in a sort of triangulated hologram.

Although Feldman (1997) described the propositional stance with which Shulman (1987) has been associated as similar to information processing and as missing deliberation and situatedness, there are traces of evidence of the propositional camp's awareness and inclusion of the missing components, although such components received less prominence. For instance, Shulman (1992) gave recognition to the contextual and social aspects that could inform and improve the understanding regarding the complexity of teaching. Although introduced as the last three in his proposed framework, categories such as *knowledge of learners*, *educational context*, and *educational ends* denoted such recognition (Shulman, 1987, p.8). In addition to alluding to a teacher's deliberation through the complexity in his framework, Shulman (1986) described the teacher as "not only a master of procedure but also of content and rationale, and capable of explaining why something is done. The teacher is capable of reflection leading to self-knowledge, the metacognitive awareness that distinguishes draftsman from architect, bookkeeper from auditor" (p.13). Shulman's use of self-knowledge, however, seems to concern more the propositional than the practical.

Returning to the coin analogy, I consider the study of teacher knowledge in general education, including the terminology used in light of different conceptual stances, that of looking at one side of the same coin more often and turning the coin over to consider the other side less frequently. It is a matter of emphasis, not juxtaposition of two coins—one on each side.

Studying and Educating Language Practitioners

The antecedent in general education reviewed above indeed has greatly informed scholarly efforts in language education. The dominance of the process-product research agenda was also present and noted (Freeman, 1996; Richards, 1998), along with the teacher-as-technician perspective (Varghese et al., 2005). For instance, Moskowitz's (1976) much cited study listed typical behaviors of effective language teachers such as more use of the foreign language, less teacher talk, more movement and instructional nonverbal gestures, rapid pace, and so forth.

The more cognitively focused paradigm has long been present in research in language education, however. Richards (1998) noted that "a focus on cognitive processes is not new in applied linguistics and TESOL, as seen in a growing literature on learning strategies and the cognitive processes employed by second language writers and readers" (p.80), such as Gass and Selinker's (2001) seminal review of second language acquisition. In contrast, the call to "establish a research base in language teaching and language teacher education" from a cognitive perspective, according to Freeman and Richards (1996, p.2), began in the early 1990s (see also Freeman, 1996; Woods, 1996).[2]

[2] At around the same time of the initial focus on teacher cognition, there was also a call for a focus on the social natural of language learning and acquisition to move beyond the cognitive view of language learning as an individual endeavor (e.g., Firth & Wagner, 1997).

Discussion has also emerged regarding the conceptualization of the knowledge base of teacher preparation (Day, 1991; Freeman, 1996; Freeman & Johnson, 1998, 2004, 2005; Muchisky & Yates 2004; Richards, 1990, 1998; Roberts, 1998; Tarone & Allwright, 2005; Yates & Muchisky, 2003).

Although lagging behind general education by almost a decade, research in language education has experienced a similar shift toward giving recognition to the central role teachers play in language learning (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). The new focus of inquiry has encompassed highly similar areas of investigation to general education. For example, research in language education has explored teachers' personal theorizing (Golombek, 1998; Johnson, 2000; Mangubhai, Marland, Dashwood, & Son, 2004; Sivell & Yeager, 2001), and reflective teaching has become the "banner slogan" since the 1990s in language education (Johnson, 2000, p.3; also Holten & Brinton, 1995; Lopes-Murphy & Martin, 2002; Wallace, 1990). Knezevic and Scholl (1996) observed:

> The growing recognition that the knowledge base of effective language teachers includes not only linguistics and pedagogical theory, but also the wealth of their individual experience, has led to reconsideration of the role of reflection in teaching and teacher education. Reflection has the power to help the teacher connect experience and theoretical knowledge in order to use each area of expertise more effectively. (p.79)

Knezevic and Scholl's view above also denoted the reconciliation of propositional and practical knowledge (Munby et al., 2001). Also, like in general education, there has been attention to the benefits of collaborative reflection (Dong, 2000; Knezevic & Scholl, 1996), as well as critique of the applicability of the concept of reflection-in-action to teaching because it seemed "of dubious relevance to teaching" (Roberts, 1998, p.51).

In addition, teachers' awareness of their beliefs has been emphasized (Dittrich, Shrum, & Stewart, 2000; Freeman & Richards, 1996; Varghese et al., 2005). Alluding to

the apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975, 2002), Peacock (2001) explored the development, or lack thereof, of beginning teachers' beliefs, as measured by the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI, Horwitz, 1985), when compared to those of experienced teachers. The contextual and situated nature of teacher development has also received consideration (e.g., Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Johnson, 2000; Tsui, 2003). Roberts (1998) also noted, "Good teaching is never separable from setting" (p.163).

With such parallel to general education, the long-term emphasis on learners in language teaching research, however, entails that information about language teachers' knowledge and development has been slowly accumulating. Tai (1999) observed that relatively little effort has been devoted to language education, including the teaching of English as a language. Teacher knowledge has also been specifically listed as one research priority in TESOL (Duff & Bailey, 2001), and researchers continue to point out the relative scarcity of research of this component (Borg, 2003; Gatbonton, 2000; Johnston & Goettsch, 2000; Mullock, 2006).

For some, the absence of much discussion regarding language teaching could be attributed to the interdisciplinary nature of the field itself. For example, Richards (1998) noted, "There is no general consensus on what the essential knowledge base or conceptual foundation of the field consists of. Perhaps this is inevitable with a field that draws on a variety of disciplinary sources, including linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and education" (p.1). Nunan (2001) similarly observed, "A challenge for…TESOL in particular is to define, refine, and articulate its disciplinary basis," and he added to Richards' (1998) list cognitive science and unspecified "numerous other disciplines" (n.p.). Nonetheless, given the field-specificity identified in general educational research regarding teacher knowledge, inquiries in this area appear to have

potential, particularly in the areas of subject matter knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge.

Categorizing and Tracing Teacher Knowledge and Its Impact

Bearing in mind how each discipline may be different and how teacher knowledge may be discipline-specific, in the section, I explore commonalities in how teacher knowledge has been examined and researched, focusing primarily on inquires in language education. Beyond the array and diversity in terminology, the literature points to three major ways that researchers have approached teacher knowledge: (1) categorization of teacher knowledge, (2) explication of sources of teacher knowledge, and (3) investigation of the impact of teacher knowledge on teaching. These three areas of inquiry are not mutually exclusive and are often combined in a single study.

Categorization of Teacher Knowledge

For studies that involved teacher knowledge classification, Shulman's framework (1986, 1987) is frequently mentioned. As discussed previously, research into teachers' pedagogical content knowledge in various disciplines in general education has been highly active. There have been efforts, too, to specify sub-categories of teacher knowledge. For example, Grossman (1990) elucidated teachers' pedagogical content knowledge by subsuming curricular knowledge and knowledge of student understanding as components of this category of teacher knowledge. Kennedy (1998), on the other hand, viewed the subject matter knowledge in math and science as including a conceptual understanding of the subject, pedagogical content knowledge, beliefs about the nature of

work in math and science, attitudes toward the subjects, and teaching practices with students. Receiving less attention in the literature, general pedagogical knowledge was described by Morine-Dershimer and Kent (1999) as connecting to classroom management and organization, instructional models and strategies, and classroom communication and discourse. Focusing on personal practical knowledge, Levin and He (2008) perceived teachers' personal practical theory to include "Who: The teacher," "How: The instruction," "Where: The classroom," and "Whom: The student." These categories appear to include the most important aspects of personal practical knowledge for the authors, that is, personal, practical, contextual, and intellectual knowledge.

In language education, a few studies have involved coding and categorization. Johnston and Goettsch (2000) observed and audio-recorded ESL grammar classes and interviewed teachers about their class explanations. They then coded the interview data according to three of Shulman's categories: content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, and knowledge of learners. Dittrich, Shrum, and Stewart (2000) interviewed foreign language teachers to determine what teachers need to know in order to teach. They then organized their findings according to knowledge about the subject matter and how to teach it (i.e., pedagogical content knowledge), knowledge of learners, and knowledge of self. Golombek (1998) found that personal practical knowledge is a valid interpretive framework and referred to knowledge of self, of subject matter, of instruction, and of context.

Gatbonton (2000) coded stimulated recall data based on video-taped ESL lessons conducted by experienced teachers in a research-generated setting to identify categories of pedagogical thoughts, from which domains of pedagogical knowledge were inferred. The knowledge domains were broader than Shulman's general pedagogical knowledge

(1987) and seemed to encompass Shulman's framework in its entirety, and beyond, with different terms such as language management, knowledge of students, affective, content, comprehensibility, self-reflection and critique, beliefs, and so on. Using quantitative measures, Gatbonton also described frequencies of various teacher-reported thoughts, deriving patterns across teachers. Replicating the same study[3] with novice teachers in 2008, Gatbonton noted some similarities in categories between the two studies, while novice teachers' thought distribution patterns revealed more concern with student reactions and absence of "active manipulation of classroom events" (p.175). Mullock (2006) also replicated Gatbonton's 2000 study, although with authentic classes and teachers with varying backgrounds. Mullock added the thought domains of curriculum fit, institutional comment, materials comment, which could be explained by the difference between the lab setting in Gatbonton (2000) and the authentic setting in her own study.

Although categories of knowledge are convenient for analysis (Johnston et al., 2000) and could be adopted to inform teacher education (e.g. Dittrich et al., 2000), presenting teacher knowledge as discrete and separate categories has also been pointed out to minimize the complexity of teacher knowledge (Johnston et al., 2000), especially when the boundaries among types of knowledge are fuzzy (Sengupta & Xiao, 2002). Such fuzziness is also apparent in previous efforts that attempted to delineate sub-categories with what Shulman originally proposed as primary teacher knowledge categories. For instance, both Gatbonton's (2000) and Morine-Dershimer et al.'s (1999)

[3] Gatbonton's original study was published in two different journals: It was first published in the *Modern Language Journal* in 1999 (Volume 83, no. 1) and was reprinted with permission in the *Canadian Modern Language Review* in 2000 (Volume 56, no. 4). In Mullock's (2006) replication study, the author referenced the reprinted article (Gatbonton, 2000), whereas in Gatbonton (2008), the reference was to Gatbonton (1999). To maintain consistency and prevent confusion, the current report includes only the reference to Gatbonton (2000).

discussions of general pedagogical knowledge seemed to include in this knowledge the category of pedagogical content knowledge, through their references to concepts such as comprehensibility and classroom communication and discourse. As Borko and Putnam (1996) observed, "[A]ny categorization of teacher knowledge and beliefs is somewhat arbitrary," and there does not exist a "single system for characterizing the organization of teachers' knowledge" (p.675). In addition, the proliferation of terminology and the diverse use of similar terms led Verloop et al. (2001) to note that "It is important to base judgments about studies on teacher knowledge not on the labels used, but on precise examination of what the study is about" (p.446).

Explication of Sources of Teacher Knowledge

Among the studies that delineated the origins of teacher knowledge, Grossman's (1990) book-length study of secondary English teachers' pedagogical content knowledge identified sources such as apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975, 2002) and professional preparation. She also found that subject matter knowledge is closely related and contributes to teachers' pedagogical content knowledge. For both practicing teachers and teachers in training, Borko and Putnam's (1996) review deduced that intensive, focused, and sustained instruction in workshops and teacher education programs can enhance the depth of subject matter knowledge. In the personal theorizing perspective, Schoonmaker (2002) also identified sources such as teacher education and prior experience. Levin and He (2008) investigated the extent to which family and public education backgrounds, teaching and observations, and teacher education impacted the development of personal practical theories. Their conclusions included that teacher education programs had an impact on teachers' beliefs about instruction and the value

attached to lifelong learning, and that prior beliefs about the classroom environment influenced beginning teachers' thinking about teaching before and during teacher education.

In language education, similar to Grossman's (1990) study, teacher education experience has also been named a source of teacher knowledge (e.g. Dittrich et al., 2000), including language courses foreign language teachers have taken (Johnston et al., 2000; Griego Jones, 2002). In addition, actual teaching experience has been found to develop teachers' pedagogical knowledge (Dittrich et al., 2000), subject matter knowledge (Johnston et al., 2000; Sengupta & Xiao, 2002), and pedagogical content knowledge (Velez-Rendon, 2002; Sengupta & Xiao, 2002).

Gingerich (2004) described the general pedagogical knowledge and the pedagogical content knowledge among three North American teachers with various backgrounds who volunteered to teach EFL in Lithuania. With one participant having completed a TESOL certification, Gingerich explained that teachers' general pedagogical knowledge was "constructed over time as a unique integration of their educational backgrounds, their teaching experiences, their language learning experiences and their personal philosophies of teaching" (p.229). The teachers' general pedagogical knowledge, in combination with the act of teaching, then developed pedagogical content knowledge. The concept *pedagogical context knowledge* was created to describe what helped the teachers teach in a new environment that included the classroom, the school, and society, and this knowledge was developed through actual experience in the different contexts. In the school context, a sense of collegiality also positively contributed to pedagogical context knowledge. In other studies, collegial support and discussion has been found to contribute to the development trajectory of content knowledge as well as

pedagogical content knowledge (Sengupta & Xiao, 2002) and to facilitate novice ESL teachers' personal professional knowledge (Sivell & Yeager, 2001).

In studies investigating foreign language teaching where teachers are likely to be nonnative speakers, the value of experience studying abroad, which is similar to language learning experience, appears to be positive, as for example, for Spanish as a foreign language teachers in Velez-Rendon's (2002) study. Thompson (2002) used surveys and statistical analysis of a variety of scores on pre- and post-tests to demonstrate the effect of studying abroad on teachers' linguistics competence and cultural knowledge.

Overall, primary factors that have been found to contribute to teacher knowledge development include experience as a student, experience as a teacher trainee, experience as a practicing teacher, and experience as a colleague.

Investigation of Teacher Knowledge Impact on Teaching

Studies that have explored the impact of teacher knowledge on teaching are by far the most specified in terms of their focus on particular knowledge categories. In addition, much research has been about the impact of teachers' subject matter knowledge on student learning. For instance, Borko and Putnam (1996) reviewed separately research regarding novice and experienced teachers' general pedagogical knowledge and beliefs, subject matter knowledge and beliefs, and pedagogical content knowledge and beliefs. They concluded that regardless of experience, teachers often do not possess a deep understanding of the subject matter and thus fail to teach it in an adequately responsive way. Related to subject matter knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge for both novice and experienced teachers was also found to be inadequate for supporting student understanding. In the realm of general pedagogical knowledge, teachers who showed

strength often enable smooth transitions and movement among lessons. Similarly, Hashweh's (1985) study that examined science teachers' subject matter knowledge found that strength in this knowledge category impacted teachers' critical use of instructional materials. In addition, strong subject matter knowledge also assisted teachers in detecting student misconceptions and responding effectively to student difficulties and interests.

In language education, teachers' understanding of the subject matter and its impact in the classroom have also been investigated. Borg (2001) and Andrews (1999) both used observations and interviewing to investigate how native and nonnative speaking teachers' knowledge about language, specifically grammar, influences the input for learning and instructional decisions in ESL and EFL settings, respectively. In Reeves' 2009 study, the two novice native-speaking teachers with an understanding of grammar that was mostly below the level of awareness struggled with anticipating student difficulties, "were often blindsided by unanticipated learner errors that they were hard-pressed to explain," and "experienced episodes of instructional paralysis" (p.227). Lazaraton (2003) discussed, through conversation analysis, how nonnative speaking ESL teachers' target cultural knowledge affects whether they did or did not pursue a topic in class. Constantino (1994), in contrast, discussed how teachers' knowledge of their students' cultures, or lack thereof, affects the extent of parental involvement and the establishment of a learning environment conducive to learning.

Critical Review of Language Teacher Knowledge Research Methodology

The shift of focus in educational research from the mechanical to the cognitive, particularly in general education, also represents an important shift in advocacy in terms of research methodology, from a quantitative to a more qualitative and interpretive

orientation (Carter, 1990; Munby et al., 2001; Shulman, 1992). In language education, this methodological shift has also been noted (Freeman, 1995, 1996; Golombek, 1994). In 1998, however, Richards offered the critique that “the conceptual framework for such research has been borrowed wholesale from parallel research in general education, and only recently have attempts been made to incorporate a language or discourse orientation into that framework” (p.80). An example is Lazaraton’s (2003) study on cultural knowledge that used conversation analysis. Although Richards’ (1998) observation was astute and stressed the foundational specificity of the field in the business of teaching languages, the evaluation of research should probably be based on its methodology as “[b]eing able to trust research results is especially important to professionals in applied fields, such as education” (Merriam, 1998, p.198). In this section, I review the design of most of the studies reviewed above, particularly those regarding teacher knowledge in language education, for a glimpse at their trustworthiness.

Nearly all of the language education studies reviewed employed a qualitative approach. However, variation exists in how different data collection techniques were used and combined. In most cases, observation and interviewing were used, although there appears to be a curiously limited amount of information about the exact research design, both data collection and analysis. For example, in replicating Gatbonton’s (2000) study, Mullock (2006) observed there was insufficient information regarding how the focus of the lesson might influence the teachers’ pedagogical thoughts. As a result, the discussion here is based on what has been made available by the researchers examining language teachers’ knowledge,

The major weakness in most of the studies lies in the fact that they reported brief contact with the participants within a limited period of time. Several studies relied solely

on teachers' self-report. For example, Dittrich et al. (2000) conducted one phone interview with six foreign language teachers, each for 30 to 50 minutes. Constantino (1994) conducted one 20-minute interview with each of her participants (5 ESL and 6 mainstream teachers).

A few studies videotaped the participants without the researchers being physically there. For instance, Gatbonton (2000) recorded the classes, interviewed the teachers afterwards, and relied on everything teachers articulated in the one interview without ways to triangulate the findings. Lazaraton's (2003) database for her conversation analysis came from three video-recordings of two teachers over a 3-month period without her ever being present in the classroom. Given the methodology of conversation analysis, Lazaraton's (2003) absence in the classrooms may be excused. However, there is a missing piece in the study because, teaching being a highly complex activity, Lazaraton should have had at least some conversation with the teachers. The methodological description of the study did not specify who the coders were; it appeared that Lazaraton might have been the only analyst. While not every research study involves a team, Lazaraton's failure to present her analysis to the participants or a peer might be why Jeannot (2004), in her reaction to Lazaraton's study, suggested alternative interpretations that refuted Lazaraton's analysis. Although researchers should be mindful of how their presence impacts the participants and findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994), lack of efforts in triangulation and verification of their interpretation is unjustified, as such measures are crucial for rigorous and trustworthy qualitative studies (Berg, 2001; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Glesne, 1999; Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Although Sivell and Yeager (2001) were present at the five study group discussions they audio-recorded, their study also lacked triangulation. The study lasted

only two months without involving extensive contact with the participants during the time. The researchers asked for written self-reports of critical incidents but did not have any conversations with the participants. Sengupta and Xiao (2002) employed a design similar to that of Sivell and Yeager (2001). Interviewing and probing could have strengthened the trustworthiness for both studies.

For studies that have interviewed their participants, the technique of stimulated recall warrants additional attention because according to Shavelson, Webb, and Burstein (1986), it is an important alternative for looking into teachers' cognitive processes. It can improve degrees of distortion in retrospective interviews and minimize intrusiveness in think-aloud methods. However, of Johnston and Goettsch's (2000) study, which involved the stimulated recall procedure, a major weakness was the decontextualized nature of elicitation. The researchers presented only segments of the classroom observation transcript—those containing grammar explanations—and asked for the teachers' retrospection.

Researchers have also noted concerns about the quality of data from stimulated recalls. For example, Gatbonton (2000) noted how stimulated recall might be inadequate for eliciting all of teachers' instructional thoughts. On the other hand, Johnson (1992), Wood (1996), and Shavelson et al. (1986) pointed out how self-reporting and introspection might generate thoughts that were not part of the teaching. The recall interview itself may prompt teachers to produce extra thoughts that were not necessarily part of the act of teaching. However, as teacher knowledge and thinking are not directly accessible or observable, procedures such as the stimulated recall that involve verbal reporting, according to Mullock (2006), who replicated to Gatbonton's (2000) study, "remain one of the very few means we have of gaining insight into teachers' thought

processes" (p.51). But as Shavelson et al. (1986) and Woods (1996) suggested, researchers should take into account the potential of distortion when interpreting the recall data. The issues concerning accessing what cannot be observed and avoiding distortion in the interpretation of the recall data also point to the importance of data triangulation and lengthened contact with participants. The issues also support Mullock's (2006) critique of conducting research in non-naturally occurring classrooms, for instance, the researcher-generated classroom in Gatbonton's studies (2000, 2008).

The scope of studies was another problematic area. Several of the reviewed studies, while well-designed in terms of data triangulation, reported findings from a small number of participants: 1 in Velez-Rendon (2002); 2 in Borg (2001), Golombek (1998), and Reeves (2009); and 3 in Andrews (1999). While in-depth, small scale studies are not necessarily insignificant for they can provide great insights, a larger number of "sites, cases, situations, especially those that maximize diversity in the phenomenon of interest" better equips readers to apply the research results to various situations (Merriam, 1998, p.212; see also Miles & Huberman, 1994; Ying, 2003).

Lastly, although a common framework facilitates a research consumer's task of relating one study to another, the motto of qualitative research in seeking participants' emic perspectives might be sacrificed when a research study imposes external constructs. One such example is Johnston and Goettsch (2000). While the authors recognized the limitation of presenting teacher knowledge as discrete categories, their adoption of only three of Shulman's categories for use in coding their data did not leave room for other possibilities to emerge through inductive data analysis. For example, additional knowledge categories or factors might also be at work and interact with one another and the three adopted deductive categories. As Elbaz (1983) argued, "One principle of all

research should be borne in mind: that the phase of muddling through a large mass of disorderly data is apparently essential; it does not pay to impose a premature ordering on the information" (p.171).

In this chapter, I presented a brief review of the evolution of research on teaching, along with a summary of the current state of affairs in the research of teacher cognition, particularly in the realm of teacher knowledge. In short, the status quo of the teacher knowledge research is rather diffuse and filled with a multitude of constructs and concepts scholars have proposed for understanding teacher knowledge.

In the area of research topics, existing teacher knowledge inquiries mostly adopted a combination of the three major foci that explored the categorization, sources, and impacts of teacher knowledge. However, a critical review of the research design revealed that many existing inquiries are short of a solid methodology, specifically in terms of the limited contact with the teacher participants, a modest scope representing the phenomenon, decontextualized data collection, insufficient data triangulation to verify analysis, and imposition of coding schemes that were not data-derived. In view of these methodological weaknesses and the conceptual diffusion, the current study endeavored to clarify, instead of complicate, through the adoption of a rigorous research design, as I elaborate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III
METHOD

Focusing on characterizing the knowledge base of ESL teachers working with adult learners, I began the study with theoretical and methodological assumptions derived primarily from Lee Shulman's work, specifically his 1986 and 1987 articles. With the objective of rendering an in-depth depiction of ESL teachers' knowledge base, the study adopted a qualitative research design with teacher participants from several programs providing ESL instruction to adults. In the sections that follow, I describe the characteristics of the participants and of the programs where they were teaching at the time of data collection. I then proceed to explain the research design and process.

Settings and Participants

The most common settings where ESL instruction is offered to adult learners in the United States include programs based in communities and in colleges. As discussed in the introduction to the current study, the two program settings generally serve learners with different goals and needs in life. For instance, although programs in both settings may serve similar student populations, such as immigrants to the country, it is more likely to find international students in the college setting and an academic orientation in college-affiliated programs where adult learners have as their goal to pursue a higher education degree.[4] In general, programs that are based in the neighborhood—often referred to as adult basic education (ABE)—receive funding from state or federal grants

[4] In the college setting, there are also students whose goal is to improve their overall English abilities, without pursuing an academic degree.

and provide free instruction to learners who mainly desire, or need, survival and functional competencies in the English language.

Targeting two major programs in the community-based setting and two in the college-based setting in a metropolitan area in Central Texas, I solicited voluntary participation from teachers and successfully recruited six participants from the former setting and four from the latter. To ensure that the participants had sufficient knowledge about the program context in which they were working with adult learners, teachers were required to have taught at their current program for at least one year prior to participation in the study. Pseudonyms are used for the four programs in Central Texas from which participants were recruited:

- Adult Education Program, affiliated with a local community college (2 participants)
- Community Education Program, affiliated with the public school district (4 participants)
- Community College ESL Department, affiliated with the same community college that hosted the Adult Education Program[5] (2 participants)
- University ESL Services, within a public higher education institution (2 participants).

Table 1 summarizes the nature and affiliation of the four programs.

[5] As described in the introduction to the study, it is common for community colleges to operate both types of adult ESL programs. The instructional focus of the academic program, Community College ESL Department, is to prepare students for college-level credit courses. The academic program, unlike the Adult Education Program, has international students who come to study in this country on a student (F-1) visa. In terms of locations, while the Adult Education Program also has classes at local public school sites, classes in the academic program meet only on campuses of the college.

Table 1 Program summaries

Name of Program	**Adult Education Program**	**Community Education Program**	**Community College ESL Department**	**University ESL Services**
No. of Study Participants	2	4	2	2
Setting	Community-based	Community-based	College-based	College-based
Affiliation	Local community college	Local K-12 school district[6]	Local community college	Public higher education institution
Program Objective	To provide students with enough English to participate in society	To provide language skills for adjustment to the American way of life	As a bridge to prepare students for regular college-level academic courses	To help students improve English to reach their chosen goals through a variety of sub-programs
Costs	Free (grant-funded)	Free (grant-funded)	Both in-state & out-of-state community college tuition rates	Out-of-state rates for higher education tuitions
Student Population	Mostly immigrants, & occasional temporary visitors	Mostly immigrants, & occasional temporary visitors	International students & immigrants educated in their native languages, many seeking degrees	International students & immigrants educated in their native languages, many seeking degrees
Employment Type*	Full-time, mostly part-time	Part-time	Part-time & full-time	Part-time & full-time

[6] Community Education Program is actually affiliated with the local community college as well, but mainly through its connection with the same grant that also funds Adult Education Program.

Table 1 *(continued)*

Teacher Qualifica-tions	Bachelor's degree, with one year of experience. Master's preferred	Bachelor's degree, some experience desirable	Master's degree, with at least 18 hours of relevant graduate level coursework, in compliance with SACS**	Master's degree related to TESOL, 5 years of experience, language learning & EFL experiences
Subject Areas	Language & social functionality; not delineated	Language & social functionality; not delineated	Oral Communication, Writing/Grammar, & Reading/Vocabulary	Listening/Speaking, Reading, Writing, Grammar/Idioms in flagship programs[7]
Curriculum	No mandated curriculum; some guidelines for functions and skills	No mandated curriculum; teachers to create lessons based on student needs	A curriculum specifying topics for each subject area and each defined level; spiral & vertically aligned	A curriculum specifying topics for each subject area and each defined level; spiral & vertically aligned
Class Levels	Beginning to Advanced levels. Some mixed-level classes	Literacy, Beginning, Intermediate & Advanced	High Beginning, Low Intermediate, High Intermediate, & Advanced for each subject	Levels 1 to 6 (6 as the highest) for each subject

*An ESL teacher can be employed and paid on a full-time basis but may not have to work 40 hours a week.
**SACS stands for Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, the regional accreditation agency. Visit http:// www.sacs.org/ for college accreditation standards.

[7] University ESL Services offers 3 types of language programs: English Language Program (ELP), Academic English Program, and ITA/Graduate Program. ELP and the Academic English Program have the same subject areas (included in Table1). While ELP has degree-seeking students as well as non-degree seekers, AEP serves students who all have as their goal to enroll in graduate studies. The ITA/Graduate Program aims to help international teaching assistants (ITAs) and current international graduate students at the university to overcome their language barriers with courses in Oral Communication and Academic Writing.

Although in all four programs class levels range from beginning to advanced, the scales are defined differently. An advanced student in the community-based setting may be considered to be at the intermediate level in an academically oriented program. And while all programs hire staff on a part-time basis, hourly salary rates are generally dissimilar—higher in the more academically focused programs.

The four programs are also slightly different in terms of professional development activities for the teachers. In the Community Education Program, training sessions are arranged by the administration and scheduled prior to the first day of class each semester, when teacher attendance is required. In the other programs, training provided by the administration could be scheduled throughout the semester, and teachers have access to optional opportunities made available by other departments within the community college or university. Teachers in these three programs also have the liberty as well as resources to pursue extensive external professional development. In addition, most participants from the Community Education Program made frequent references to administrative changes throughout their affiliation with the program.

Another aspect of program administration to be specified here concerns program accountability. As a result of the government funding, the two community-based programs offering free classes are required to respect certain guidelines for instructional content in terms of functional skills, monitor student progress, and submit paperwork to illustrate student improvement.

Participant Recruitment

The only criteria potential participants had to meet were: (1) at least a total of one year of teaching experience at their current programs and (2) at least two years of overall teaching experience. I began recruiting participants in the fall of 2005, first by approaching colleagues who were teaching adults at the four different ESL programs to inquire about their interests in participation. This initial inquiry was through an informal request in person or through email, often along with or following the distribution of the call for participation flyer (see Appendix 1).

The next step was to obtain permission from the gate-keepers—the program administrators. The administrators agreed to forward the call for participation flyer to teachers in their programs to assist me with recruiting more participants. The assistance from the administrators resulted in the inclusion of Carol, John, Lori, and Suzanne. Pseudonyms of the participants' choice are used for all to ensure confidentiality.

Every teacher participating in the current study had been teaching in his or her program for at least one year at the time I began data collection. Although as part of participant recruitment I approached my acquaintances who met the experience criteria, my recruitment strategy was a combination of convenience sampling (based on participant availability) and network sampling (through referrals) (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, the final group of participants was not a group of hand-selected individuals but of volunteers. Table 2 summarizes the participants' language and education backgrounds, their program affiliations, as well as years of English teaching experience when intensive data collection was in progress.

Table 2 Teacher participant characteristics

Teacher	Program Affiliation*	Language Background	Years of English Teaching**	Years in Program**	Education
Anna	CEP	English & Arabic; some French	30 years (in both ESL & EFL, with 14 years in Lebanese high school)	6 years	Undergraduate major in English & minor in Education/EFL; MA in English
Carol	CEP	English & Spanish	3.5 years	1 year	Undergraduate major in Psychology, minor in English
Charlotte	UESL	English & French; some German	5 years	2.5 years	Undergraduate major in French; MA in Applied Linguistics
Jessica	CEP	English & Spanish	13 years	2 years	Undergraduate major in Photography; MA in Foreign Language Ed
John	AEP	English, Farsi, Pashto, (& Latin)	31 year (in both ESL & EFL)	12 years	Undergraduate major in History; intensive ESL Trainings at DLI;[8] MA in Public Admin

8 DLI stands for the Defense Language Institute. John also has a second master's degree in Nuclear Biological and Chemical Warfare.

Table 2 *(continued)*

Judy	AEP	English & Spanish	4 years (+ 4 years in TX middle schools)	3 years	Undergraduate major and MA in Speech; TX teacher certification in ESL, English, Speech, Math, Special Ed
Lori	CESL	English & Spanish; some Portuguese	10 years	2 years	Undergraduate major in International Business; MA in Bicultural/ Bilingual Studies
Louise	CESL	English, Spanish, & German	21 years (in both ESL & EFL)	7 years	Undergraduate major in English; MA in TESOL/ Applied Linguistics
Suzanne	CEP	English, French, & Spanish	5 years (+ 20 years of art teaching & Montessori)	5 years	Undergraduate major in Art
Victor	UESL	English & Spanish	12 years (in both ESL & EFL)	6 years	Undergraduate major in Spanish & International Studies; MA in Foreign Language Ed

* AEP - Adult Education Program; CEP - Community Education Program; CESL – Community College ESL Department; UESL - University ESL Services.

** The years of experiences was calculated up until when the classroom observation took place, which for most teachers was during Fall 2005. John was observed in Spring 2006. "Years of English Teaching" represents the total years of experience in a classroom-teaching situation, which includes volunteering but excludes personalized tutoring.

During participant recruitment, I had hoped to include teachers who spoke English as their second language. Although all ESL programs I contacted have non-native English speaking teaching staff members, none of my invitations to those individuals was accepted. As a result, the 10 participants in this study were all English-dominant; two had grown up bilingual, Anna and Charlotte, with Arabic and French as their additional language respectively. In terms of educational background, almost all participants completed their post-secondary education in the United States. The only exceptions are Anna's undergraduate work, which she completed in Lebanon, and Louise's master's degree work in Panama.

As discussed, the majority of the teaching force in the field of ESL is made up of part-time employees. In the community-based programs, all were employed on a part-time basis except for John in the Adult Education Program. Two participants from the Communicate Education Program, Anna and Carol, also worked a different full-time job during the day. In the college setting, Lori was the only part-timer and an adjunct instructor at Community College ESL Department. It is common for part-time ESL teachers to "moonlight" and teach in both program settings simultaneously. However, none of the participants in this study were moonlighting in this manner while data collection was underway, although three of the participants –Anna, John, and Lori – had had experience teaching at both settings.

In addition to teacher participants, brief interviews were conducted with the administrators of the programs in which the teachers were teaching. Such interviews were to clarify the programs' missions, characteristics of the students served, and criteria used for hiring teachers. Portions of the data from those interviews are included in Table 1,

which summarizes characteristics of the different programs. Appendix 2 includes the interview guide used with the program administrators.

Data Collection Techniques and Procedures

Data collection of the current study began in September, 2005, and was carried out intensively until the end of April, 2006. Compared to previous studies examining language teachers' knowledge, most of which relied on data from single observations or interviews, I used multiple data collection techniques and maintained lengthy and continuous contacts with the teacher participants in order to get an in-depth look into the realm of teacher knowledge and achieve solid data triangulation.

Teacher knowledge and cognition not being directly accessible, I relied on elicitation techniques to achieve a fuller representation of teacher knowledge (e.g., Breen et al., 2001; Calderhead, 1996). Specifically, elicitation was the goal for the semi-standardized interviews and the stimulated recall protocol, both discussed below. Reflection-provoking questions also characterized much of the data collection procedures, because, as Loughran (2002) stated regarding teachers' professional knowledge, "it is difficult to find examples of what that knowledge actually is. Through the notion of effective reflective practice, it is possible to consider teacher knowledge through particular concrete examples" (p.39). Interview guides used with the teacher participants in this study can be found in Appendices 3-5.

The following sections describe the techniques I used to gather the primary data—those from the teacher participants.

Background Interview

The aim of this interview conducted with individual teachers was to gather demographic information and find out about the teachers' "focused life history" (Seidman, 1998, p.11). The "focused" portion of the interview included information about the teachers' past experiences such as professional training, linguistic background, and employment history. I also asked the teachers to reflect on how their teaching was similar or different, if they had experienced different teaching environments. Other open-ended questions were also asked during this interview. The background interview guide can be found in Appendix 3.

Semi-Standardized Interviews

A semi-standardized interview involves predetermined questions and topics, hence *standardized*, as well as spontaneous probes beyond such prepared questions (Berg, 2001). During the design stage of the study, Seidman's (1998) three-interview series was adopted. In addition to the background interview, Seidman proposed two semi-standardized interviews focusing on the teachers' present experience and their reflection on the meaning they had constructed throughout the interview process.

Seidman's suggestion that each interview be three days to a week apart, in order to ensure participant reflection on and connection of the interviews, was difficult to follow in the data collection stage because of scheduling. However, interviewing spacing was probably not an issue because, unlike Seidman's sole reliance on interviewing as the data collection technique, I gathered data from other sources and over a longer period of time. For instance, as will be discussed below, consecutive classroom visits were conducted, so were stimulated recalls.

In the current study, the spacing of interviews ranged from days to months apart, primarily because of scheduling difficulties from the inclusion of 10 in-depth cases in this study and because of the participants' busy schedules. In addition, with a few participants, three separate interviews with the different foci Seidman (1998) suggested were conducted. With the majority of the participants, however, the background and present experience interviews were combined and took approximately two hours. For all participants, the interview that focused on reflection was combined with the final member checks. Subsequent interviews with a participant normally began with follow-up questions I had formulated from my reading of, and listening to, interview or observation transcripts.

The third interview, which focuses on reflection, as Seidman (1998) has explained, is not the only occasion when the participants reflect and make sense of their experience; they may be continuously doing so during all of the interviews. What makes the reflection interview different is how it is conducted in the context of the previous interviews that concentrate on the past and the present and how meaning-making is the center of its focus (Seidman, 1998). Thus, the combination of the reflection interview in this study with the final member check created the context for meaningful conversations about the participants' world of ESL teaching.

The interview guides for the background and the semi-standardized interviews were developed based on ideas drawn from Grossman (1990), Lortie (1975, 2001), Seidman (1998), and Shulman (1986, 1987). Appendices 4 & 5 contain the interview guides for the semi-standardized interviews. All of the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

Teacher knowledge is a personal and potentially evaluative topic. The interview guides thus also included hypothetical and indirect questions. Indirectness, according to Lortie (1975, 2002), reduces ideological statements from participants on evaluative topics. Such indirect questions also served as a check for the reliabilities of interviewees' responses (Berg, 2001). The interaction in an interview and the interviewer's awareness of her role as the data collection instrument, according to Berg, made it feasible to refocus the interviewee when necessary with the use of indirect questions.

When I conducted the interviews, I did not necessarily follow any particular sequence of questions, as the participant's responses could address or segue into different topics included in the interview guides. I made an effort to adhere to the wording used in the interview guides; however, the responsive and less than strict sequence of questions frequently led to the use of similar, but not exactly the same, wording of the questions, particularly when I wanted to maintain the flow of the interview and, as a result, did not have the time to search for another question that had not been asked. However, in such instances, I tried to stay true to the nature of the question through my paraphrase. My improved familiarity with the questions and topics included in the interview guides, after I had conducted a couple of interviews, greatly facilitated such spontaneity in the process. Appendix 6 includes an excerpt of an interview I conducted with Victor that involved an indirect and open-ended question that asked him to compare himself as a new teacher and the teacher that he currently was. The except also shows how I phrased unscheduled probes for more information and clarification.

One last note about interviews concerns transcription and quotations. When transcribing, I included empty fillers (e.g., "you know") and colloquialism (e.g., "gonna" for "going to") in the participants' actual speech. Upon choosing segments of an

interview as direct quotes to include in the report, I removed most of the fillers and converted colloquial language to the written register. Through the removal and conversion, which were also performed for any observation fieldnotes included in the report, I attempted to communicate the information more clearly and to "maintain the dignity of the participant in presenting his or her oral speech in writing" (Seidman, 1998, p.194).

Classroom Observation

Because one way teachers exemplify their knowledge is through the act of teaching, classroom observation was a necessary technique for the current study. In Fall 2004, I conducted a pilot study (henceforth, Study 1) where I observed two college-based ESL teachers with a focus on "How is ESL teachers' subject matter knowledge exemplified in their teaching?" Two to three visits were paid to each of the classes the teachers were teaching. I took notes of what the teachers said to the students or wrote on the board, as well as of interchanges between the teacher and the students. The focus on subject matter knowledge quickly expanded as it interacted with other types of teacher knowledge that Shulman (1987) identified and theorized.

Based on Study 1 and additional reading of the literature, an observation guide was developed (see Appendix 7). Instructional explanations, according to Leinhardt (2001), are one of the common places of teaching and a significant researchable teaching moment and are described to be "natural and frequent pedagogical actions that occur in response to implicit or explicit questions—whether posed by students or teachers" (p.340). Also included in the observation guide and noted during classroom observations were frequencies and effects of student-initiated teaching moments, which, according to

Kumaravadivelu (2003), can maximize learning opportunities. Special attention was further given to the categories identified in Study 1: teachers' elicitation, correction, and synthesis of student responses.

My pilot study also helped me decide the number of visits to the teachers' classes. Three visits to a teacher's class were sufficient for me to discern patterns of classroom interaction and teacher knowledge. However, lack of coherence in instructional unit development was one difficulty in data analysis for Study 1. Thus, for the current study, observation of each teacher was to last for at least three consecutive classes.

Before my first visit to a teacher's classroom, I had hoped to conduct the background interview, especially with the teachers whom I did not know prior to their participation, in order to begin establishing a relationship, which according to Grossman (1990) is crucial in putting the observed individual more at ease (see also Berg, 2001; Merriam, 1998; Seidman, 1998). However, due to scheduling difficulties, I was only able to conduct a pre-observation interview with Anna, Louise, and Suzanne, after explaining the study and obtaining consent. With the other three recruited participants with whom I had no prior contact—Carol, John, and Lori—I arranged a brief informal meeting to explain and answer questions about the study and obtain consent.

As teachers often receive multiple teaching assignments, especially in the college setting, the pre-observation interview and meeting also served the purpose of identifying a class the teachers typically taught as the focal class to which I would pay 3 or 4 visits, and for almost all of the teachers, such visits were consecutive. Jessica, John, and all four teachers in the college setting were those teaching multiple classes. I was able to focus my intensive classroom visits on the typical class for all of them except for Louise due to scheduling. Louise considered Writing/Grammar classes as typical, particularly at the

high beginning level; the focal class observed was in Reading and Vocabulary, which was also a subject area she taught frequently.

During the data collection process, I made a decision to also visit certain classes other than the focal, especially because the teachers often made reference to these other classes during interviews and informal conversations. Normally, there was one visit to the non-focal class. Because of the representativeness Louise had attached to her high beginning Writing/Grammar class, I decided to observe this class twice consecutively, and not her high intermediate in the same subject area. I also visited Victor's ITA/ Graduate Advanced Oral class twice because of a conversational activity he described as highly effective. The two additional classes I did not visit were (1) Jessica's class at another school site at the same level as she considered the two classes fairly similar; (2) John's GED class, which he did not consider relevant to my research topic as the students were not English learners.

These additional visits also served to offset the possibility that the teachers may prefer for me to observe only his/her best practice. In the case of Carol, she considered her only class was atypical because it was her first beginning level class. Table 3 summarizes the classes the teacher participants were teaching at the time of data collection, as well as identifies the focal class and additional classes.

Table 3 Teacher participants' classes

Teacher Participant	**Program Affiliation**	**Focal Class & No. of Visits**[9]	**Focal Class Length & Schedule**	**Other Classes** (*Observed)	
Anna	CEP	Advanced, **3**	2 hours, 2 nights a week (Oct. & Nov. 2005)		
Carol	CEP	Beginning, **6**	2 hours, 3 nights a week (Nov. 2005)		
Charlotte	UESL	ELP Level 2 Grammar, **3**	1.5 hours, 3 days a week (Oct. 2005)	*ELP Level 6 Listening & Speaking	
Jessica	CEP	Beginning, **3**	2 hours, 2 nights a week (Oct. 2005)	Beginning at a different site	
John	AEP	Mixed Level, **5**	3 hours, 5 days a week (Feb. 2006)	GED	
Judy	AEP	Beginning, **6**	1.5 hours, 4 nights a week (Dec. 2005)		
Lori	CESL	Low Intermediate Writing & Grammar, **4**	70 minutes, 3 days a week (Nov. 2005)	*2 Advanced Writing & Grammar classes.	*High Beginning Oral
Louise	CESL	High Beginning Reading & Vocab., **4**	70 minutes, 3 days a week (Oct. 2005)	*High Beginning Writing & Grammar	High Intermediate Writing & Grammar
Suzanne	CEP	Intermediate, **4**	2 hours, 3 nights a week (Oct. 2005)		
Victor	UESL	ELP Level 6 Grammar & Idioms, **4**	1.5 hours, 3 days a week (Nov. 2005)	*ITA/ Graduate Advanced Oral	*ITA/ Graduate Advanced Writing

[9] I observed three teachers more than 4 times because the program was conducting post-testing (Carol) or the teachers recommended that I watch how they conducted a movie lesson (John) and a lab session (Judy).

All classes were observed for their entire length specified in Table 3. Using the observation guide (Appendix 7), I recorded notes directly on a laptop while also audio-taping the lessons; the last visit to each teacher's focal class was both audio- and video-recorded for use in the stimulated recall.

It would have been ideal if, after a day's field work, I could have at down and written fuller fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). However, intense data collection made immediate processing of notes difficult. As an alternative, during each observation session, I noted areas needing clarification on the observation guide and tried to transcribe the audiotapes, verbatim of the teachers' discourse, as soon as possible. Student contributions were transcribed when they instigated a teacher reaction, such as explanations. As a result, follow-up questions pertaining to classroom observations were addressed during the stimulated recall procedure or a subsequent interview.

I did not intend to take an active participant role in the classrooms. During my visits, however, almost all of the teachers tried to make me feel part of the class and use me as a resource by asking for my opinions or putting me in pairs with students. I also offered assistance when a couple of teachers could not completely understand or answer students' questions. I assumed the role of a full participant when I taught Carol's class twice: when she was unexpectedly called to administer tests and when she was late due to car trouble.

Stimulated Recall

Classroom observation, though necessary for the purpose of the study, was not sufficient for gaining insights into the cognitive aspect of the participants' teaching. One way to obtain data on the "intellectual processes used by subjects as they render

judgments and make decisions or solve problems" is through verbal reports (Shulman & Elstein, 1975, p.4, cited in Shavelson et al., 1986). Stimulated recall, according to Shavelson et al. (1986), is a verbal report technique that enhances the retrieval of the particulars of a past event with "its rich source of stimuli" (p.82).

As mentioned, many have cautioned about the possibility that teachers will make up comments when prompted to talk (e.g., Johnson, 1992; Woods, 1996). With a focus on what ESL teachers know, such made-up comments were nonetheless important and considered as data for the current study. The multiple extensive data collection procedures also served as a way of verifying consistency in the teachers' shared thoughts—a topic to be discussed further under trustworthiness of the research.

In order to familiarize myself with the stimulated recall procedure and to decide on the number and timing of the recall interview, I conducted another pilot study (henceforth, Study 2) in Spring 2005. With each of the two teachers in Study 2, I performed two recall interviews, one with an audio-taped lesson and the other video-taped. Study 2 confirmed the adequacy of one recall interview with each teacher as the second interview did not render data that were much different from the first one. The decision to use the last class I visited for the recall in the dissertation study was to ensure that I was adequately familiar with each teacher's teaching style as well as to minimize the possibility of a recorded "performance" that was out of the ordinary.

Although the two teachers in Study 2 did not report much difference with the two modes of stimuli, in other words, the audio-recording and the video-recording, my decision to use the video[10] for the current study was based on the richness in the stimulus

[10] Luckily, all program administrators in the dissertation study allowed video-taping without a focus on the students, and the teachers were amenable to being video-taped. The digital camcorder was set up on the last day of observation in the back of the room to focus only on the teacher.

as well as on the possibility that the recall interview was not conducted immediately following the class observation due to scheduling. Table 4 summarizes the dates of video-recording and stimulated recall.

Table 4 Dates of video recording & stimulated recall

	Anna	Carol	Charlotte	Jessica	John	Judy	Lori	Louise	Suzanne	Victor
Video	Nov. 02	Nov. 15	Oct. 28	Oct. 10	Feb. 08	Dec. 13	Nov. 16	Oct. 10	Oct. 19	Nov. 18
Recall	Nov. 11	Nov. 21	Nov. 01	Oct. 13	Feb. 16	Dec. 20	Nov. 16 & Dec. 6	Oct. 11	Oct. 21	Nov. 23

Before each recall interview, I reviewed the recording and edited it down to approximately one hour—a duration chosen based on Study 2. The segments that were edited out were mostly student work (individually or in pairs) when there was not much interaction between the teacher and the students. Although I had prepared instructions for the teachers for the stimulated recall interview (see Appendix 8), I decided to paraphrase and verbally explain the procedure.

Encouraging the teachers to pause the video during the stimulated recall, I also developed a list of probing questions to use as a guide prior to the procedure while I reviewed and edited the recorded lesson. The focus of this probing was the same as that of the classroom observation and included instructional explanations, student-initiated teaching moments, and teachers' elicitation, correction, and synthesis of student responses. In addition to the interactive aspect of teaching, I often had questions about the preactive and postactive phases that complemented the activities in the classroom

(Calderhead, 1996). Probing was performing with as many open-ended questions as possible, which were less constrictive, better for eliciting information, and less likely to distort the thought processes reported (Shavelson et al., 1986). Areas noted on the observation guides as needing clarification during my class visits were also addressed during the recall. With incidents I perceived to be a teacher's mistakes, I asked the teacher in a congenial manner to elaborate what she tried to communicate in the lesson.

Document Collection

I collected documents that were relevant to classroom observation, including syllabi, handouts (e.g. quizzes, homework, etc.), textbook pages, and, if available, lesson plans. Based on my experience observing teachers in the two pilot studies, such documents were helpful for me to follow along during the observation and for refreshing my memory when I later reviewed the fieldnotes. Textbook pages and handouts were helpful also in determining how much a teacher relied on commercially printed materials. Teacher-made handouts, in contrast, often demonstrated various aspects of a teacher's knowledge. Other documents collected from the teachers included résumés and email correspondences.

Program brochures and webpage print-outs were also gathered for the purpose of contextualization and data triangulation.

Data Analysis

Data analysis for this study was ongoing and began with consciousness-raising particularly through the verbatim transcription of every interview and observation

audio-recording. Simultaneously conducting data collection and preliminary data analysis, according to Merriam (1998), is “the right way” to do it in qualitative research (p.162), as the process enables the researcher to “focus and shape the study as it proceeds” through consistent reflection on the data and attention to what the data are saying (Glesne, 1999, p.130). The simultaneous process, as described, allowed me to conduct specific follow-up probing during subsequent encounters with the participants.

More intensive and focused data analysis began when there was more extended time in between data collection and processing. The first reading of all the transcripts mostly yielded writing in the margin, particularly of the transcripts of the interviews and the stimulated recall, as I attempted to apply Shulman’s (1987) framework and pay attention to other patterns that were emerging. I also tried to be mindful of what the research questions were by placing them near by where I worked on the data. I made reflective remarks in a notebook synthesizing similarities and differences I was seeing among the data sets, particularly in terms of how what I wrote in the margin was repeated or not.

While bearing in mind the importance of deriving themes that emerged from the data without simply imposing pre-established coding schemes, throughout the analysis of the collected data, I attempted not only to identify but also to delineate the boundaries of different types of teacher knowledge. Unlike the existing literature, where teacher knowledge categories were often described as overlapping and not clearly defined (e.g., Sengupta & Xiao, 2002; Shulman, 1986, 1987), my goal included the creation of a “framework” of categories that encompasses what teachers of adult ESL learners possess as their knowledge base. I employed many terms Shulman (1986, 1987) had proposed because introducing an abundance of new terminology did not seem to be helpful but

would only add to the existing complexity that is unnecessary and confounding. Instead, I inductively refined teacher knowledge categories in the literature with the aid of my data, while minimizing fuzzy overlap among the categories and clarifying interactions across boundaries of defined categories. As the operationalization of teacher knowledge constructs was part of the inductively derived findings, I will present and discuss such construct in Chapter IV as part of the study results.

As a second step of data analysis, I repeated this combined inductive and deductive approach, where Shulman's framework was not rigidly imposed, with a focus on each individual participant and on his/her verbal report data. I intentionally focused on one program setting as I did not want to be bogged down by the immense depth and complexity in this stage. Beginning with participants in the community-based setting, through this repeated step, I had as a goal to organize and compress the data of each case into a data display (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In compressing the data, I looked for relationships among the different categories that I had jotted down or were revising in the margin. I used an arrow to signal each relationship among categories, that one was somehow influencing another or several others. This two-step process rendered visual representations for each participant: a complex web of categories with arrows that synthesized the entire verbal report data set, as well as separate visual displays representing salient key ideas that emerged in more detail. Although the focus was on creating a data display for each participant, I tried to also work with a couple of, if not a few, transcripts from different participants at the same time, as I often felt the need to see if an idea was applicable somewhere else or to investigate what the idea reminded me of in particular participants' reports or classroom actions—a process similar to the first two stages of the constant comparative method Glaser and Strauss (1967, 2006) described concerning comparing incidents and integrating categories. Appendix 9 presents the web

of categories and an example of a visual display of the key concepts I created based on Suzanne's data set—one of the first few I used to go through this process.

This process to generate visual displays started in June, 2006 and continued until July, 2007, with concurrent member checking of my interpretation (from September, 2006 until August, 2007) as well as occasional transcription, mainly of the classroom observations.

Final Member Checking

After the visual displays were sufficiently developed to represent my synthesis and interpretation of a participant's world as an ESL teacher, I arranged for a member checking procedure. During the member check, the participant was presented with the visual displays, beginning with the complex web, in print and on the computer to show the color codes representing the different data sources. As the visual displays included many terms I used for the categories in the transcript margins, I first explained the role of Shulman's (1987) framework that constituted portions of the framework used in my analysis and the links between the categories with one or two examples.[11] The procedure was similar to a dialogue, with me explaining my interpretation and the participant commenting, confirming, and modifying. The dialogue was a productive one also in terms of follow-up data analysis, particularly through the engagement of the participant in a discussion about concepts with which I had been struggling to further clarify.[12]

[11] Most of the participants took notes during the process, too, which seemed to indicate their engagement and effort to understand and validate my interpretation.

[12] For example, in the web of categories in Appendix 9, "pedagogical knowledge" and "management" were two similar concepts whose boundaries were not yet clearly defined. The final member check with Suzanne (and with the other participants) as well as further reading of the data led to the elucidation of General Pedagogical Knowledge and of the classroom management areas, as presented in Figure 1 in Chapter IV.

I prepared specific questions for areas needing clarification to add to the conversation, including a question about what I perceived as the driving forces by studying the patterns of arrows, particularly those that went outward. For instance, in Suzanne's web (Appendix 9), knowledge of students, knowledge of own life and language experience, and knowledge of self appeared to be influential. Also as mentioned under data collection, member checking served as the occasion for the final reflection interview, which included a question regarding the role of the teacher's participation in the study (Appendix 5). The procedure lasted for about an hour and a half, with the conversation recorded and transcribed.

Cross-Case Comparisons

Similar to Grossman's (1990) three-level data analysis scheme, the above described first level of analysis focused on individual cases "to provide an in-depth portrait of each teacher, with as much salient data as possible, and to interpret the case with reference to the research questions of this study" (p.157). The next two levels of analysis concerned what Seidman (1998) referred to as "connective threads" among the participants (p.110). My exploration of similarities and differences proceeded with a cross-case analysis within each context (level two) as well as across contexts (level three). However, although there were three levels of analysis, level boundaries were not clearly delineated, particularly in a chronological manner.

In this comparison-focused analysis, I again made use of visual representations to show relationships. I focused on specific categories, such as those concerning Shulman's framework, and on how interactions among the categories were similar or different across participants in the same program setting as well as across program settings. To make the

comparison tasks manageable, I began by pairing participants first within each program (e.g., Community Education Program), then pairing within the program setting (e.g., community-based), before moving across program settings. Pairing was also made meaningful, for example, by using amount of experience as a criterion.

Use of Classroom Observation Data

Although data from teachers' verbal reports played a more prominent role in the analysis, throughout the continuous analytical process, and particularly during the cross-case comparisons, the classroom observation transcripts were frequently consulted to clarify and confirm interpretation by means of examples in practice. And although the transcription of classroom observations took a long while to complete, the transcription process informed the analysis as, for example, when my attention was spontaneously drawn to an incident recorded during a classroom observation.

Transferability and Trustworthiness

The scope of this current study is not large-scale. However, as Merriam (1998) observed, for qualitative research projects, diversity in research design "will allow the results to be applied by readers to a greater range of other situations" (p.212). The multi-site design of the current study enhanced what is traditionally defined as *external validity* or *generalizability* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Ying, 2003).

Furthermore, because teacher knowledge is not directly accessible, data analysis will inevitably be based on inference. As a result, measures that ensure trustworthiness of

research results are vital. In the current study, data triangulation was made possible through multiple data sources. As Verloop et al. (2001) described:

> The aim is to enhance the internal validity of the research. Since teacher knowledge is viewed as a multi-dimensional concept, requiring multiple instruments for its exploration, multi-method triangulation was applied in a qualitative study on teachers' practical knowledge. (p.452)

Data triangulation in this study was also improved by the extensive contact I had with the participating teachers through data collection and partially into the intensive data analysis stage, such as the member checking procedure. Member checking in the current study was indeed ongoing through the inclusion of follow-up questions in the interviews as well as informal conversations with the teachers, whether in person or via email. Peer debriefing via discussion with teacher educators, which including several teacher participants, further strengthened the trustworthiness of my interpretation of the findings.

Anecdotes of the validity regarding my interpretation came from Anna, who at the end of the final member check, observed:

> You're not telling me anything I don't know. You are putting it in different words, and you're synthesizing it in probably ways that I haven't, but it's not something new. I know what I do, and I know how I organize my thoughts, I know how I think about it, so yeah, it's not news.

Charlotte similarly shared, also during the final member check, "We forget sometimes what we believe in until we are called to explain it, and so even though this is not new to me, it will still serve as a fresh reminder."

Reciprocity and the Researcher's Bias

Participation in this study was entirely voluntary, and none of the participants was compensated monetarily. Fearing I might be the only one benefiting once the project is

completed, I was mindful throughout the research process, and even to the extent possible until today, about making myself as helpful as I could be, to both those participants who were my acquaintances before the study and those who were not. I have loaned or given away professional books in my personal collection and offered personal favors, volunteering to take a participant to the hospital if she could not find somebody to do so, or occasionally forwarding relevant job announcements I have come across for those seeking employment. This orientation was one of the reasons why I became a more legitimate participant in the teachers' classrooms.

I did not become interested in what ESL teachers know by accident, although the advocacy or call for professionalization of the field was also of interest to me. Having gone through the process of learning the English language, first in an EFL setting then ESL, I have noticed how many native-speaking teachers often have a difficult time grasping why something is the way it is in English, although I could also name a few who could certainly analyze the language easily without having to rely on a long inductive process or without struggling with it. This observation has led me to believe that having a foundation from learning the language the explicit way has its benefits in terms of the ability to analytically understand the language, which in turn led to the accumulation of more knowledge about the language and the use of the language. And as an adult learner myself, I absolutely have a propensity for asking and finding out about why something is the way it is.

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

This dissertation research, with the adoption of Lee Shulman's work on teacher knowledge as the conceptual framework was originally intended to elucidate the components and amalgam of the knowledge base possessed by ESL teachers of adult learners. During data collection and analysis, however, a more vibrant picture emerged as the components in the teacher participants' knowledge base were observed to interact with one another. In addition, a teacher participant's classroom actions and their interactions with the knowledge base took the center stage. Such interactions were mostly exemplified in how the teachers described themselves as ESL instructors during the interview procedures and in how they acted in the classroom, including their often spontaneous responses to the students while I observed from the sidelines. Although Shulman advocated the necessity for a dual emphasis on both pedagogy (i.e., behaviors) and knowledge, the historical configuration in educational research in the 1980s, after the long dominance of the process-product paradigm, had promoted an emphasis on teacher cognition from his work, especially in his theoretical pieces (e.g., Shulman, 1986, 1987).

In light of the complexities involved when addressing teacher knowledge, I will begin with an operationalization of the study's central constructs, including categories of teacher knowledge. The operationalization will be followed by an explication of common characteristics shared by the teacher participants in the study. I will then illustrate the interrelationships between teacher knowledge and behavior via a discussion of student-centeredness and management tasks in the classroom. Two separate sections will be devoted to teacher reflectivity and the multiplicity of ESL teaching. The specific

research questions will be addressed in the next chapter based on the results presented in this chapter. The research questions are repeated here:

1. How are the teachers participating in this study similar or different with regards to their teaching and knowledge base? What factors contribute to such similarities and differences?
2. What role does professional preparation play in how the teachers teach?
3. What role does the teachers' own language learning experience play in their teaching?

Operationalization of Constructs

As reviewed by Munby et al. (2001), research in teacher knowledge, particularly in general education, has generated a rich body of findings and concepts. Along with this information has come an array of terminology and definitions. The constructs that are central to my study include the various categories of teacher knowledge both based on Shulman's work (1986, 1987) and emerging from the data collected in this study. Before addressing attributes common among the teacher participants and the teachers' approaches to student-centered classroom management, I will explain how the central constructs are used in the study. First, I turn to a frequently used concept in the literature of teaching and teacher development that warrants more delineated operationalization–contexts.

Contexts: Programs and Classrooms

The term *context* is generally used to refer to several interrelated settings, the most pertinent of which for the current study are the broader administrative environment of a program and the specific make-up of the more immediate environment of a

classroom. Examples of the programmatic contextual factors that have an impact on what teachers do and consider instructionally include program objectives, curricula, availability of instructional materials and resources, student tuition rates, program-wide assessment policies, division of subject and skill areas, course scheduling, and other features determined or made available by the program administration. The classroom context, on the other hand, refers primarily to the presence of particular students, with whom teachers interact and for whom they retrieve and enact components of their knowledge base. In the current study, the distinction between the related program and classroom contexts is important to maintain because, as the findings will show, what a teacher knows about each affects her ESL world differently.

Components in Teachers' Knowledge Base

Lee Shulman, whose work stimulated much attention to teacher cognition, proposed various categories of teacher knowledge in his 1986 and 1987 articles. The current study has as its original conceptual framework the following teacher knowledge categories as synthesized from Shulman's work: content knowledge, general pedagogical knowledge, curriculum knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, knowledge of learners, knowledge of educational contexts, and knowledge of educational purposes and values. Although Shulman's work has inspired much research on teacher cognition and knowledge, as argued in the literature review chapter, there has not been a strong consensus or clarity regarding what each category of teacher knowledge encompasses and entails. In the following, I attempt to explicate, as well as simplify, how each category of teacher knowledge is defined and used in the current study. Emanating from Shulman's work, pertinent literature in teacher cognition, and data analysis of the current study, the categories of knowledge defined here are:

- Knowledge of Context
- Knowledge of Resources
- Pedagogical Content Knowledge
- Subject Matter Knowledge
- Knowledge of Students
- General Pedagogical Knowledge
- Knowledge of Learning
- Knowledge of Self

Knowledge of (the Program) Context

As previously mentioned, I drew a distinction in this study between the program and classroom contexts. When I make references to a teacher's Knowledge of Context in this dissertation, it is more specifically defined than what Shulman proposed in 1987 as the teacher's knowledge of educational contexts, which contained the characteristics and policies of the classroom, the school district (or "program" in this case), and communities and cultures. For the current study, Knowledge of Context concerns only the programmatic and excludes the particular classroom environment and the community or society within which an ESL program is located. More specifically, it includes what a teacher knows about the nature and administration of a program, including administrative decisions and policies. In light of this more program-related definition, Knowledge of Context encompasses what Shulman (1987) termed as one type of teacher knowledge, *knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values* (p.8), which is determined by the program administration.

Knowledge of Resources

Resources refer to materials that teachers can use to support instruction. Common examples of resources include commercially or publicly available ancillary and authentic materials such as textbooks, computer software, movies, websites, and realia. This category of teacher knowledge, i.e., what teachers know about available resources, includes Shulman's *curriculum knowledge* that concerns "the materials and programs that serve as 'tools of the trade' for teachers" (1987, p.8). A teacher's Knowledge of Resources can be viewed as part of her Knowledge of Context; the administration often makes many "tools of the trade" available to its teaching staff. In addition, Knowledge of Resources can develop based on information from colleagues or professional development providers. Teacher-made materials such as handouts, as opposed to photocopies of a textbook or webpage printouts, are considered part of a teacher's Pedagogical Content Knowledge, to which I turn next.

Pedagogical Content Knowledge

This most well-known category of Shulman's work is a mixture of "content and pedagogy" that is unique to those in the profession of educating others (1987, p.8). Pedagogical Content Knowledge is what helps a teacher make a topic learner- friendly and easily comprehensible through the use of "analogies, examples, illustrations, (and) explanations" (Tsui, 2003, p51). For Shulman (1986), this type of teacher knowledge also encompassed a teacher's ability to understand and anticipate learner difficulties and misconceptions. The retrieval and enactment of Pedagogical Content Knowledge can be either planned or spontaneous. For instance, a teacher could plan example sentences beforehand to illustrate a concept. As the instruction goes on, student responses may modify the direction of the lesson, and the teacher may find herself needing to come up

with more example sentences on the spot.

This category of knowledge is exemplified through a teacher's verbal and body language, teacher-made supplementary materials, writing on the board, or the combination of any of the above. Teacher-made materials exhibit a teacher's Pedagogical Content Knowledge because they are generated to help students understand the concept in question with pedagogical explanations or examples from the teacher's creativity. Along this line of argument, commercially available resources can be viewed as composed of the authors' Pedagogical Content Knowledge.

Subject Matter Knowledge

The concepts and topics a teacher transforms with the aid of Pedagogical Content Knowledge are part of the teacher's Subject Matter Knowledge. Although Shulman (1986) did not clearly specify the difference between what he termed *content knowledge* and *subject matter knowledge*, the current study adopts the distinction made by Freeman and Johnson (1998) and treats *content* as the specific lessons or courses taught and *subject matter* as the more extensive disciplinary definition of the field. Thus, Subject Matter Knowledge stands for what a teacher knows about the prominent topics in a professional field.

The subject matter in the current study is obviously the English language, and more specifically, English as a second language. What distinguishes ESL from other subject areas lies in the fact that, in ESL, the content of instruction is also the medium of instruction. In addition, similar to the case of foreign language education, the subject matter of ESL is often argued to include "culture," which can be defined in a literary sense or as ways of life (Horwitz, 2008). In the current study, as the teacher participants varied in their characterization of the scope of the subject matter, an observation to be

discussed further along with the study findings, Subject Matter Knowledge is delineated as what an ESL teacher knows about the English language as it is used in the United States.

Knowledge of Students

This category of knowledge is the equivalent of Shulman's (1987) *knowledge of learners*.[13] Knowledge of Students is the most important aspect of what a teacher knows about her immediate teaching context, i.e., the classroom, and includes what the teacher knows about student characteristics such as goals, needs, difficulties, motivation levels, native languages, cultures, and so on. One major factor in a teacher's development of this knowledge category is obviously time spent interacting with the students. Through interacting with individual students and with the class as a whole, the teacher expands what she knows about each member of the class. In addition to the accumulative nature of specific student information, for some teachers, Knowledge of Students is present in their knowledge base even before any actual contact with the students. After working in a program for a while, for example, teachers often develop their Knowledge of Context to become predictive and provide general and preliminary understanding of student characteristics. The teachers later elaborate such characteristics with specificity gained from interaction and student responses in the classroom.

Knowledge of Students also guides the teacher's anticipation and inference about the students, especially in terms of their understanding, responses, and difficulties. Thus, in addition to utilizing Pedagogical Content Knowledge in her transformation of Subject Matter Knowledge into learner friendly instructional units, the teacher also relies on

[13] To prevent confusion due to the similarity in spelling of "learning" and "learners," the term "students" is used for this teacher knowledge category instead.

Knowledge of Students to inform the process.

General Pedagogical Knowledge

According to Shulman (1987), general pedagogical knowledge enables teachers in any subject area to manage and organize their classrooms effectively. As one of the few pieces of literature that focused on this knowledge category, Morine-Dershimer and Kent's (1999) discussion expanded general pedagogical knowledge by showing its relation not only to classroom management and organization, but also to instructional models and strategies as well as classroom communication and discourse. Based on data collected in the current study, General Pedagogical Knowledge is viewed as assisting the teacher in classroom management and organization, specifically in the interrelated areas of time management, activity management (e.g., learning tasks and grouping arrangements), management of student responses (e.g., boredom, engagement, trust, etc.), and management of learning (e.g., how to accommodate fast and slower students). Also developed based on the data from the current study, Figure 1 depicts the different aspects of management assisted by General Pedagogical Knowledge, the interconnections among which, illustrated by the arrows in the diagram, will be further discussed along with the teacher participants' student-centered classroom management behaviors.

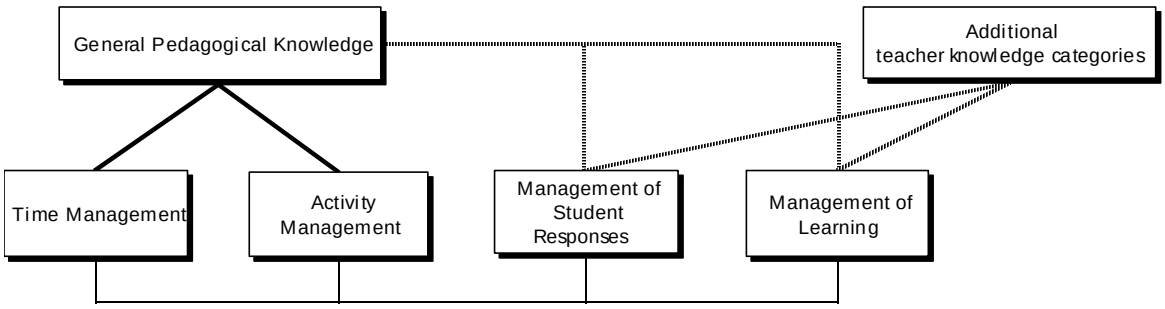

Figure 1 Classroom management areas

Classroom communication and discourse, which Morine-Dershimer et al. (1999) considered to be part of General Pedagogical Knowledge, is viewed to be formulated with the application of both General Pedagogical Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge as the teacher evaluates the different aspects of management and generates explanations, examples, and such. Classroom communication can thus be both planned and spontaneous. Lastly, instructional models and strategies, which concern classroom management and organization based partly on teacher beliefs with regards to the nature of learning, are regarded in the current study as a result of both General Pedagogical Knowledge and Knowledge of Learning, the latter I will operationalize next.

Knowledge of Learning

This category of teacher knowledge is one that emerged from the data colleted for the current study. Simply put, Knowledge of Learning refers to what a teacher believes as contributive to making student learning happen. A teacher's Knowledge of Learning is by nature theoretical, a term that has a few meanings in the teacher development literature as well as in this study. The theory in Knowledge of Learning could be deductively outlined based on influences from professional education and development, inductively stipulated from the teacher's personal theorizing rooted in experience, or most likely, developed as a result of the intersection of disciplinary theory and practice. The inclusion and operationalization of Knowledge of Learning in the current study, therefore, signify a step beyond what Munby et al. (2001) noted as the reconciliation of teachers' propositional and practical knowledge and into an integration of the two.

The origins of Knowledge of Learning also demonstrate the nebulous distinction between beliefs and knowledge alluded to in the literature review. This lack of clear distinction can be explained by the connection between a teacher's Knowledge of

Learning and what the teacher knows about herself, or Knowledge of Self (see the following section). The connection can be particularly strong in the realm of teaching philosophies. For instance, as part of her teaching philosophy, a teacher who observes and believes in the importance of having high expectations for the students may perceive challenging the students cognitively as necessary for the retention of the material. The teacher's Knowledge of Learning that informs her creation of cognitively challenging tasks is a theory, whether a disciplinary one from readings such as Chan, Burtis, and Bereiter (1997) in the psychology of learning, a personal practical one based on her reflection on experiences, or an amalgamated one informed by scholarly works in disciplines related to education as well as by her own experience.

Knowledge of Self

Although Shulman did not include a specific category to denote what teachers know about themselves, seeing this knowledge category, one could probably predict that Knowledge of Self is a result of consciousness-raising (Hamachek, 1999) or reflection (Shulman, 1986). Hamachek (1999) defined teachers' self-knowledge as a rather psychodynamic concept. In the current study, however, a teacher's Knowledge of Self is analytical yet instructionally focused. The research procedure, particularly the interviews and the stimulated recall, may have contributed to the teacher participants' awareness of what they considered essential about themselves in the sphere of ESL instruction.

Examples of this category of teacher knowledge include teaching philosophies, preferences in styles regarding interaction with their students, and awareness of their strengths and weaknesses as a teacher. A teacher's Knowledge of Self can consist of past experiences and life philosophies. Knowledge of Self, as can be expected, often acts as a filter for the teacher's actions and thoughts in the classroom.

Two terms pertaining to a teacher's Knowledge of Self call for further explication: philosophy and experience. *Philosophy* stands for the basic belief system that guides an individual's action. A teacher may have a life philosophy that underlies her actions on a daily basis. As a teacher, she may also espouse a teaching philosophy that she applies to her actions and deliberations in a classroom. As in the example given for Knowledge of Learning above, teaching philosophies are more general in scope while simultaneously personal and attitudinal. Knowledge of Learning, on the other hand, may be subject-specific and more disciplinarily or theoretically informed, even though there may not always exist a principle in a teacher's Knowledge of Learning that corresponds to her general philosophy about teaching.

Experience, in contrast, is rather hard to define because it is such a familiar term. In the current study, the nature and effect of experience is explored based on the various roles a teacher reported having played in life: as a person, as a student, and as a teacher; each type of experience influences the teacher differently.

Synopsis of Teacher Knowledge Components

The following summarizes what each teacher knowledge category encompasses.

-*Knowledge of Context*: what teachers know and recognize about the program context

-*Knowledge of Resources*: what instructional resources teachers are aware of and use

-*Subject Matter Knowledge*: what teachers discern and grasp as the content of instruction

-*Pedagogical Content Knowledge*: how teachers understand and transform instructional topics into learnable lessons

-*General Pedagogical Knowledge*: how teachers make sense of and manage the various aspects of the classroom (e.g., time, activities, student responses, and learning)

-*Knowledge of Students:* what teachers know and are able to predict about the learners

-*Knowledge of Learning*: how teachers perceive and believe learning takes place

-*Knowledge of Self*: what teachers appreciate and consider essential about themselves

Just as students acquire knowledge by spending time learning, teachers too accumulate different forms of knowledge as a function of time and engagement in various activities. In addition, although the different categories of teacher knowledge have been defined separately here, they are evidently interrelated and are drawn upon as a whole by the teacher during instruction. For instance, Anna, an experienced teacher in the community ESL setting, placed a focus on revisiting question formation in her class based on what she knew about the students' levels and gaps (Knowledge of Students), the primary mission in instructing adult learners on functional language skills (Knowledge of the Program Context), instructional materials available to support learning (Knowledge of Resources), explanations and types of activities that facilitate student understanding (Pedagogical Content Knowledge), the instructional arrangements that manage and affect student learning (General Pedagogical Knowledge), the value of repetition in fostering acquisition (Knowledge of Learning), and last, her understanding of the structural construction of questions in English (Subject Matter Knowledge), all of the above filtered through her Knowledge of Self.

Different interrelationships among the components in a teacher's knowledge base will be discussed further in study findings regarding the two more significant managerial tasks in the classroom—the management of student responses and the management of learning. Before the discussion of study findings, I will first describe in general terms what the teacher participants had in common.

Common Attributes of Those Who Opened the Doors to Their ESL Worlds

> I invited Fu-An to do this [research] because I think it will help me to be a better teacher, to think about what I'm doing and why I'm doing it here. (Judy's explanation to her class; 12/05/2006 fieldnotes)

Among the 10 participants, the initial incentive for Anna and Louise to take part in the study was their friendship with me. The other eight participants chose to participate by answering the call for participation that was presented to them either in writing via email (Carol, Jessica, John, Lori, and Suzanne) or in both written and verbal formats (Charlotte, Judy, and Victor). The written call for participation can be found in Appendix 1. Among those participants, Charlotte, Jessica, and Victor had been acquaintances of mine before I began the research study.

A closer look at what prompted the teacher participants to have a researcher in their classrooms revealed two primary reasons: altruism and reflectivity. Although some teachers such as Judy seemed to put more emphasis on the benefit of self-reflection and finding more about themselves through the study, most of the teacher participants decided to engage in the study because of a combination of the two above mentioned reasons. For example, Lori stated:

> I appreciated so much when teachers let me do research in their classes when I was in school. I'm happy to be a part of research having to do with my profession. [This study's] questions have made me think a lot about what I'm doing in my classes and why I'm doing it.

During the final member check procedure, Carol shared:

> I thought, I'm just going to do it. I knew it's going to require some time for me to dedicate to it, but I want to know what she's doing. And another thing is I thought to myself was I'm going to learn a lot from what she's doing, and then I'm going to learn about myself.

The following is a general discussion of attributes that appeared commonly

among the teacher participants, in terms of how the teachers began their work with adult ESL learners, how they portrayed a conscientious, responsive, and individualistic way of instruction, and how they embodied multiple roles in the classroom. A more comparative depiction of the teacher participants and their attributes is included in the discussion of their student-centered management in the classroom.

Making a Serendipitous Entry into ESL Teaching

> I became an ESL teacher because I thought it would be a good way to make money when I traveled…[but] I ended up making some friends and helping them with English when I traveled. I found out that I like doing it, [so] I started as a volunteer for a non-profit. (Jessica)

As explained in my introduction, the *back door entry* that is part of the title of this dissertation commonly characterized how these adult ESL instructors entered the professional of ESL teaching. John, who was quoted for the back door entry in the introduction chapter, began teaching ESL at the Defense Language Institute after a period of sporadic employment upon the completion of his degree in history. Like John, none of the other participants entered adult ESL teaching as their primary career choice. Ease of entry into the field, which was particularly true in a community-based program that had more lenient hiring criteria, was how many teachers got started. While living in another state, Carol made her serendipitous entry:

> I was not working full-time, and I was looking for work, and I like sharing my knowledge, so I went to the local college to find out if they had any job openings where I could teach. So I found this job where I could teach ESL in their adult learning program…And that was what I was looking for: a part-time position…[with] mobility and flexibility.

She traveled to different companies and began teaching English to their Spanish-speaking employees.

In addition, as Jessica's quote above illustrated, the status of English as an international language explained some teacher participants' entry because English speakers generally attract learners from abroad, both young and old. Wanting to spend time in non-English-speaking countries, Louise and Victor found positions teaching English to children and young adults during their sojourns abroad, in Germany and Costa Rica, respectively. Judy had the first taste of teaching when she was invited to English classes in Ecuador where "I had so much fun; the students were so charming, so I thought, 'I can do this.'" While in France studying art, Suzanne taught English to a colleague for the first time. Years after her return to the United States, Suzanne decided to follow her friends' suggestion and applied for a position teaching English to immigrants in the evening; "it seems like a logical place for me to be, even though I never thought I'd ever be doing this…I think there's something about ESL, and I would never have believed that I would think that 'adjective clause' was exciting." In college, through campus career placement, Lori began teaching English part-time by crossing the border to American factories in Mexico, while working toward her degree in International Business. Growing up bilingual in Lebanon, Anna "started working, teaching adults in [the] YWCA in Beirut, when I was junior in college because I needed the money." Learners' attraction to English speakers, however, does not always happen on foreign soil. For instance, the back door was opened to Charlotte when she started explaining English to a family member who did not speak English; "that's how I got started…how the idea popped into my head."

After making a rather serendipitous entry into ESL teaching, the teachers maintained contact with the field for an extended period because they found working with ESL learners an enjoyable experience. Although at the time of data collection, most participants had had varying degrees of preparation in TESOL or language education (see Table 2), their initial experience was not accompanied by completed professional

preparation. In Anna's case, she reported that her minor was originally in psychology and that she had made the change to minoring in education/EFL at approximately the same time as her first entry into teaching. Although still characterized by a serendipitous entry with little professional preparation, Anna's chronology of the English-teaching career thus seemed the most supported by teacher preparation.

In the case of those teachers who had obtained a master's degree in applied linguistics or language education at the time of this study, i.e., Charlotte, Jessica, Lori, Louise, and Victor, they reported deciding to pursue graduate studies after realizing how much they enjoyed the world of teaching. At the time of this writing, Judy had decided to enroll in another master's program—in foreign language education. After their graduate-level work in language related fields, as the participant summary table shows, most looked for positions in the college setting (Table 2). Jessica, the only participant holding a graduate degree in a language-related field who did not teach college-bound students, once shared, "I keep thinking, should I try to get into more academic programs? But I really like working with this population [in community programs]… under-privileged, and most of them low-income. I find it really interesting." Shortly after the conclusion of data collection, Jessica started teaching part-time in a program with a stronger focus on academic English that serves college-bound students, while continuing to work simultaneously in the community setting.

Similar to the teachers' primary reasons for taking part in the study, many entered the field also because of their other-oriented life philosophy. Charlotte, for whom the lure of ESL began with helping a non-English-speaking family member, shared, "What do I do to help people? I teach; that's my job. I've chosen that as my job because I help people." Likewise, after her retirement from the public school system, Judy resumed and continued teaching adult ESL classes. The desire to be useful played an especially

important role in the community ESL teachers' decision to teach adult learners, most of whom were immigrants attending free classes. For instance, John stated, "Hopefully I have an influence on my students' lives" through teaching them English. The other teachers in the community setting echoed John's focus on altruism. For instance,

> We [teachers] just like to perform, but we also like to be useful, so it's the combination of both. I think that's why people started, but you don't stay there if it's only the performance; you've got to stay for something. (Anna)
>
> I always admire people who share their knowledge with me...and I feel if I do that too, then I'm giving a gift to someone by sharing my knowledge…of the English language. (Carol)
>
> I find [teaching ESL] very satisfying…It gives me a lot of satisfaction in my life. I like helping people; it makes me feel that I'm helping people…contributing to society, and actually having a positive influence on people's lives. (Jessica)

Guided by Conscientiousness

> As long as there were people involved in it, and it had to do with them acquiring knowledge and putting their trust in me and showing up for that, I would take it very seriously, even if I wasn't getting paid for it. (Suzanne)

Another attribute shared by the teacher participants was their conscientiousness toward ESL teaching. After their entry into adult ESL teaching, they adopted a student-centered perspective in the classroom, showed great care for the students, and strove to make learning happen with the time and resources they had available. The teachers' conscientiousness—the feeling of obligation to do one's best in the classroom—revealed itself when they spoke about, for instance, making sure class time was used on worthwhile endeavors that they judged would lead to student learning. Victor provided a good illustration. In his writing class for international graduate students from a variety of disciplines, he created a "gigantic" workload for himself as the instructor because

> it doesn't seem useful to have [the students] write about random topics because they're in specific fields…and I guess I kind of got caught within the fact that they're busy…If I can give them assignments they can use for other classes, that's perfect.

The tremendous amount of work on his part hit when Victor began grading student papers on academic topics he was not familiar with.

Although not every teacher participant faced the same amount of work as Victor did, all of them reported devoting as much time as they could to their classes. Many mentioned using their weekends and evenings, or even their time commuting home from class, to plan for the next class. Anna and Carol, the two participants who worked a separate full-time job during the day and moonlighted as community ESL teachers in the evening, both commented on their difficulties in spending more than 30 minutes before class on lesson preparation due to the constraints and exhaustion they experienced from their full-time positions. During the stimulated recall procedure, Anna explained how she ended up with an activity that took much more time and explanation for the students to understand:

> The exercise was a lot more complex than I had planned. When I chose [it], I didn't see the little detail [that made it complicated]…It was my fault maybe for not taking more time to find an exercise that was simpler, but I didn't have a lot of time to prepare…So what I find in half an hour, I try to make it work. Sometimes, I adjust my lesson plan, like I say I'm going to do this, but because I don't find the materials, I wind up with something else.

In contrast, the participants who taught ESL full-time (i.e., Charlotte, John, Louise, and Victor) and those who taught part-time without additional full-time commitments (Jessica, Judy, Lori, and Suzanne) reported applying much of their free time to ESL-related activities. John often shared his own teacher-made handouts that he had spent hours creating in the evening. When asked how much time she spent on getting ready, Suzanne responded, "I get really absorbed. This is obviously something that I love

to do because time goes really fast, and I don't know how much time I've spent." She further elaborated on why she took teaching seriously:

> It goes along with, whatever expectations I have for my students, I have that same need for myself, and so I can't just say, "Well, this is just what I do for a hobby and I'm just having fun."

The shorter amount Anna and Carol devoted to planning, however, does not mean these two teachers did not think about their teaching during the day or right after their evening classes. During interviews, Carol, who "organized a lot in my mind," often shared associations and considerations triggered by a previous lesson or happenings at her job, although such thoughts were usually not followed up on until the 30 minutes she dedicated to lesson planning before the next class. Regardless of what type of additional commitments the teachers had, when planning their lessons, they all concentrated on what they perceived the students needed.

Other examples of conscientiousness included how the teachers constantly thought about improving themselves and their teaching, as well as how they evaluated colleagues with the benefits of the students in mind. For example, many teachers specifically mentioned that the worst teacher was one who wasted the students' time by being either under-prepared or disorganized. Louise knew just such an example: "[the teacher] doesn't have the students use the book at all, but he requires them to buy it and talks about his vacation…The students are very upset that they are wasting their time." John named a former academic ESL colleague as the best because "she is really cold blooded. She wants student progress, and she wants it now…It's all about making progress, and she doesn't waste any time."

Seeing and Identifying with Student Responses

> You have to tell [new teachers], to keep pushing the point of noticing, of looking, of listening. Don't just go in, all self-contained…The teacher shouldn't be at a void, shouldn't be sitting there, spitting out spears…Make sure that you're aware of the students; make sure that you protect the uncomfortable, or the vulnerable, over things around them. (Anna)

The above quote was part of Anna's response to how she would prepare new teachers[14] and captures the essence of another common attribute among the teacher participants. Observant, responsive, and empathetic are words that can be used to characterize the participants in my study when they interacted with the students. The teachers realized that they did not teach in a vacuum where they were imparting knowledge in a robotic way with the students expected to stay alert and absorb the knowledge. Instead, the teachers were the ones needing to remain alert, continuously observing and responding to the students in an attempt to regain attention or clear any confusion. For Suzanne, it was all about "paying attention to your audience…(and) connecting to the members in your audience."

Often what the teachers' responsiveness entailed was their flexibility. Entering the classroom with a lesson plan, the teachers were ready to continue with it or digress from it, either slightly or considerably, based on classroom interaction. For instance, Lori crafted "a super plan" with a focus for each class and let the students' reactions activate her knowledge base and guide her actions. Likewise, Jessica shared:

> I try to find out what my students need to know. I will plan a lesson, but then I always deviate from it…While I am teaching, I will find out what they know or don't know… and what they want to learn is part of it because I always try to get their input on what we're going to do.

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[14] The other component to Anna's teacher preparation curriculum dealt with "techniques."

In addition to being responsive, the teachers empathized with their students from different perspectives, for example, as an adult, a former student, or a language learner. For those teacher participants who had spent time in a foreign country where a language other than English dominated communication, some commented on another layer of connections they had with the students. Resonating the altruistic stance described earlier, Judy stated:

> I've been down there (in Ecuador), not knowing Spanish, and I couldn't read the signs… I thought, this is what it's like to be illiterate or to be somewhere you don't know the language…That's also what made me want to teach. I guess I developed empathy for language learners, for people who are strangers in a strange land, without knowing the language and wanting to learn, because I was in that place; I knew how that felt.

Likewise, Suzanne observed, "I used to be a little immigrant too, in Paris…So I have this connection with [the students]." Louise believed that "you're a better teacher if you've been overseas. I think you have a better understanding of what your students are going through." She further shared:

> [In Germany], it didn't make sense for me to communicate in German if I knew they could understand me in English. So you always take the path that's already existent, and you'll learn when you have to.

One interesting aspect about the teachers' empathy came from Suzanne and concerned how ESL learners could feel as outsiders in the mainstream society:

> I identify a lot with my immigrant students because I feel we have similar sensitivities. I don't know if it was my upbringing. My [stepfather] is Cherokee, so I have a little bit of a different family configuration going on, cultural differences from just the regular Irish American, German American, etc…I felt more of a kinship with my ESL students, than I do with people from European ancestry that I lived with all my life.

On a similar idea of perceived differences or mismatch between individuals and the rest of society, Victor offered his speculation and commented on the possibility that a sense of

inferiority was a reason why some have subconsciously found it attractive to work with foreigners and become involved in English instruction. Although this inferiority concept Victor made reference to does not necessarily imply empathy towards ESL learners, along with Suzanne's feeling as an outsider, it resonates with the back door entry many made into the field of ESL.

Approaching ESL Teaching in One's Own Way

> [Energy and fun] is necessary to educate…That's not the truth, of course; students everywhere are getting it. But for me, that's how it works. (Charlotte)

With their strong sense of obligation to do their best and their understanding of the language learning process, the teacher participants described themselves as having individualistic ways of instruction. When asked to characterize a typical teacher working in their ESL programs for adult students, several participants shared their impressions of how there was much diversity in terms of backgrounds and classroom behaviors among the teaching staff. Many participants, however, expressed how they would not know what a typical teacher was like because, other than their subjective impressions and the stories shared by their students, they had little knowledge of what their colleagues were doing in the classroom.

Regardless of how much they knew about the others teaching in their programs, the teacher participants seemed to emphasize how they perceived their own approach to be different from that of their colleagues. For instance, Charlotte described herself as "a ball of energy" and her interaction with the students as atypical when compared to her colleagues. Carol felt she was "an odd ball" and set herself apart with the "creativity" she infused into her teaching to allow deviation from her plans and the program curriculum guidelines. Other examples of the teacher participants' self-perceived uniqueness

included Anna's acute awareness of the students and her ability to "bring down the teaching to the what" because of her "more grounded background" from working in diverse teaching contexts; John's belief in the effectiveness of rote repetition tasks; Judy's use of games in addition to drills; Louise's conscious attempts to integrate different language skills; Suzanne's love for literature over using grammar drills; and Victor's explicit correction of student mistakes. Oftentimes, what one teacher participant identified as distinguishing herself from her colleagues could also be used to characterize the others participating in the study. For instance, as mentioned previously, most teachers in the study spontaneously deviated from their plans while teaching. Like Charlotte, most also differentiated energy levels to manage boredom in the classroom.

Whether truly individualistic or not, the teachers in the study were generally confident in their own portrayal of the role of an ESL instructor of adult students. They also perceived themselves to be rather competent in their approaches. Like Jessica, who "would say I insist on teaching in my own style," the other teacher participants expressed their insistence on their way because it had worked for them and for the students. In a statement exemplifying the significant role of Knowledge of Self, Suzanne shared:

> This is going to sound rebellious of me, but oftentimes, I like to go my own way and figure it out for myself…You have to find your own personal way. Ultimately you do, because it starts to reflect who you are…It has to reflect your own interest, your own styles, [and] it has to be somehow genuine.

The insistence on their own styles, in some participants' cases, also entailed a realization that they could be at odds with what was trendy and recommended in the field of language education – an aspect that will be discussed further later along with the teachers' management of student learning.

Taking on Different Roles While Teaching

> [I am] bouncing around the classroom, laughing, making sound effects…It is a show, slash class, slash friendship-binding. (Charlotte)

While novice ESL teachers may not assertively consider themselves as teachers (Lin, 2007), the participants in the current study, when observed in the classroom or when describing teaching during an interview, all comfortably assigned themselves the role of "the teacher," regardless of their varying years of experience in teaching ESL. The teacher participants often spoke of the various dimensions of their teacher identity and the different personas they adopted in their work with adult ESL students.

Playing the role of a teacher, the participants acknowledged their responsibility in providing guidance and opportunities for student learning. For some, the teacher role was similar to a facilitator, for others, a director. In addition, the teachers recognized the need for an entertainer role, one that most of them were observed to play rather effortlessly in the classroom. The ease for the teachers to be entertaining echoes Anna's observation, quoted earlier, regarding adult ESL teachers' disposition as altruistic performers that connected them to and maintained their tie with the field.

For instance, enjoying sharing her knowledge, Carol expressed that "there's also something about my personality: I love to be on stage. I think it's important for us to choose professions that fit our personality; it makes us feel good, and when we do that, we help others." Jessica viewed her class as "a performance…[my] ESL show. I consider myself going on stage, like I adopt a persona." Louise designated herself as the occasional class clown. Suzanne also described herself as clownish at times; she called the students "my audience" and characterized what she did in the classroom as "teaching, slash performing, telling jokes." Lori expressed that "anything I can do to make them remember, I will do it. I will even dance!" John often referred to himself as a good

story-teller, and he was certainly observed to be an animated one.

Jokes and stories were frequently spontaneous in the classroom. Although they may have appeared to an observer as irrelevant digressions in the lessons, in addition to contributing to classroom entertainment, they enabled the teachers, as illustrated in Charlotte's quote on "friendship-building" that opened this sub-section, to be effective in enacting the roles of community-builder and attendance-maintainer, two connected personas that will be discussed further in the section on student-centered classroom management.

In addition to the roles mentioned above, many teachers sometimes acted in a counseling capacity – a capacity much relevant to the previously discussed empathy the teachers had toward their students. The consultation took place mostly outside of the classroom, during which the teachers provided advice on learning English or offered support for individual students' personal quandaries that were creating obstacles to learning. For instance, Suzanne recognized the need to call a student who appeared to be frustrated during a lesson because "she was in a very bad mood. I need to call her to really encourage her to come back." Lori listened to and comforted a student whose familial problems made learning difficult; Charlotte had individual conferences with students on learning strategies and shared, "Why be a teacher if you're not there to [support the students]. Just like a nurse, you do everything you can to make that person feel better." John often acted as a good listener for his students so that they could get problems and concerns out of their system. He shared an instance where a student had simply needed someone to talk to and requested to speak to him in private about her health. Although he was not fluent in Spanish, "she went on for about five minutes in Spanish, and she got it out of her system. I knew enough words (that) I knew what she was talking about." Similarly viewing teaching as resembling therapy, Victor shared

instances in which students from Saudi Arabia approached him to let him know they disapprove of terrorism. Recognizing the students' need to connect with him through understanding, he observed, "For students to function linguistically well, they have to get these other things out of the way." In addition, "Students tell me a lot of things that they don't necessarily tell other teachers" because "I think I'm more accessible. I treat them more like equals, so they feel more comfortable around me than a lot of teachers."

However, in spite of the different personas these teachers took on, as Victor further pointed out, the teachers' focus was essentially on student learning, and their primary role was that of a teacher:

> Am I a social coordinator, am I a psycho-therapist, or am I a language teacher, and what should be the focus? I've always thought it was language. I'm not disinterested in the other stuff, but I'm not entirely qualified to do the other stuff, either.

The teachers' performance of their role as language instructor and the knowledge base they drew on to enable such performance will be the focus for the remainder of this dissertation.

Thus far, I have focused on commonalities among the teacher participants in general terms. In the sections that follow, the discussion shifts to include variations among the teachers, particularly in terms of their knowledge-supported management in the classroom. The explication of study findings concludes with a synthesis of interconnectedness among the components in the teachers' knowledge base.

Student-Centered Classroom Managers

Although the teacher participants may not have planned to go into ESL teaching but had only entered the field out of altruistic or practical reasons, they could easily be characterized as conscientious, responsive, empathetic, and versatile teachers who

performed a variety of roles in their interactions with students. In this section, the teachers' portrayal of the role of classroom manager is the focus. Here I use "management" in a broader sense than is traditionally defined as classroom management—student discipline and behavior management. The discussion includes an explication of the various aspects of management assisted by General Pedagogical Knowledge, as previously operationalized, and encompasses nearly the entirety of what the teacher participants did instructionally. Whereas General Pedagogical Knowledge was comparatively discernible through the teacher participants' outward teaching actions during my classroom observations, the discussion here also explicates the teachers' enactment of other components in their knowledge base by drawing upon both observable behaviors and thought processes articulated by them.

The teacher participants not only managed a variety of elements in their classrooms, but they did so while permeating student-centeredness—a characteristic that stood out immediately during my preliminary reading of the interview and observation transcripts. As discussed briefly under the attribute of responsiveness, the teachers frequently commented on their attempts to meet students' needs and were observed to respond actively to students' interests or areas in need of improvement. Before moving to a detailed account of the teacher participants' enactment of knowledge and their focus on the students, however, I feel it necessary to clarify the often assumed dichotomy between two terms, teacher-centered and student-centered.

A teacher-centered or teacher-fronted classroom is traditionally associated with extensive teacher dominance as well as much teacher talk and directions. In contrast, student-centered or learner-centered instruction has been interpreted to comprise a variety of characteristics, from accommodating different learning approaches to the more rare practice of negotiated curricular objectives (Brown, 2001). Instead of viewing

teacher-frontedness as undesirable and dichotomous to student-centeredness, based on the data collected, I characterize my participants as realistically blending student-centeredness with teacher-frontedness in a classroom.

Entering a teacher participant's classroom, any observer may notice a high percentage of teacher lectures during a class period. However, the observer would also notice how the teacher frequently recognized and responded to the students and elicited responses from them while cultivating their confidence. As part of the responsiveness, the teacher participant would be observed to try to address student needs, goals, and learning styles. Moreover, whereas a teacher's outward actions may create an initial impression of teacher-centeredness, the teacher's thought process guiding the actions often centered on the learners—a characteristic revealed during interviews and the stimulated recall procedure. In short, although an ESL classroom may appear teacher-fronted, student-centeredness lies in the active recognition and response to students, encouragement of student engagement, and development of student confidence. If not evident in the teachers' actions, student-centeredness most likely was the barometer in their thought processes.

Many aspects of the study participants' portrayal of the role of the ESL instructor were illustrative of student-centeredness. The following discussion is organized around two aspects of management on which the teacher participants appeared to place more emphasis—Management of Student Responses and Management of Learning (Figure 1). The other aspects of management, i.e., Time Management and Activity Management, are interwoven into the discussion as supplementary, nonetheless important, elements in the teachers' performance as classroom managers.

Management of Student Responses

As part of their student-centered classroom manager persona, the teacher participants occupied themselves with the task of ensuring that the students remained positive about learning, particularly through the management of emotional responses in the classroom—the focus of this section. By managing students' responses, the teachers lessened the extent to which the affective domain impeded their students' learning. For them, debilitating feelings such as anxiety over the learning process (Horwitz, 2001), uncertainty during adaptation to the target language environment (e.g., psychological distance the learners perceive between themselves and the target language speakers, Schumann, 1976), exhaustion after a long day of work, or distrust of the instructor would all likely cause withdrawal from or barriers to full participation.

Most of the teacher participants explicitly expressed their beliefs in dealing with the affective domain and managing the students' responses. For example, Suzanne observed:

> On the emotional level, I think sometimes [the students] don't want to learn another language. They're here, they think they should be; they even think maybe they want to, but there's a psychological identity, I think, with your own language that sometimes makes you say at some point, "Stop, I want to get off this train." I found that in myself, and I found that in people, and I think generally it's human nature…There's a psychological block in a way; it's like I want to learn it, but I really don't want to learn it…They are having to do immersion, and one of the things that I tell them is, "Don't shut down; you have a tendency to shut down, to preserve your sense of identity." All around, people are speaking English; we don't know what they are saying, so we're not even going to listen to it. I noticed that's what they do.

Emphasizing "responsiveness" in teacher training, Anna, a veteran teacher with more than 30 years of experience, elaborated on her emphasis:

> Adults, by any case, feel self-conscious that they can't speak the language…You don't think of insecurity in adults, [compared to ruining] the childhood of a kid and [giving] him a complex. With adults, it's a different kind of insecurity. They

> don't like being in a situation where they don't know what's going on; they're supposed to be in charge of their family, but now they're sitting here feeling like an idiot. That's not a comfortable place to be. I think it's the first thing you have to address in the classroom.

Lori, a teacher at the Community College ESL Department, shared a similar rationale based on her observation:

> A lot of [the students] think they will never be perfect…and they already just become so frustrated with their English that they realize how hard this is really going to be. Maybe at first they thought it was going to be simple, but after they've been here for a while, they realize this is quite a difficult task.

Because of her awareness of the negative emotions students might feel, Lori tried

> to be smiley and happy, and say, "Excellent! Wonderful!" because that makes them feel good, [thinking] "I did that right; she's happy with me." I want them to feel super comfortable in my class, with a really relaxed atmosphere, and safe.

With a similar emphasis, after viewing the recorded lesson in the stimulated recall, Judy noted, "What I really liked is that we laugh a lot in class," and she confirmed for herself, "I think my students feel comfortable in class. That makes it easy to learn." For the same reason, Victor commented, "It's important for me that students feel comfortable and valued."

Mixed with the teachers' emphasis on student comfort was their promotion of confidence in the students to ensure learning. For instance, Jessica shared, "I want to make them comfortable in the classroom so that they feel like they CAN learn" because, as adults, the students often felt "insecure about practicing [and] a fear of being embarrassed." Her association between comfort and the positive perception of the ability to learn led her to act as "a cheerleader" for her beginning students, "[making] it a positive experience." She noted:

> At this level, I want students to understand that they can learn English. It's not impossible, and they have the ability to learn…And probably my biggest goal is for them to believe in themselves that they can learn. It's scary, but it's possible,

and it can be fun.

Carol emphasized providing timely confirmation as a way of encouraging her students. Constantly wanting Carol to verify their answers, the students "just love it when I check their paper because they want to know right away, 'How am I doing?' And it was important to me to give them the confirmation, too, that they've done really well and it's good." Louise also sought to provide timely confirmation. For example, whenever time allowed, Louise promptly went over a quiz or graded it. "If the students get 100, I let them know. So they feel good when they leave the classroom." She further created opportunities for students to receive recognition:

> If I feel like the students did something right, and I want to give them an opportunity to have a success, then I will ask them to do it again (for the whole class). That sometimes depends on the culture as well because some people don't like standing out like that. But if I feel that they are comfortable with it, and they have an opportunity to shine, I like to do that.

Positive student responses such as confidence frequently served as one of Louise's criteria in judging activity effectiveness. For example, based on a reading topic in the textbook, she designed a "Restaurant Project," through which "[the students] gained so much confidence, so much language made, a lot of English being used…So I like that exercise."

Anna also enhanced confidence levels in her class through activities:

> You have to give them something that boosts their confidence. That's why if this one activity is hard for them, I would follow it with a game or something that everybody is able to do because you don't want them to be constantly faced with failure. You would lose them; they think it's too hard to learn English. So you have to make it doable by having a variety of activities. People who are usually good at writing would enjoy the writing. The ones that are good at speaking would enjoy the speaking. Then you have an activity that's a game that everybody can enjoy. It doesn't matter if they do it well or not, just a fun thing.

Also making it doable and manageable for the students, Charlotte described her teaching as "(student) success-driven." She noted:

> Sometimes I will play stupid, 'What did we…?' to give them a taste of success…I think out of the confidence, the risk-taking steps up a nudge, and then the risk-taking will let the rest of the language process flow smoothly…They feel comfortable when they know the answer, so I try to do that as much as I can in class so that they become confident.

As mistakes were common with newly presented material, Suzanne positioned herself near the board, where a student put his sentence, because "I wanted to help him with it before he went and sat down, so he would look successful to everyone, and to himself."

Management of Boredom

In addition to students' comfort and confidence levels, to sustain student engagement, the teachers responsively and observantly managed boredom in their classrooms. Jessica acutely summed up the purpose of boredom management:

> The big part (of the class), I think, is just keeping people interested…I usually have a pretty good idea how the students are responding. One of my main goals is I don't want people to get bored.

With her biggest concern as when students were "too bored to learn," Jessica consciously focused on making the class "interesting and meaningful." Judy's management of boredom in her classroom extended to transitions between activities to minimize any lapse in student interest:

> I like to keep [the students] talking or keep them working on something, like when I pass out papers or when I am writing or getting the overhead ready. And that's probably something that I developed [when working] in middle school; you don't want middle school students just sitting there with nothing to do...But it's also just nice to keep things going anyway.

To maintain the students' interest, most teacher participants emphasized variety in the lessons. Anna's experience in teaching English and training teachers led her to believe the importance of having "chunks of activities in chunks of time…Make sure that there are enough activities, that there are various activities. Let [the students] all stand up, have

movement, have writing, have reading, have speaking." She explained:

> Every activity should not take longer than 20 minutes. You can build on it; you can still use the same concept you are working on, but use another activity, because of the boredom, because of tiredness, because [otherwise] you are going to lose your students. Don't teach more than a chunk of 10 to 20 minutes of one thing.

The focus on variety also led Anna to adopt the strategy of creating different dynamics and to

> want [the students] to move from their seats…I try to do it once a period because it regenerates the energy. They are sitting there, and they are going down and down. You get them up walking around; it just regenerates them…Also it's to do something different. They are adults [and are rarely told] to get up and play or to do any fun activity that's physical.

John, another teacher with more than 30 years of experience, similarly concluded that, by tweaking an activity slightly to make it "fresh every 5 minutes," he ensured that the students "don't sit there and get glazed eyes…If you do it the same way, they get totally bored fast." Although he might be teaching the same topic for several classes in a row to reinforce the concept, John made sure there would be something different about it. A typical class in Carol's case was also filled with variety, with meshed elements such as "sounds, vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling, and the students getting up on the board and writing, and them doing their own exercises." Similarly, Louise described her classes as "active and busy, and I try to keep everybody involved… All my classes are pretty high-paced, and it's a lot of energy." For Charlotte, who characterized her teaching style as filled with energy and fun, variety was about frequently infusing different "funky" elements into the lesson. For example, she explained her reasoning behind asking students to dramatize their reading of passages:

> I wanted them to try a little bit of emotion, trying to get their energy up…They have to understand that there's emotion attached to language, and it also opens them up a little bit to be acting it, giving them a little bit of confidence and

> willingness to do funky things in class…They can't just sit there with grammar. I think they will kill themselves by week three; they are probably like, "I hate this." They probably like the class because they are laughing…but they're not learning anything.

Her focus on the high energy level was also why Charlotte did not incorporate much computer use into her lessons:

> I am more a teacher who would say, "Let's go on a fieldtrip, let's walk down to the subway" and get the students out of the classroom, make them go around the building, look for different scavenger hunt items. You can do that with computers, too, but I think they already spend a huge amount of time on computers at home…I know there are resources out there, but I don't know how I feel about putting them in front of a computer.

Creating differing dynamics, Charlotte would also engage in "a lot of moving," even if it was only "from the side of the desk to the front of the desk." She explained, "You can have the best curriculum in the world, but if you don't have the little dynamic…[or] bring energy to the classroom, of course they're going to be bored…And I know how it feels to sit in those chairs."

One of the instructional strategies consistent in Victor's classes was card games that he designed based on concepts covered in the textbook to bring in energy and keep students engaged. He also shared the focus on having a variety of activities: "I like to do the cards intermittently, just to do 30 minutes of one thing, [then] another." His analogy to nuclear reaction as a reason for infusing variety into instruction nicely summed up the teacher participants' principle and practice:

> [T]he more activities, the better. It's like a nuclear reactor; when there's not enough going on, there's going to be a problem. If there's a lot going on, there's no time for anybody to misbehave, and so [it's about] keeping things going...[Y]ou will have 10 activities in an hour and a half, and you have to plan those things.

Another way he enhanced dynamics was through "movies" on the overhead projector to create "a different experience for them."

Although the teacher participants all engaged in lesson planning to ensure variety, some modified their planned lesson units, either lengthening or shortening them based on affective considerations to engage students and alleviate debilitative responses. During the stimulated recall procedure, Anna shared how, while anxious to end a warm-up exercise that was taking longer than she had intended, she decided to act against her plan and "instinct, as I had to repeat [the directions] so many times…It was a lot more complicated than I thought, so it took longer than I wanted." However, the tremendous engagement and interest the students showed in the exercise, once they understood the directions, led her to continue with it:

> I wanted to stop it after a couple of items because it was taking too long. But they were just so much into it that they wanted to do it, so that's why I let it go…When they enjoyed it, especially the majority of them were working on it, then OK, just let it go.

Suzanne was observed to halt a handout for the day without completing it. She later explained that her action was motivated by the tremendous struggle among the students with an arduous lesson on verb tenses that she had planned based on the handout. She noted, "I was fed up with the lesson; I'd had it. Let's read, let's talk, let's do something interesting or do something fun." Another observant teacher, John shared his reasoning behind promptly modifying a lesson plan:

> Something may not work out. Or something is working out really well, let's continue with it…If you come up with a lesson plan and it's going nowhere, and you don't change it instantaneously, you are going to bore the students…If you have a real pet project in mind, and you introduce it, but you get no response from anybody, it's like, "Darn, there goes a good idea." But you can't have an emotional stake on those kinds of things. You just have to say, "OK, that didn't go."

Noticeably, the teacher participants engaged in digressions that were learner-focused and did not show much concern about their own affective reactions or

have “an emotional stake,” in John’s words, regarding instruction that fell flat in generating student engagement. Like John, Anna weighed her emotional stake as less important than the students.’ In contrast to the effort to minimize the effect of student mistakes, Anna shared, “I don’t mind admitting to myself that something didn’t work and stop to do something else. If something is not working with everybody, just stop.” With her sense of humor, in addition to self-correction, Anna would “make fun of myself when I make a mistake.” Mostly spontaneous,

> sometimes the explanation might not be correct…You said it, and then wait a minute, that’s not it…I think it’s very important to acknowledge a mistake to the students, especially adults. It doesn’t matter because they’re adults, and you’re just the same. I misspoke or I said something wrong; [it’s not a] big deal. You just say it was wrong and you correct it and move on.

Judy shared that she would “correct myself while I’m teaching. I like to do that because it shows the students it’s OK to make mistakes.” She commented on such an instance during the stimulated recall: “I realized there’s something I forgot to explain. Then I go back and say, ‘Hold the horses.’” Not afraid to admit her mistakes to the students, either, Charlotte occasionally had to tell her class, “I made a mistake. Let’s reel this back and let me give you the directions again. Just forget everything I’ve said.” Charlotte showed the students “I make flaws, too,” through her “playing stupid” and purposefully using syntactically incorrect sentences; “my students would say, ‘Didn’t you mean this?’ ‘Oh yes, of course, I messed that up, sorry!’” Louise spoke about enduring embarrassment and creating opportunities for students “to laugh at me” by, for instance, calling upon her artistic talent, or lack thereof, to draw pictures on the board as part of vocabulary explanation. She stated, “I don’t care (about students’ laughing). If they will remember what it is, fine. I don’t care at all; I know my limits.”

In addition, focusing on positive student responses, the teachers ensured the demonstration of active participation throughout a lesson that they were part of and endured boredom patiently during student work. On the engagement level that a teacher portrayed, Anna placed much emphasis "because you transfer that…when you're bored. They see it, and it makes the whole thing tedious." Similarly, Suzanne shared, "If I'm not interested in it, I'm not going to teach it very well, I'm going to be boring, I'm not going to be present, I'm not going to have anything to add or to say about it." While Anna's and Suzanne's emphasis, which was typical among the teacher participants, seemed to suggest a concern about their own affective reactions on the surface, the ultimate focus, although expressed covertly, was essentially on the students' responses.

Quite interestingly, embracing the same student-centeredness, Victor confided that he normally became "extremely bored" during a listening or group activity when the students did not require his involvement or assistance and he did not want to interrupt the high level of student engagement. Weighing the eradication of students' boredom as more crucial than his own, Victor willingly underwent the boredom while reminding himself "to stay focused" during such periods of inactivity on his part. The role of the teachers' own boredom depended on the nature of the learning activity, and for all the teacher participants, their own boredom was secondary to what the students felt and showed.

The teachers' maintenance of their students' constant engagement level further reverberated in their performer persona discussed previously. For the teachers, performance was deemed essential in keeping the students attentive, interested, and comfortable. Lori, who, as noted, said she was willing to dance to make students remember, observed, "Being a teacher, it's not just being a teacher. It's an entertainer, too. You have to keep the attention, you have to be active, and you can't be boring." As part of their energetic performer persona in class, the teachers viewed and used body language,

such as hand gestures, as a big component of their performance. For instance, Anna mentioned how she "talked ESL" with her hands even after the class was over. Louise, who designated herself as the "class clown," resorted to

> us[ing] body language all over the place, always moving, and I talk with my hands a lot…a lot of physical stuff, and I am not afraid to act out things…They are probably pretty shocked that the teacher would do that, but I get them laughing and everything.

With their emphasis on positive affective responses from the students, the teacher participants further used two crucial methods to reinforce learning-conductive emotions: taking affectively oriented detours and building communities among the learners.

Engaging in Affective Digressions

As briefly discussed under common attributes among the participants, the responsiveness in the teachers entailed flexibility. The teachers' flexibility addressed both affective and learning needs demonstrated by the students. This segment, as part of the discussion of the management of student responses, explicates how the teachers seemingly digressed as a way to promote positive affective reactions. Distinct from such affectively oriented digressions, pedagogically focused deviations to tend to students' learning needs, such as confusions relative to the instructional contents, will be discussed under the teachers' management of learning in the next section.

In addition to their modification to planned lessons, the teachers demonstrated their student-focused stance by allowing spontaneous digressions that were on a relatively small-scale but were also informed by affective considerations. For instance, when she told a personal story after explaining the meaning of the word "approach," Louise shared her motive that

> because [students] are attentive to what you do. And some other times, especially, the students who already know the vocabulary really well, they tend to tune out, and they are going to be more involved if you engage them in a conversation.

Conversation also played a role in Lori's classroom. Embracing a socio-constructivist view, Lori would

> start every class with conversation because I try to promote a lot of just very relaxed atmosphere…(In class,) I would tell them personal things about myself. I talk about my husband a lot, talk about me and my life, just to make them feel more comfortable.

She also took the time and detour to talk to students about more serious topics in an attempt to tackle common difficulties students faced emotionally, such as:

> getting frustrated and deciding they just hate the language…They don't have enough confidence in their English; they will be really shy in the classes. I'm totally generalizing… (but) a lot of people are really worried about their accent, and that makes them embarrassed. Sometimes I try to talk to them about that, try to tell them that your accent makes you unique. Why do you want to be like everybody else? It just makes you interesting. I try to make them more comfortable with that. If they're embarrassed with their accent, they're not going to be speaking out a lot or striking up conversations…So maybe they think that the last thing that's keeping them from being fluent is their accent. I don't judge people by their accent, but maybe others do.

Her perception and awareness was also why Lori often inserted quick analogies between English and mathematical formulas to alleviate affective difficulties: "because they get so frustrated when they think they have to memorize all this every time they speak."

Other teacher participants were also observed to engage in conversation with the students, particularly because of its affective value. Although it could seem like an irrelevant digression, Anna observed, "I do like to converse with the students…I think it's OK; it's important." For example, when giving out materials, Anna often chatted with students because "if I'm going to be walking around giving you a piece of paper, like I'm a queen giving you a favor, that doesn't work. There has to be a personal touch…and one way to establish contact is to start a conversation when possible." Judy, who also kept her

students engaged during the transition to the next activity, would share information about her life "just so that they can know something about me because I am asking them about what they do…When we were talking about job skills, things you can do, I used myself for an example. I do that a lot."

The teachers' life stories and experiences, often part of the digressive conversation, usually had embedded empathetic gestures. To address the uncertainly students might feel while adapting to the target culture, Louise would

> talk about living overseas. Actually that comes up pretty frequently in my classes. I am so excited about having had that experience that, when I bring it up, I often try to do it in such a way that, yes it was scary, but how exciting, how cool it is that they're doing it…I definitely try to put a positive spin on it.

Similarly, Anna would

> tell [the students] a lot that it's hard to learn a new language, that I find it difficult. I tell them I've been trying to learn Spanish, and I can't get it. Of course, I haven't really been trying [by taking classes], but I tell them I've tried and I can't, and I know how hard it is. When you think you're saying something wrong, just imagine a person trying to speak Spanish to you; they are going to say all kinds of wrong things. Just sort of like making them see that they're not inadequate just because they can't speak English, and trying to get them to understand that it's a long process. That's hard to get across because they think that they've been here for two months, they still can't speak well, that means they're failures.

A made-up story or not, the teachers' goal was to alleviate students' debilitating feelings by showing their understanding of the learning process.

In addition to conversing and sharing stories, the teachers relied heavily on their sense of humor as a means of affective digression to entertain the students as well as to encourage their engagement. For example, Suzanne observed that in her lessons, "if I look silly sometimes and they think that's funny, that's good." With 14 years of high school teaching experience in Lebanon, Anna shared, "Humor I use in the classroom all the time, no matter who I'm teaching, because I think that's important to keep them

interested and happy." To help students unwind from hard lessons, for example, during the stimulated recall procedure, Anna commented, "That was a joke. I did it all the time when it was something hard to say, 'Let's say it fast'…It's like an acknowledgement that I know it's hard. Then they're laughing, too, so I am not laughing at them." Humor was also used as one of the ways to downplay student mistakes in Anna's class. "If somebody makes a mistake," she would also try "to make a joke out of it so that it's not a big deal, but a funny thing."

To lighten up the classroom atmosphere while "trying to break the ice and trying to get them to relax," Louise would "bring humor into class to get people involved, and they seem to enjoy it." Victor's intermittent and short injection of humor served a similar purpose of helping students to relax. For example, when giving assignments, Victor was often observed to say "homework" with a German accent to make it funny. He explained, "I do that because I want them to have fun. Sometimes they're so serious; they may not listen to that…But I don't want to take the homework seriously," although the students really did not have a choice about doing it. In addition to promoting students' positive reactions to criticism, like Anna, Victor also used humor to minimize the affective effect of student mistakes and so as not to embarrass anybody because "I don't want to inhibit them…[That's] not productive." Likewise, always "[trying] to make them laugh" and without embarrassing anyone, Jessica would jokingly "tease" those students "I know I can get away with."

In several teachers' classrooms, moreover, not only were student-initiated digressions allowed but they also instigated involvement from the instructor because of the positive impact on the affective domain of language learning. In John's class, for example, students often jumped in to share stories and jokes they perceived to connect to the topic in question. His reaction to such student-initiated digressions was, "It doesn't

throw me off." In fact, he fondly observed that "we have developed the same sense of humor," and a few members in John's classroom were observed to cooperate seamlessly in his digressions. While viewing a segment during the stimulated recall during which a student assisted him in the development of a lesson digression, John shared, "A lot of times, he sees where I'm going with things, and he sort of helps me down the road. He's a very good participant that way." Likewise, upon perceiving interests among the students, Jessica acknowledged one student's effort in "trying to be funny" and resumed her lesson after having quickly participated with exchanged questions and answers.

Getting back on track complemented the teachers' consideration as they engaged in affectively oriented digressions. Although digressions helped with a positive learning environment, Louise observed:

> I have to be careful that I don't digress too much. A little bit of digression is OK, as long as I get back to the lesson…It's not probably not a real professional thing if I do it too much, I try to keep it pretty, pretty minimal.

Charlotte shared that smoothly transitioning back to the lesson was "actually something that I've worked on over the past two years, learning from a colleague and seeing how teachers really smoothly go from one to another." She described her process of getting back on track after taking a detour for the sake of students' affective needs:

> Even when I'm joking, I'm trying to somehow find a way to get back to the main point, and that I think comes with experience and time. There are some times I falter, and I can't do it, and then I will just laugh, trying to make a joke; then we will get back on track.

Like the students who facilitated the development of digressions, there were also those who assisted the teachers to get back on track. Charlotte mentioned how a particular student would "always remind me if I've forgotten something," even when she had wanted to create smooth transitions by purposefully postponing resuming the lesson slightly. In addition to his participatory students, John also had a student who "brought

me back [to the lesson]. She's cold-blooded as a student; she's just really serious all the time."

In addition to promptly resuming the lesson in question, many teacher participants were explicit and mindful regarding maintaining a reasonable association between the affectively focused deviation and the lesson. For example, Victor voiced the importance of a topical focus during the digression where he would "go off on a tangent but stay focused" by envisioning a goal at the end of the tangent that was language-related and concerned areas such as vocabulary or grammar. Therefore, when students brought language examples from outside of the classroom, he enthusiastically offered explanations, regardless of whether the examples were about formal, informal, or humorous language use. Chitchatting was kept to the minimal and only when a topic was relevant to the students. He shared an observation that resonated with his strong attribute of conscientiousness:

> I know there are teachers that go off on political stuff. I will mention it, so [students] know things are going on, like President Bush visited South America, and [a student in the class] is from Chile. So I will say something about that, but we don't have a big discussion about it. That's not the class, and I don't think that's why they signed up. Teachers have different views, but for me it's not part of the class.

Charlotte expressed a similar point of view by marrying affectively oriented digressions with pedagogical reasoning. Characterizing her approach with a high level of fun and energy, she further commented:

> You have to be careful, too, with the fun. There are a lot of teachers who would use games without a purpose…I think [fun] is a crucial part, but it's not the whole picture…I try to be principled.

In weaving occasional personal stories into her instruction while staying mindful of the frequency of digression, Louise stated:

> I try to make sure there are some relationships because I don't just want to come up with a story out of nowhere and it has absolutely nothing to do with what we're doing…I need to make sure the students understand the connection.

The end goal or purpose to the teacher's detour, however, did not have to be immediately evident. For example, skilled at later interlacing topics into his lessons, during the stimulated recall procedure John commented on how he engaged students in a conversation about negation in their languages; "this will come back at some point. It looks like a digression, but I won't forget it, and I will use it someday." He used his sense of humor also with a plan in mind:

> Even though [my jokes] are just a spur-of-the-moment kind of thing, I don't forget them. At some point, I will build on them. Some of my jokes really don't come into their own until 6 months later.

Fostering a Community Atmosphere

With a similar focus on managing students affectively, almost every teacher participant in this study embraced the practice of developing relationships and a community in the classroom. Although focusing more on his role as language teacher than "social coordinator," Victor placed "a lot of emphasis on [students'] being able to interact with everybody in the class, even if they are totally different." He described his class as

> [going] really fast socially…The first day I make sure they talk with every single person, and they have a conference with me…They're always interacting with different people, so socially they bond really quickly.

In Judy's class, "We do a lot of group work to make sure everybody knows everybody's name…Every once in a while, I make a point and ask, 'Do you know the name of everyone in your group?'" She also liked to start interaction from "the first day of class; it's fun to make a little word-find, with everybody's name in it, so they can learn everybody's name."

Fostering relationships among the students, which in turn led to a community atmosphere in the classroom, fulfilled an affective purpose in managing student responses by helping the teachers put students at ease in the learning environment. Judy observed that by making sure the students knew who was in the classroom, including visitors, "it makes them more comfortable. If they don't know why this person is sitting in their classroom, they are not going to be as open and spontaneous." Charlotte characterized her students as "very comfortable playing and working with each other. But to get to that point, the first two weeks is critical." Referring to the class that was the primary focus of classroom observation during the data collection, she recounted how the established comfort level among students, many of whom were Korean, was instrumental in rectifying the group's belief that working with another Korean speaker would not result in success in learning English. Perceiving the cultivation of positive relationships as "very important to get them past that idea," Charlotte helped those students to "see [working with one another] as a practice version of possible scenarios" where, to be polite, they decided to use English in front of an English speaker.

By fostering a community atmosphere among the students, the teacher participants simultaneously provided a safety net. For instance, for every group of students in her classrooms, Charlotte worked on creating an environment to reinforce the idea that it was safe to ask questions. She synthesized her practice:

> I try to show [the students] through humor, activities, and various things that it is OK, one, to be yourself; two, to be flawed; and three, to count on your classmates…to help them bond because if they are each individually reacting to the teacher, it's not as effective as if the whole group is now kind of collaborating to ask the teacher questions. The negotiation that happens in collaboration is probably one of the strongest bonds in learning and motivational tools. It really does send them together.

Encouraging student questions was also one of the reasons why Lori valued the establishment of learning communities in her classes. She shared:

> I love it when they ask questions. At the beginning of the class, they were all shy, and they didn't ask questions. And I said a thousand times, "If you have a question, I guarantee you, two other people in the class have the same question…and they're going to be very thankful that you ask it." I'm trying to just make them feel relaxed.

In Carol's class in the neighborhood-based Community Education Program, "I sensed that the students would get very nervous when I called on them." With the camaraderie among the class members, several less confident and more reserved students were observed later to initiate participation in the English language, in which they had not yet reached a high level of proficiency. During the stimulated recall, Carol proudly observed, "he's answering in English." Understanding how students felt "because I used to sit in the back of the class," Carol also took advantage of the established relationships and made a student, who "would sit way in the back…and keep his head down all the time," feel comfortable about moving to the front of the classroom. Suzanne, also from the Community Education Program, summed up the safety net function well by stating, "[The students] trust their fellow classmates. Everybody has got to know everyone else, and they know how everybody feels. They are in the same boat."

In addition to being a safety net for the students, the relationships and community atmosphere in a classroom served as an accountability system. The best example was provided by Anna, whose continuous evolution as a teacher led her to reinforce such a system through her classroom community, particularly after the administrative requirement of contacting absent students. During the final member check procedure, Anna shared:

> I have found a good way [to deal with absences]. In class, use your cell phone, call the students, and say, "Everybody say hi." They will come back…I so regret

> that I hadn't thought about it before [although] I didn't have to call the students who were absent until now.

The absent students were not always there to answer the phone. However, Anna had found that the greetings from the other students in her class, even when recorded on an answering machine, created a sense of responsibility that encouraged persistence in the absentees and prompted their return to the class. She described the engagement of the class in calling absent students as a way of "creating a community, by telling them that the people in class want you to be here." She further elaborated on the role of "community" in student retention. "The only thing that brings the adult students back is if there is a relationship. If they feel like they are outsiders, then I'm going to lose them as students. They won't want to come."

Other examples of a classroom accountability system included how Judy made it a habit to let the class know why a classmate was absent. To get there, she explained, "The first thing I do, when I get any new students, [is] give my phone number. If they can't come to class, they can try to call me. About half of them do; some of them are very good at calling." She used such a mechanism to strengthen the classroom community by, for example, having the class write a get-well letter to express their care when she found out one of her students was gravely ill. In Charlotte's classroom, after the reason for absence was reported, she used the absent student's name in sample sentences. As a sense of community had become established among the students, Charlotte believed that the other class members would later report to the absent student the specific references made in the class. Similarly, Suzanne's accountability system was based on "guilt trips" she generated with the collective power from the entire community of learners when, for example, students left the class early. As they expected, the teachers observed the majority of absent students return to class.

The discussion about fostering a community atmosphere not only demonstrates student-centered considerations and actions to address the affective domain, but also expands on the teacher attribute previously discussed regarding the multiple roles the participants took on in the classroom. In addition to being the instructor, a community builder, and an accountability architect, the teachers considered it critical to include themselves as classroom community members. Facilitating rapport with the students and attainment of students' trust, the teachers' classroom membership reinforced the same affective purposes as the established relationships among the students.

For instance, with a commitment to helping her students, Jessica shared that "it is important for the students to like their teachers and trust them." For Victor, his membership resulted in the students' trust in him, ensuring that the entire class more easily became engaged in the activities he had designed and assigned, by eliminating distracting disagreement with his philosophy and beliefs regarding language acquisition, or his Knowledge of Learning in general. The trust and buy-in from the students also increased their comfort level upon having their mistakes corrected or being challenged to examine their viewpoints because "beliefs are the biggest barrier there is, whether about how to learn or about the language itself." In fact, viewing students' feeling comfortable with the teacher as the most crucial in the classroom, Victor observed that "otherwise they are not going to learn anything…If [the students] don't like you, they are not going to like anything."

Based on a similar rationale, Lori expressed that at the beginning of a semester "[the students] have to get used to me first. Right now, they are all just looking at me…So I'm trying to just relax them and make them realize we're all going to make friends, so we might as well start now." For Suzanne, her classroom membership that she established three weeks into the semester helped because "we are now at a point where

[the students] can make mistakes on the board because they trust me, and they know me." She stated:

> I'm sure their ego is not that fragile; I'm sure they would be just fine if I corrected them in the beginning. But for me, I don't feel comfortable until I know them and until they know how I feel about it.

Anna shared a similar timeframe, especially concerning her use of humor with students' mistakes:

> Now they are comfortable with me, I can laugh at their pronunciation, but I'm laughing with them, and they are not insulted. This is something that you can do after you've been with your class for some time. I mean you can't start by doing that…not by the first two classes. When I do start a new class with jokes, it's always making fun of myself.

Charlotte added her observation, which sums up well the role played by the teacher participants' classroom membership:

> I try to show [the students] that I'm on their side, and I think that's part of the student-teacher trust…that you can come to me. And if they can feel that they can come to you, maybe they're a little braver asking questions in class; they're a little braver asking question in class, then they're practicing their English a little more. I mean, there's always a means to an end, but along the way, it has different functions.

However, as useful as the teacher-student relationship could be, some participants also recognized the reality and difficulty in achieving total acceptance of their classroom membership. For instance, Lori, who strived to connect to the students, shared her experience that echoes the previous discussion regarding the minimal attention paid to teachers' affective reactions. Although her students were observed to enjoy her class and cooperate with her in the lessons, Lori noted:

> There's always someone that just doesn't like you; there's nothing you can do about it…You just have to be prepared, and you can't take it personally. It's a hard thing to realize and understand as a teacher because you do take it personally. But there's nothing you can do for some people; they will never like you.

Equality in classroom communities. Regardless of whether the teachers were able to reach a sweeping acceptance among their students, equally important to the teacher participants as the rapport and trust from their students was the maintenance of equality among classroom community members. The stress on equality resonated strongly with the teacher participants' attention to the affective domain of language learning—they wanted to make sure that no classroom members felt partiality, unwittingly exerted or not, that might result in withdrawal or discontinued participation. However, as John observed, "I really do try to keep it fair. But I know in any classroom, it's impossible to be completely fair." Similarly, Louise shared:

> I try not to show favoritism [by wanting to see some students succeed more than others]. But obviously as a teacher, when you have students starting from the bottom and going up step by step, you become very much invested in their development and their learning process.

Mostly, the teachers reported that they dealt with any predilection they might experience toward particular students internally, and, as confirmed by my classroom observations, the teachers' outward actions were clear of unbalanced praise or reprimand.

Many teachers further demonstrated sensitivity to and awareness of their actions that might hint at partiality. Lori would politely decline students' invitations to dinners or social gatherings because if she accepted one, she would have to accept all subsequent invitations in order to be fair. She stated:

> Otherwise, some [students] might think that's going to affect their grade. So you just have to make your decision—it's going to either be yes or no, and I don't say no; I just tell them I'm busy right now.

John, who was aware of his dislike of argumentative students, tackled the possibility of ostensible favoritism by frequently saying "no discrimination" in class so that "[the students] get it built in that you don't intend discrimination."

In addition to eliminating favoritism and dislike toward individual students, some teacher participants expressed their awareness of maintaining equality among groups of students. Frequently having students interact with one another by using group work, Victor recounted his vigilance in maintaining equality among groups in class. After unintentionally giving the nickname *Trouble Makers* to a group made up of students who were relatively energetic and outgoing, Victor reported immediately becoming aware that the other student groups might feel left out because he had not given them a pet name. He also shared that

> sometimes I pay too much attention to some students and not the others, because it's easy when they're loud enough. And so I try to signal good things with each student, but I'm not 100% yet; I've just started working on that.

Groups could also be delineated by students' background. For example, Suzanne asked for my observation of how she called on the students because "I was just a little worried that I might favor men." Having both Spanish speakers and students who spoke other languages, Carol refrained from using her knowledge of Spanish to conduct lessons in order to be fair to everyone, although she also believed Spanish would make learning easier and faster for those understanding the language:

> I have observed some body language from students that don't come from a Spanish background. It's uncomfortable for them and for me because English is just as difficult for them. I just don't think it's fair for me to try to explain something in Spanish so that someone can better understand it, and yet I have a student over here, who doesn't understand a bit of Spanish, who is trying to learn just as much.

Lori was also aware that "if I use any Spanish, it's going to be offensive to the people that don't speak Spanish." As a result, she did not use it in class.

Making students feel treated the same by the instructor and including themselves in the established classroom community, many teacher participants also consciously ensured that the class perceived them as an equal member in the classroom community.

Lori would physically signal herself as equal to the students:

> A lot of times, I will kneel down, like getting right at the table with them. At first, it probably makes some of them uncomfortable, but I think it's developing some sort of relationship with them, like "I'm right here with you."

Charlotte summarized her philosophy and practice:

> I think as human beings, we are all equal, and I try to show that by showing my flaws, my anecdotes, my ups and downs. I think in bonding with the students, it's instantly equality, just as human beings, as people…When you're learning from someone, inherently, it feels like you're not equal in that knowledge base. If I went to their country, I wouldn't consider myself an equal in that knowledge. But as a human being, [we are] always equal, the courtesies, the respect.

With an entire class of only Spanish speakers, Jessica used her Spanish to establish a more equal relationship with her students by exposing the fact that she was also a language learner, just like her students. She shared, "I'm trying to show them that I'm a Spanish learner because I make a lot of mistakes. I ask them how to say things, so it's like we teach each other." Equality was also the reason behind the "fake" Spanish learning experience Anna used to show her empathy:

> [The students] speak Spanish and I don't. They are superior to me in that way, and they won't feel that I'm superior to them because of English. So that's an equalizer, and that's why I used Spanish, [instead of] my learning French…It is true about the Spanish, that I tried to remember some Spanish words because I've dealt with so many Spanish-speaking students, but I can't remember anything…(It is) very important in an adult education classroom that I'm equal. I make mistakes sometimes, and you make mistakes, too. It's very important to establish equality and trust.

By making fun of her own mistakes and chatting with students, as mentioned previously, Anna, who was conscious of her role as the information holder and provider, further demonstrated to the students "that we're equals, making sure that they see me as a friend," again, instead of someone superior. Victor expressed his desire to be equal by wanting to have a desk that was the same as the students' and by physically removing

barriers, such as boxes and bags of instructional materials, between himself and the students. He further expressed the view that "problem students" any colleagues and he himself might have issues with were created by the students as well as the teacher.

Variation in Teachers' Management of Student Responses

Although all teacher participants acknowledged the impact of the affective domain in language learning, differences existed in their practices to address and influence students' responses. For example, in the realm of modification of planned lessons based on affective considerations, experience appeared to divide the participants. Acutely perceiving the students' interest and engagement levels, veteran teachers such as Anna and John decided whether to continue or discontinue a lesson. When they brought commercially created handouts, they were observed to use only the portions that they had judged as adding to their lessons.

In contrast, those participants with less experience in the community-based adult ESL instructional setting were observed to be more influenced by the instructional materials they chose to use. For instance, in their classes, Carol, Judy, and Suzanne would normally cover everything on the pages they had selected from the textbook resources to which they had access. Although these teacher participants also responsively detoured by using humor and conversation to engage their students, they essentially went by the sequence laid out in the material. In her classroom, Carol brought in new handouts almost every day and presented the lessons faithfully and sequentially. For Judy, when probed for why she asked students to consider community volunteer activities, she responded with, "Just following the book basically." She later added to the reason behind the push: "It's a good time of the year to think about volunteering, too, because there are so many volunteer opportunities." However, in retrospect Judy also shared, "I thought maybe I

pushed a little too hard because they work so hard [at their jobs]. What's the point? I think when I go through this lesson again, I probably won't push that part…Their lives are so full." In addition to materials she selected to implement, Judy also designed her own routine warm-up activities to use before everyone arrived. She noted regarding a particular exercise during the stimulated recall that "I was getting tired of this at this point; I was ready to move on, so I just wrote. And I think they were, too. I felt I'd pushed as far as I could." Before moving on, however, she finished the exercise by providing all the answers in writing on the board—an action consistent with her use of commercial instructional materials.

During my data collection, even when a teacher was observed to halt an exercise in the face of tremendous student struggles, as in Suzanne's case described earlier regarding the verb tense handout, she resumed the same material, for example, in the following class meeting to finish going over the explanation and activities laid out on the handout. Her decision to talk about a more formal way of explaining contractions for the present perfect tense included on the handout[15] was

> It's here, so if I leave it out, they are going to wonder what it is and does it have anything to do with the actual learning about the verb tense. And it does, but not as directly as learning the tense. So I didn't want them to be in the dark. And it's a pronunciation thing too. I mean, I want them to know that.

However, she later observed, "It just struck me that I didn't use contractions sometimes when I talked to them, because I want to really annunciate the Ns, the words really clearly."

The above experience-based variation was noted among teachers at the

[15] The handout presented "he's" and "I've" as how the auxiliary for the present perfect tense, "has" or "have," is contracted in affirmative sentences. For negative sentences that include the adverb *not* while there are two ways for forming contractions, the handout included only "he hasn't" and "I haven't." The other way of making a contraction is "he's not" and "I've not." Although the second way more closely resembles the affirmative contraction, it was neither included in the handout nor addressed by Suzanne.

neighborhood-based programs. However, lesson continuation and discontinuation were not observed to be as marked among the participants in the more academically focused program setting. The lack of variance was partly because the program setting had more precisely defined curriculum components and because none of those teacher participants appeared to be visibly dependent on the instructional materials—aspects I will discuss further in the teachers' management of learning along with the role of Subject Matter Knowledge.

Although in general the teacher participants promoted student comfort and engagement, variation existed in terms of the degree to which students were allowed to relax in class. John provided a unique example by constantly injecting emotions normally considered as debilitating, targeting the entire student body. Regarding the students' primary purpose in learning English in the Adult Education Program as taking care of their families, John believed that in order to function in society, the students needed first to overcome linguistically triggered emotional barriers. Although he emphasized the creation of a safe learning environment by fostering a community atmosphere, unlike the other teacher participants, John routinely manipulated the students' comfort level with stressful learning situations as a way to anesthetize their anxiety and other incapacitating emotions from using the English language, because "you cannot learn a language without being embarrassed." At least once in every class, capitalizing on his sense of humor, John maximized every student's stress level by designing tasks students had to perform individually without a peer sharing the attention from the staring eyes in the classroom. His students all complied with little reluctance and appeared to anticipate the routine where their teacher raised their anxiety level, with the full knowledge of what their teacher was trying to accomplish. For example, during a classroom observation, John randomly picked students to "stand up and raise your hand over your head" one at a time

and quizzed them on irregular past tense verbs and past participles, while also interjecting humor throughout the drill. The students not only followed John's directions, but during and after the stressful situation, they also jokingly brainstormed for new ways to create stress for the next class meeting.

To achieve student buy-in in the special training for overcoming debilitating emotions, John took advantage of the classroom community he had fostered, where its participatory members allowed fellow classmates to "suffer" while acting simultaneously as a safety net and jumping in to help "when the wheel stops turning" and when frustration became evidently counter-productive. John observed that because of the shared experience, "they become very, very close, and all of my classes have been famous for that." Among all of the classes I visited, the classroom community John fostered indeed appeared to be the most close-knit, with late-comers being quickly assimilated into the established community.

Concerning the extent to which the teacher participants fostered a classroom community, variation was also present. Louise, a teacher at the Community College ESL Department, was observed to place the least emphasis on cultivating relationships among the students. With a focus of "95 percent business" in her classroom, for Louise, the only occasion for fostering community among the students was indirectly through group work; "it's kind of a way of doing community because they do it in groups." However, "at the end of the semester, it's not uncommon for students to have no idea who their classmates are." Regarding the lack of community cultivation in her classrooms, Louise observed:

> I think part of the reason [relationship-building] doesn't come out in the teaching much is because our curriculum is just so full, and I am constantly aware of the syllabus. And unfortunately, it's at the expense of "Let's get to know each other" and doing more activities where there would be more interaction.

Although the majority of teacher participants actively engaged in community-building in their classrooms, it is interesting to compare Louise with Lori, who also taught at the Community College ESL Department, where the curriculum indeed appeared to be the most extensive in scope among the four programs included in this study. Stressing interaction in her classrooms as a way to generate language use, Lori was observed to conduct almost every activity through pair and group work. When it was a whole-class activity, she often incorporated an interactive component, for example, by requiring the students to pay attention to what their classmates were reporting and randomly calling on the students to transform the reported answer.

The difference between the two teachers teaching within the same programmatic context primarily came from their differing definitions of the role of teacher and their varied views regarding how learning takes place, in other words, their Knowledge of Learning. Whereas Lori considered herself a facilitator and viewed the language acquisition process as in line with a socio-constructivist perspective on learning, Louise emphasized the amount of exposure provided by the language model in the classroom, i.e., the teacher. In her classes, Louise perceived herself as acting in a capacity similar to a "director." She noted:

> I should say my role is "facilitator," but I don't see myself as a facilitator; I see myself as more of a director, and that's probably not politically correct to say. But especially at the lower levels, [students] need direct instruction much more so than you know…so I think my role is more "teacher."

Louise's characterization of her directive role also made her stand out when compared to most of the teacher participants who explicitly expressed their stance in establishing themselves as equal to the adult students. This was true even though, like the other teachers, Louise placed importance on maintaining equality among the students and embraced student-centeredness in executing instructional tasks regardless of the variation

in her approach and perspective. Although Louise's student-centeredness might be obscured by her outward teacher-frontedness in direct instruction, as discussed in her management of student responses, she shared similar concerns about the affective domain of language learning. For instance, having experienced the emotional struggle in language learning, in addition to putting "a positive spin" on the adjustment to the target culture, she shared:

> Even though everything is business [in my classrooms], I try to make sure that there is a lot of compassion in it. Maybe that doesn't come out as much as I would like it to, but it definitely comes out more when [students] come to my office one on one.

She shared an example of infusing compassion into her rigorous and demanding classroom:

> One of the things that I do at the end of the semester when they don't pass is [to show them that] they are here, and this is where they have to be…I show the ones [who started the class] all the way at the bottom, "Look how far you've gone,"…and having that visual helped.

Similar to other participants, Louise also engaged students in conversations and intermittently recounted personal stories in the acknowledgement that there were "some elements in the students that they do want to get to know you a little bit as a person and not just have you as the teacher." After sharing with the students her desire to teach in Vietnam, for example, she was pleasantly impressed when "I had two students come to my office and tell me, 'Is there anything you want to know about Vietnam?'…They see it as me taking an interest in their culture and them by proxy."

Compared to the classroom environment, Louise's office served as a stronger milieu for forming relationships. Her rapport with the students developed mostly as a result of providing assistance to those who visited her office where "I will pretty much drop anything to take care of the students." She shared:

> I do relationship individually in my office quite a bit, and I think I do well with the students because they see how much time I spend with them outside of the class one-on-one. Even the ones that aren't doing well see that I'm really bending backwards to make sure that they get what they need.

In the classroom, the first step Louise took towards connecting with individual students was by conscientiously learning their names quickly at the beginning of a new semester. However, Lori would probably still have considered Louise as "more formal" in terms of connections with the students. Without a specific colleague in mind, Lori reiterated her view of language acquisition and her focus on the students getting along with their instructor, particularly inside the classroom:

> I relate to the students on a personal level, more than other teachers who are more formal. And I do it on purpose because it's language; you have to be comfortable using the language and everything. I mean I want them to like me, too.

Regarding extending personal connections with students outside of learning-related activities, the teacher participants differed on a continuum of comfort levels, and the variation coincided rather evenly with the programmatic contexts. With her relatively lower emphasis on community-building in the classroom, Louise shared:

> I don't really want to get to know my students on too deeply of a personal level. I really don't. I'm friendly with them, and sometimes they will confide in me personal issues at home. That does help me understand a little bit better why they're doing so poorly at school, but I generally have a hands-off approach. If they don't do the homework…if there were some horrible personal problems that I didn't know about, I'm sorry, but they still didn't do the material, they didn't show me the proficiency, so they don't pass…They shouldn't pass regardless, if they don't show me that they can perform.

Although Louise strengthened her rapport with the students outside of the classroom, it was academic and learning-focused in the context of her office hours when students sought assistance with the instructional material. Not wishing to play the role of "their buddy," Louise expressed that as a rule "I tend to keep that teacher-student [relationship] really, really clear." Rarely accepting students' invitations to dinner parties, Louise only

occasionally attended such events “at the end of the semester” when grades and exams were finished, and “I was also the first to leave.”

The majority of teacher participants in the more academically oriented program setting were similar to Louise, opting not to stretch the learning-focused rapport and extend the student-teacher relationship to personal friendships. Although more willingly adopting the role of community-builder than Louise and trying to relate to the students on a personal level, Lori was mindful of making sure that her connection with the students was “not too personal.” Other than maintaining fairness among the students, Lori declined invitations also to maintain her boundary. Striving to be “a really nice teacher,” Lori shared:

> I want them to honestly believe that I really like them, I mean I do, and [that] we could be friends, because if that is what they feel, then they’re really going to open up their communication with me. And sometimes I have to be really careful because they’d invite you to their home, and things like that, and that’s uncomfortable.

Charlotte considered separating the teacher and friend roles as necessary:

> Very few students have actually become friends of mine; I really try to keep the boundary. As a teacher I’m always available, but as a friend, it’s like, you know. And they have to understand that I have to keep that separate in order to keep me sane.

Victor, the other participant in the academic setting, was an exception in being open to socializing with the students. He commented:

> They always want to do stuff with me after class. Occasionally I [agree]; I just don’t have the time. I mean, I am fine with it; I don’t think there’s a problem, but time-wise, I just can’t.

His openness to out-of-class connections was similar to the participants teaching in the community-based setting. At the end of the semester, Carol exchanged phone numbers with her class and promised to be in touch to schedule a facial treatment with one student.

Jessica attended events in students' community such as Cinco de Mayo. Suzanne's establishing friendships and camaraderie with the students made her "look forward to coming to class because I look forward to being with my friends." Some of John's students knew and had met his wife, whom he also used much in lesson examples. In a lesson on how to address an envelope, Judy used her home address as an example and jokingly told the students at the end of the lesson that they could now send her Christmas cards. She maintained relationships with many former students, such as through occasional lunch meetings. She provided an example of how a former student getting ready to take the community college entrance exams "would do a pack of work and some problems, and then come see me to get some more. She's working on math and science. She's strong in science, but she needs to work on math."

Tools for Managing Student Responses

In managing the students' responses, the teacher participants utilized several tools to assist their effort. For instance, Anna's cell phone helped her connect the students with absent classmates. This section, however, focuses on the more intangible tools and apparatuses in the teachers' knowledge base that they called upon to guide their approaches and actions.

The teachers' hefty attention to the affective domain of language learning, first and foremost, signals an influence from their Knowledge of Learning. Although each embraced his or her own belief regarding how learning occurs, the teachers all took a student-centered stance that guided their approaches. In general, viewing factors such as confidence, mutual trust, equal treatment, and comfort levels as crucial in successful language acquisition, and considering risk-taking behaviors such as asking questions and making mistakes as necessary for linguistic mastery, the teacher participants set out to

create and foster just such a learning-conducive environment. For example, Victor stressed students' trust and beliefs as the essential gateway because he recognized the psychologically induced ability, or inability, in the students to change and learn. When students "are not driving with the rest of the class," he observed:

> They're having this conflict; they are not happy because they don't believe in the same thing…When people have disagreements with either what's being taught, the way it's being taught, or the way we're doing things, that's the most disruptive [because] it can be in the form of confrontation afterwards; it can also be in the form of just withdrawing.

For most teacher participants, what they drew from their Knowledge of Learning to inform practices, such as taking affective detours and building a community atmosphere, was their personal theorizing based on experience and understanding of the emotion-laden language learning process. In addition, the teachers' Knowledge of Learning regarding their students' emotional needs was often specific to adult learners. For example, Anna's conclusion regarding insecurity and self-consciousness felt by adult students was from her comparison of experiences teaching high school students and adults. John's emphasis on a healthy amount of productive frustration and his students' overcoming emotional reactions that were debilitating to learning was also based on what adult learners ultimately need to do with English as well as on his years of experience working in the community-based program setting. With the emphasis on support and compassion in her teaching, Charlotte's instructional experience and contact with colleagues guided her to the conclusion that "even adult students need to be not mommy, but they need to feel like no matter what you do, I'm here to get you, to catch you, to support you." She further shared an observation based on her own language learning experience that echoed Anna's conclusion:

> I think being vulnerable is the key part of being a language learner…When you are learning you first language, typically you are surrounded by people who are

> constantly there to aid you and you know the consequence doesn't really matter if you mess up…Whenever you became an adult language learner, you are no longer in that safe zone. We are more aware as adults that what we say affects the dynamics of people…what we say affects what happens after that…Students are vulnerable because they have all these ideas, and they can't get them out right or they don't know how to get them out.

On a general level, the teacher participants focused on taking care of the affective domain because of the recognition that adult language acquisition is a long process.

A few teacher participants, in addition to their personal theories, referred to disciplinary concepts regarding language learning that they had incorporated into their knowledge base as part of the theoretical underpinning of their Knowledge of Learning. Based on her graduate study in language education, Lori's beliefs in socio-constructivism as a perspective on learning was an example given in previous discussions. She shared:

> Learning a lot of things that I didn't know, then applying it in how I used to do it, and maybe tweaking it a little to make it better, based on this new information I am learning, made me a better teacher. I didn't use to put my students in groups a lot, because as a student, I didn't like group work. I thought, why should I make my students do something that I didn't like as a student? I learned in [graduate] school that group work is really important, the whole nature of learning being social. So I started doing more group work, but also making the activity more focused, so the student would like the group work.

In graduate school, she also confirmed her belief in promoting positive student responses through, for example, "doing fun activities in the classroom and making the students comfortable. I found that in a theory."

Also centered on making students comfortable as the prerequisite for learning, Jessica's Knowledge of Learning similarly represented an amalgamation of her personal belief informed by experience and the concepts in second language acquisition that she had learned in her graduate study. While she had always embraced student comfort as critical for learning, as she studied about, for example, foreign language anxiety (Horwitz, 2001) and the Affective Filter Hypothesis (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Krashen,

2003b), she felt that "having a word or theories to put behind my way of thinking makes my point of view stronger." Carol's undergraduate study in psychology helped her to

> work more on a human level, more sensitive [and] more receptive to the person who's learning. That's so important because I don't think you can do this without an understanding of the psychology of the person who's trying to learn.

In addition to what they believed to be critical in their instruction and for language acquisition, another component in the knowledge base the teachers used in managing student responses was Knowledge of Self, which encompasses what teachers analyze to be essential about themselves that is, at the same time, focused on teaching and learning. The teacher participants were aware of their own comfort levels, preferences, strengths, and prejudices related to the student-centeredness they embraced. For example, Jessica listed as her strengths many aspects that impacted the management of student responses: "First of all, I'm nice, very personable. I like my students; I try to connect to everyone on a personal level, and I'm very patient…and I care about my students." Carol observed, "I think what's working for me is just to be myself, to be human, to laugh, and to listen, to have empathy with [the students]." The teachers' Knowledge of Self heightened their sensitivity to areas such as equality in the classroom community or their conscientiousness in ensuring relevance in their lesson digressions. Regarding the learning environment she focused on creating, Suzanne noted:

> I wouldn't want a student sitting in my class, feeling like I felt as a student; I don't like to feel like I'm a number, I don't like to feel like I can't ask questions, and I don't like to feel like the person is trying to prove how smart they are either, and maybe that's just kind of an ego thing.

As discussed in the section of construct operationalization, there exists a connection between a teacher's Knowledge of Self and Knowledge of Learning, particularly in the realm of general teaching philosophies. In the management of student responses, the teacher participants drew upon principles in their Knowledge of Learning

that corresponded to applicable philosophies in their Knowledge of Self. Their belief in facilitative emotions for language learning was compatible with their perceptions regarding the value of impartiality and with their comfort level in sharing personal stories, admitting mistakes, or making fun of themselves. For example, in fostering a positive learning environment, Charlotte fell back on her Knowledge of Self when students pushed her buttons:

> I think it's very easy for teachers to just find [a student's] personality flaw that drives them up the wall, and as teachers, know thyself, know what's going to push you and overcome that because it's not the student's fault. And there have been times I've literally bit my lip, to keep from saying something—because I think that it wasn't their problem; it was my personal trigger that they have pushed, and I think that's very important to acknowledge.

She further summarized her empathy toward the students as conforming to the principle: Do to others as you would have them do to you; "I always carry it in my head."

Other than knowing about themselves and emphasizing with their students, the teachers also managed student responses by relying on their accumulated Knowledge of Students regarding, for instance, personalities or preferred modes of interaction and participation. During the stimulated recall, Jessica shared the rationale behind how she called on the students. Working with a student who had just recently joined the class, "I didn't ask Roberto because he's very shy and I didn't want to put him on the spot. And he obviously didn't volunteer; he didn't act like he wanted to." In Victor's classes, what he knew about the students accelerated the creation of positive energy in grouping arrangements for activities. For example, during the stimulated recall, he commented, "Those two students, I like to put them in a group together because they have so much fun. If they're having fun, I think that's good."

In John's neighborhood-based class, which he described as greatly diverse in language proficiency as well as in cultural, socioeconomic, and political backgrounds, he

worked on "[the students'] differences and similarities. I get to know my students and find out exactly how I can play on their personalities." For example, John once shared how, through his seating arrangements, the class-designated "grandmother" helped a new student quickly feel included in the established community. The teachers' Knowledge of Students also assisted their spontaneous, yet related, digressions regarding topics of interest to the students to enhance affective receptivity to instruction.

In addition, Knowledge of Students allowed the teachers to identify adeptly topics and actions to avoid in class. Influenced by their Knowledge of Self, particularly their principle to maintain fairness, Carol and Lori demonstrated sensitivity to non-Spanish speaking students when they steered them away from using the native language spoken by many, if not the majority, in the classroom. John provided an example of how, by listening to his students' stories during lesson digressions, he knew cancer would be a touchy subject for one student before she confided in him her continuous battle to stay healthy. He shared:

> I knew 6 months before she told me that she had cancer, and I figured that out from her stories…I would know what subjects to stay away from…If you listen to your students, if you really do listen to your students, you can find out there's a subject that's never going to work with that student.

The Knowledge of Students the teachers utilized could also be general in nature, as many were able to synthesize approximate student characteristics based on criteria such as adulthood and the nature of an ESL program. Relying on her empathy as an adult herself, Anna observed that students in the Community Education Program

> are not students [but] mothers and employees. So you are putting them in an artificial situation they are uncomfortable with because their memories (about learning) are from when they were children.

As a result, she had an understanding of her students' insecurity in the learning situation:

> It's [about] this person who has left his country and is feeling insecure, like a

> stranger in this strange land with a very different culture…[Teachers should] be sensitive to what the student's background or situation is. You don't have to know precisely what he'd gone through, but if you watch and you feel when a student flinches, just be aware of the reactions.

Once accumulated and developed, the teachers' nonspecific Knowledge of Students could be active in their knowledge base before actual contact with particular students, and useful in, for example, community-building at the outset through a conviction of the importance of a safe learning environment by their Knowledge of Learning.

Another aspect of the non-specific Knowledge of Students the teachers found useful concerned what they knew about the students' cultures and heritages. For example, Louise referred to her experience and understanding that oftentimes Japanese students did not feel comfortable when singled out. John's experience working with students from diverse backgrounds at the Defense Language Institute advised him on gestures that could be culturally offensive. His cultural sensitivity was based on his awareness that "you can hurt somebody brutally in the classroom otherwise." In cultivating a positive learning environment, Charlotte considered it

> very helpful to know, for example, the Koreans have an elder system, or female Arabic students may be resistant to working with male students. Or sometimes my Vietnamese student will feel inferior in the classroom because of the many stereotypes around what Vietnamese should be like.

Empathizing how adult learners relied on memories about schooling, Anna elaborated that in the classroom:

> They think they should behave the way they did when they were children. In other words, they never complain. Because they all come from societies where it's not polite to complain, too…[This is true] for the people that I have [taught], most of them. At least in America, people who don't speak English, the societies they come from are not out-spoken and assertive kind of societies. And they already feel a little inferior, not speaking English, so they are in a position where they are not going to assert their opinion. You find individuals who do of course, but the majority are not going to.

The cultural aspect of the teachers' Knowledge of Students was useful, too, for demystifying stereotypes. For instance, Suzanne's actual contact with a class where the majority of the students were Vietnamese helped her realize that Asian students could be "gregarious" and not necessarily as reserved as traditionally typecast.

Guided by their Knowledge of Learning and assisted by their Knowledge of Self and of Students, the teacher participants also enacted their General Pedagogical Knowledge, or General Pedagogical Knowledge, in their attempt to manage student responses and the effect of the affective domain of language learning, even in John's case of inducing normally debilitating emotions. Common strategies the teachers used included humor, variety, their performer persona, as well as conversation and interaction such as Lori's theory-informed use of group work. Some participants also carefully calculated their timing. For instance, not wanting to unwittingly embarrass anybody, Anna and Suzanne would postpone revealing their humorous sides to a new group of students, although they relied on their sense of humor to establish rapport with the class. Suzanne observed that once she became better able to specify student characteristics, i.e., when she attained enhanced Knowledge of Students, and once the students became adequately acquainted with her, "they know I am not making fun of them, that I am trying to tell them a joke. Then if they don't understand, they may feel crummy, but they forgive me." Building relationships through relaxing students with her sense of humor, Anna also observed, "in the beginning you tried to be more empathetic, instead of trying to be a clown…It takes a while, because I'm making a joke and they're not sure if they should smile or not."

In their beginning contact with a new group, the teachers also simultaneously worked on establishing the students' awareness of their classmates' presence, for example, through activity management strategies. Victor switched students constantly in order for

them to interact with everyone in class. And he also applied his Knowledge of Students, based on what he had observed with regards to students' strengths and personalities, to ensure fun and engagement for everyone in a group. Charlotte frequently asked her students to work in groups and provided a list of tasks for each group member to perform to make sure "they have to work together. And they love it! They do more talking whenever they are in pair and group work than they do in student-teacher [interaction]. They feel safer." Judy similarly shared, "For the most part, I have really good rapport with my students, and they get along well with each other, at group work and community. I probably do a lot to establish that." Suzanne described that "it's more important that I practice certain behaviors that encourage them to get here," and she thus considered that "technical knowledge is not as important as perhaps [professional development] seminars that present knowledge on how to build classroom rapport and team work."

By means of designing a variety of activities for each class period, although a time-consuming effort on their part, the teachers effectively contained boredom and enhanced confidence. Regarding her "chunked" and "varied" lesson planning, Anna observed:

> I find that to be more effective with everybody, but with adults specifically because adults get bored easier with academics. They haven't done it. Children are more in school doing academics…so if you give them a longer activity, that's what they do, so they will do it, [although] it's not as effective if it's lengthy. But once you get to adults, first of all, they are too polite to tell you they are not going to do it, but their brains are wandering. That's it; you've lost them because you have to keep it interesting also for them…[So plan] in chunks, and then vary the activities. If you have a writing activity now, don't follow it by another writing activity.

The interconnectedness among General Pedagogical Knowledge, Knowledge of Students, and Knowledge of Learning is evident in Anna's observation. In addition, although teachers who expressed explicit principles in planning in chunks differed in the preferred

length of each activity—5 minutes for John, 10 for Anna, and 30 for Victor—the underpinning Knowledge of Learning and of Students was similar. And the lengths were not strictly adhered to; as observed during my classroom visits, those teachers constantly punctuated an activity with elements such as humor and related anecdotes that were useful for strengthening or rekindling active participation and were often spontaneously triggered by student reactions.

Often, the teachers' enactment of General Pedagogical Knowledge was assisted by their Knowledge of Resources. In their planning for variety or their inclusion of both simple and intricate activities, they might take advantage of, for instance, commercially available or free web-based materials. The teachers' selection and non-selection of instructional resources they were aware of, in turn, were informed by General Pedagogical Knowledge and the above mentioned additional knowledge categories that interconnected with General Pedagogical Knowledge, particularly Knowledge of Students and Knowledge of Learning. An example of such informed decision came from Charlotte's reluctance to incorporate computer- or web-assisted activities, based on her emphasis on dynamics and high energy as well as her awareness of how students normally already spent much time on computers outside of class.

Similar to Knowledge of Students, the teachers' General Pedagogical Knowledge and the spontaneity in its enactment are also accumulative in nature and strengthened through experience. For Lori, conversing with students to begin a class and foster a positive environment was second nature and a practice she developed during her beginning teaching experience at a more community-based program setting:

> I've come into a formal setting from a more informal setting [where students] always said, "We want conversation." So [when] I came to the more academic setting, I would start every class with a little conversation.

The teachers' accumulated experience also assisted them with getting back on track from

their spontaneity. Stressing equality in his class, Victor made improvement after

> I learned that I can remember which ones I've called on up to 11, but I always forget 1 student. So then I made these cards…That way I would make sure that I call on them evenly, and it's completely random that way…[So] they have to stay engaged. Now even when I substitute, I do that.

Furthermore, by using their General Pedagogical Knowledge to cultivate a learning-conducive classroom community, the teacher participants instituted a feedback loop that facilitated further enactment of General Pedagogical Knowledge and daily management of student responses. For example, as teachers used General Pedagogical Knowledge to ensure that the class members developed harmonious solidarity and the emotional capacity to focus on learning, activity management in the classroom was carried out with minimal distraction such as in John's classroom of special emotional training. Anna also provided an example of the facilitating feedback loop. Infusing a physical component into her lessons, Anna noted:

> I like to exaggerate the get-up, and I do it with a laugh so they don't think I'm being mean. They're used to me…They were laughing; they get the joke, "Don't get lazy, up!" A lot of them just don't want to move from the seat…but after they get into it, like this term, I'm getting them up for an activity [every single period], and they love it.

Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge were two supplementary teacher knowledge categories in the teachers' management of student responses. For example, in the teachers' affectively informed digressions, Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge assisted the teachers to remain focused with an end in mind and to get back on track. At the beginning of a classroom observation, Charlotte started sharing stories about her cats, then transitioned into the sentence, "I wonder what my cats are doing right now," to engage the students in brainstorming by using the present progressive—the focus of the lesson. The smooth movement between the digression and the return to the lesson was possible partly because of Charlotte's

awareness of the subject matter and her ability to transform her Subject Matter Knowledge into learnable components via Pedagogical Content Knowledge. Another example was Lori's quick analogy between math formulas and grammatical rules. Her strong Subject Matter Knowledge allowed her to utilize her Pedagogical Content Knowledge in a way that eased students' anxiety.

Contextual factors, though peripheral compared to the other knowledge categories, also played a role in the teachers' management of student responses. The teachers' Knowledge of Context, based on the previous discussion, appeared to take on varying levels of importance. For instance, Louise's awareness of the extensive curriculum at the Community College ESL Department, combined with her personal Knowledge of Learning, caused her consciously and conscientiously to strike a balance between providing direct instruction and taking care of the affective domain of language learning. Teaching in the same program and sharing Louise's awareness of the curriculum, Lori was guided more by her Knowledge of Learning, and her Knowledge of Context exerted less influence on her approach although she also admitted that communicative language teaching "is really hard with the textbook that I have to use" for the grammar component of the class. Anna's idea of using her cell phone to foster the feeling that students belonged to an ESL learning community was prompted by the administrative requirement to contact absent students.

Knowledge of Context might also partially explain the variation with regards to the teachers' comfort level in their Knowledge of Self regarding interacting with the students outside of the classroom setting. Compared to the free neighborhood-based programs, the academic ones instituted more traditional accountability measures for the students, such as grades and tests. Teachers working in such a setting thus might feel a stronger need to maintain their boundaries. Describing her previous community-based

experience as “more like going and hanging out with friends because [the students] just wanted conversation practice,” Lori shared that her reservation regarding accepting invitations to dinner parties from her academically oriented students was because “some might think that it is going to affect their grades,” if they did not extend an invitation to the teacher as their classmates had.

Management of Learning

In addition to keeping the affective domain of language learning in check through their management of student responses, the teacher participants managed the learning process to augment the students’ receptivity and conduciveness to the task at hand. As indicated by the prior discussion, the teachers placed an emphasis on student responses because of its benefit in facilitating the management of learning, for instance, in the case of harmonious participation in Victor’s class or the unique case of John’s stress-peppered instruction—both enhanced by students’ affective proclivity to learning. The connection was made between management of student responses and learning, as Judy characterized in a nutshell: “Relating to students on the personal level helps the instructional level, definitely.” In the following discussion of the teachers’ management of student learning, also illustrated is how the two management tasks often intertwined in the teacher participants’ instruction.

Similar to their management of student responses, at the instructional level, the teachers also faced various challenges, the most common of which was the multi-level nature of the classes at both program settings, despite the fact that, with the exception of John, every teacher participant was supposed to be teaching students at an administratively delineated level such as beginning or intermediate; John’s class was designated as mixed-level by the administration. Describing the objective of her program

as “[getting] students to the point where they are able to handle academic course loads,” Louise expressed that “students are not all where they should be,” with some placed higher than their actual levels and into her class. Instruction then could be “a challenge…because you don’t want to lose them, but you can’t teach to them; you have to teach to the level [of the class].” Regarding the multiple student levels, Anna observed:

> That’s probably the most frustrating thing, when you have the different levels and you have the one or two who were done, and the others were just lagging and lagging. So you’re frustrating for them; you feel bad for them. And that’s common in adult education…[With] the placement, there’s a lot to be desired.

To accommodate the variety of student abilities, some teachers often applied the same principle of preparing a variety of activities to be used to manage student responses. For instance, aware of the different levels and paces as well as the need to ensure continuous engagement, Anna would “have an extra exercise…if they finish before everybody else…[For example], this crossword was not very important on the page that I photocopied; I left it for [fast students].” Likewise, when giving a quiz, Louise would “have an assignment…waiting for them when they are done. So the ones who get done more quickly will have something to do when they are waiting.” For example, she shared how she made use of program-purchased reading materials in her reading and vocabulary class:

> When they were finished with the vocabulary quiz, [I told them] to come and find a book. “Take a look at it. If it doesn’t interest you, put it down; find a different one.” I brought in levels this way.

To further differentiate instruction, Louise would often allow students “choice,” such as through offering “extra credit” to those who chose to write an opinion paper after finishing their selected book.

In addition to accommodating the various student levels, many teacher participants capitalized on the levels to enhance their management of learning. For

example, Suzanne noted, “I know where everybody is. Those five people are going to get it. And if Gregorio gets it, that means everybody is OK.” As a result, she would call on the particular student as a barometer of the entire class’s comprehension. John similarly checked on a couple of lower level students to make sure everybody had finished before erasing the board. In Jessica’s classroom, the presence of different levels allowed her to elicit collective responses; “if you ask one student the question and they [*sic*] don’t know the answer, you just ask the other students. They will know; somebody is going to know.”

Many teacher participants also took advantage of the ability levels, as well as the community atmosphere, to facilitate instructional arrangements. Carol described how she created “a prime example of what I expect everyone to do”:

> Sometimes I would call on the higher level students first in order to help the other students…because they had more clarity in their pronunciation…I’m thinking that if they observe the higher level students perform in a positive way, they would imitate that because they do look at each other, listen to each other, and help each other…If I have one of their peers pronounce it, then the other ones would imitate it and hear it, besides just hearing me.

Embracing socio-constructivism, Lori used the relationships and levels to pair and group students so that “they’re aware of how their classmates are doing, how other people learn…You can prepare your groups, just by knowing your students, [to] put higher level students with lower level students.” Intentional pairing of students was also practiced by Charlotte, who told students “‘I want you to work with you,’ because I know this one is a low, with a high one, this one.” In addition, because of the established community, learning-conductive arrangements did not always require the teachers’ involvement. For instance, in Suzanne’s as well as several other teachers’ classes, students were observed to naturally gravitate to their unofficial “study buddies” for assistance. Anna expressed that “it’s a lot easier for them to consult with the neighbor as they are working. It’s less stressful.”

Realistically Repetitive

Striving to assist their adult learners to attain the utmost results, most teacher participants were also realistic about the overall pace at which their students achieved proficiency and made progress. In the neighborhood-based Community Education Program, Anna expressed that for learning to occur, "it takes doing for a very long time, them doing it…practice and time together." In the academically oriented setting, Louise similarly noted, "Unfortunately, a lot of it is exposure, time, and practice, and a lot of our students don't have that because they leave the classroom and they don't have English around them."

John acutely observed, "The biggest problem for the student is they don't speak English when they go home. They don't watch TV in English; they don't read the newspaper in English…Koreans go home and speak Korean, watch Korean satellite TV." Furthermore, the responsibilities assumed by the adult students led John to add, "A lot of times, this stuff [they have learned] is gone, and that's the trouble with adult learners, they've got so many things going on in their lives" once they leave the classroom. However, as Suzanne commented, "It's not just coming to class; it's not just doing homework," although she also recognized that "it's especially going to be hard for Spanish-speaking students because they can go to any place and just about do anything in Spanish."

Although the impediment to learning identified by the teachers appeared to be based on factors not under their control, the teacher participants worked to augment their students' exposure to the English language. One common technique was repetition, as Jessica shared, "I do repeat myself a lot. I think that's helpful for them" because she viewed "repetition as a way of remembering to keep the learning in the brain." Anna observed that with adult students,

> there really is not a lot of long-term retention of things, like how to make a question…Once you remind them, they can do it, but they still need a reminder. And it really surprises me because I'm doing it to the best of my ability; I really am teaching it well. But I guess they will always do that.

As a result, she revisited the topic of question formation regularly throughout the semester. Judy's observation of how adult students learned "very slowly" led her to emphasize, "You've got to repeat…[For example,] you'd be surprised how much time we've spent and how valuable it is to just go over the alphabet. I need to remember to keep having them spell things and keep reinforcing that." Lori made sure the students retained the information by "[pounding] it in their brain before they go on [to the next level]."

Similar to the use of activity varieties to engage students, the teachers' repeated instruction took many different formats. Charlotte's intermittent "rapid fire" series of questions served the dual purpose of repetition and an opportunity for students "to play with language…to be silly." To provide students with a mnemonic trick and an opportunity to be playful, Charlotte also created "songs" for verb forms that she and the students recited recurrently in class. Carol would often "call on each student [who] is saying the same thing. So by the time we get to the tenth person, they [*sic*] should know exactly what to say." Louise's repetition was through "lots of different examples…sample sentences, error correction." Regarding error correction exercises, Louise also commented:

> I don't want to expose the students a lot to "These are 10 bad sentences and why they are bad." I don't think that's a good idea necessarily. There's a time and place for it, but it's one thing you pull out of your bag of tricks. I would not make it a stable practice.

She also asked “the same set of questions every single time” to aid student understanding when teaching a particular topic so that students could “start to internalize and ask these questions themselves.”

In addition, while many teachers repeated information verbally, some tapped into different modalities as a way of repetition. For instance, By “[keeping] batting at it,” Louise would “try to make sure that there is something they can see, and something they can hear” so the students could have the information “visually and acoustically” and engage in “dual processing.” Using the card games he designed to review instructional material, Victor involved speaking and listening by grouping students for question-and-answer activities while reinforcing, for instance, idioms, grammatical structures, and introductory phrases to signal agreement or disagreement. John and Jessica both engaged their students in visual, auditory, and kinesthetic learning modes, for example, by writing on the board and explaining what was written, while allowing students to copy what was written in notebooks. Likewise, after her students finished exercises in the handout, Carol frequently asked them to “go up [to the board] and write.” She noted, “This is really important because when they actually get up and physically write it out, it’s like they’re imprinting that into their mind, and to me, they better understand it.” Charlotte regularly involved students’ verbal participation, in addition to listening, because “I really try to get them to say the answer. [If] it’s just me telling them, I think they remember less, if they’re not the ones giving the answers.”

The increased exposure through repetition further created a multitude of opportunities for students to tune in to the learning target. Relating to the multi-level nature of her class, Jessica observed that “people pick up different things” in each lesson. In Carol’s class, serendipitous learning “happens a lot.” She shared:

> I would offer different examples and come up with different vocabulary. Then all of a sudden, without even realizing it, the students would pick up a new word. Like here, she said "visit." That seemed to be new to her, or maybe she'd heard it, but she wanted to confirm it and learn about it.

Louise shared that "I do a lot of paraphrasing, two or three things that are the same thing, with the hope that they get at least one of them." Although it might take a long time for particular students to tune in and understand, she believed that when they did get it, they would "have it forever." John expressed a similar practice and rationale:

> I've probably done this very same lesson 6 or 8 times. Maybe this time it's going to stick…But it will come up again, and again, and again. Maybe I will do it well today, or maybe we don't get anywhere with it today, but it'll come back…I never get really tired of it, and they continue to learn from it.

To illustrate the effectiveness of his "discipline in doing the same thing until they get it," John referred to his "verb list—I do that every morning, over and over and over and over. And just the other morning, Asuzana got one that she had never gotten before. She's done it since last August, and it finally clicked." Charlotte shared a similar incident where a student "finally said it herself, and that means she just got it in that moment, even though I had said it twice before."

Another aspect of several teachers' instruction that benefited from their practice of repetition concerned the use of normal speech pace in the classroom. For example, speaking "at a regular pace," Charlotte made an explicit connection when she shared:

> I want them to get that they're going to have to struggle…That's why I use a lot of repetition in all of my classes…It doesn't really matter how well they understand the first time because it's guaranteed to see it again and again and again.

She also consciously made sure that "I enunciate clearly [so that] they understand…Eventually, their listening and speaking is top of the notch because I'm speaking and they're understanding." Louise expressed that "I refuse to slow down too much, and I won't speak very slowly…I know it's challenging—the pace is pretty fast.

But because it's quick," like Charlotte, she intentionally compensated for the speed through paraphrasing, repetition, and clear pronunciation. Anna, who practiced reminding students of previous lessons, described how she eased students into normal speech: "I usually start slowly in the beginning of the term and see if I can speed up. If I speed up and they still get it, I just keep on."

Along with consistent repetition, as well as the previously described promotion of a positive affective posture by means of managing student responses, the teacher participants managed the learning process by dealing with challenges typical among adult language learners, such as the presence of multiple ability levels within a group and the slowly accumulated retention of the material. As discussed below, the teacher participants managed student learning also by charting the appropriate course leading to goal achievement and by striving for prompt instruction to eliminate confusion.

Goal Setting on Students' Behalf

Student-centered and learning-focused, the teacher participants delineated the learning objectives for their students—a process that often began with administratively defined goals. In general, in the more academically oriented programs, administrators included preparation for postsecondary education as part of the program's mission, whereas in the free neighborhood-based program setting, the overarching objective was often associated with concepts such as improving citizenship, parental responsibilities, and functionality in the society through the learning of English. Judy provided a rather typical characterization of the neighborhood-based setting:

> The goal of the program is to advance students far enough that they can be independent contributors to the community, in their work force, in the English speaking world…The students [want to] advance in their jobs, make more money, and they know to do that, it's very helpful to learn English.

Indeed, as the teacher participants in the free programs observed, their students' aspirations often centered on a desire to enhance financial prosperity and stability. However, "the students all have their own individual goals," as John noted, who also taught in the Adult Education Program:

> They want to learn English so they can speak to their children who are in high school and who are sassing. Or like [one student], who wants to be able to make educated comments when she sees her daughter dancing as a ballerina; she wants to be sophisticated in English. [Another] wants to be able to become a nurse someday.

Multiple student aspirations were also present in the academically focused programs. For example, Charlotte described the population served by her program as including

> students going into graduate school…[and] prospective undergraduate students, wives of visiting scholars who want to learn English too so they can survive, people who are just here to party, students [wanting to use] their English back home in their businesses or to get a promotion in their company.

Similarly, Louise shared that, in her program, "not everybody takes classes because they want to take academic courses [in a university or college]…There are some students who are there because they want to work on conversational skills," or, as her colleague Lori characterized, "you've got students in your classroom that signed up just to better their English…The goals of the students are so different."

The diversity in objectives presented the teachers with a challenging situation similar to the various student abilities in a classroom. Charlotte observed, "People always talk about multi-level being maddening, but multi-purpose is just as maddening." In order to make the situation practically manageable, teachers needed to narrow down the scope and identify what should be achieved ultimately. For example, Louise expressed that "I think we have to teach as if students all had the same goal," and for her, it was aligned with the program's focus on academic proficiency because "they are choosing to be in a

program that is primarily an academic program." Attempting to manage and encompass the diverse learning objectives, Jessica shared a philosophical observation that "everybody really has the same goals…[which are] the very basic needs that they have to function in society," whether their specific goal was "[to get] a better job…to order food in a restaurant…to return a sweater that they don't like to the store…[or] to call the doctor when they are sick."

The teacher-defined objectives, whether broad or precise, often involved holding high expectations for the students. For example, whereas the Community Education Program primarily emphasized equipping students with sufficient language skills for daily life, Jessica stressed that, while helping her students to meet "the very basic needs," "I want them to be able to speak properly," even if it was as minute a function as telling grocery prices. Suzanne consciously encouraged her students in the Community Education Program to embrace the goal of attending college, although learners in neighborhood-based programs are generally less academically oriented:

> Every opportunity I can throw in there, I indicate to them that they can get into college if they want to and that I'm expecting them to go to college. This is not just a class to fool around in; I am getting them ready to go to college…The whole idea is to get them from this level to the next level or even better— several levels. What I would like to do with this group is when they finish here and they want to go to college or they want to go someplace else, they can.

Emphasizing reading, "even in my beginning (level) classes," she further shared:

> I was surprised that when I tried to share those stories and books with other teachers, they're not as excited…In my opinion, somebody who won a Nobel prize in literature, I want my students to read the stories, as opposed to stories that are in the ESL textbooks that are just written for ESL students…Why shouldn't the students learn the beauty of it?...Whether they can read it or not, they're going to listen to me read it.

Judy's consideration and adoption of textbooks typically used in more academically oriented programs illustrated similarly high expectations for her students in the Adult

Education Program. Trying to alleviate anxiety, Judy told her community ESL students, "Don't let that fool you. Academic writing is just good writing, even though [the book is] aimed at [college writing]." Her advice for teachers new to the field included, "Don't use children's books; give them adult books with adult topics. Don't make it too easy; make them stretch. My students would say, 'This is hard,' and I'd say, 'Yes, it is.'" Judy also noted that she would use the more advanced textbook with beginning level students in a community-based program, even though those students were definitely not thinking about college; "it would give them a broader horizon."

In the Community College ESL Department, Louise noted:

> At the beginning level, they can still have longer sustained reading, even if it's simple structures and simple vocabulary. But they are used to having this much, and it's all broken up; I don't think that's good…And what we have at the high beginning level are really short passages, but there is no reason they can't be reading 30 pages of stories.

Her high expectations aligned with her focus on academics. When students "pass the class [and] we send them off to regular academic classrooms [in college]," their experience with short, unsophisticated reading would not equip them with the necessary skills. Louise's high expectation of students was evident also in her style of demanding a "higher cognitive load." For instance, in a review in the vocabulary class, "instead of giving them the words, I wanted to check what they recalled. Recalls, as opposed to recognition, [lead to] better understanding of the meaning of the words—that's my theory." Charlotte explicitly expressed her expectations for her students: "You're not just here, sitting and killing time. You're really here because you want to do something with your talent, your skill, or your life," and she defined for the students, "here is what we're going to focus on."

The teacher participants took charge, setting goals and charting the path, because they considered themselves as knowing better what the students needed. Charlotte provided an example where students aspired to attain an advanced degree but "really have no idea what graduate school is going to entail. So what they think their goal is and what their actual next goal should be are sometimes very different." For instance, the students might have good oral proficiency, "but they're not able to write a five-paragraph essay." She further illustrated the weight teachers should carry in goal setting through her critique of colleagues who corrected every mistake in writing "because the students want it that way. That's like kids saying they want only candy for dinner; you have to step in and say…'Let's take it step by step,' explaining the process to the students, instead of just giving in."

Stepping in, Victor would communicate to the students about ineffective efforts on their part, "focusing on something that's probably not worth their while right now." He observed that students normally "[do not have] a clear concept of what it takes, or what their goal should be." So he emphasized helping them "see the goal" and the steps involved:

> Sometimes I feel they just expect everything to fall into place, to happen for them because they're still in ESL. And if they can realize, "I need to work, and I can do it, but I have to do ABCDE," then they're much more successful, and they accomplish it quickly.

Jessica explained, "When I ask the students what they want to learn, they would say, 'I want to learn everything.'" As the teacher, she helped the students find a direction; "I would like to get the students to think about what their goals are, and I'd like to help them realize their goals." Regarding her better judgment as a teacher, Anna elaborated:

> I have certain knowledge of what the priority would be, and I go by that. If the students' input is "No, we want to do this," then I'm willing to go there, as long as I'm convinced that they know what is in between here and there because they

> don't necessarily know the basics…so I have to fill in what's in between before I go with what they want….I have more experience [than the students] because I do know the material and I do know what is needed more than they do. They may only be seeing one side of the issue…But I wouldn't dismiss what they say…I might follow up on it, or I might tell them why it's not necessary at this point.

Facilitation and direction revisited. The discussion regarding teachers' goal-setting on behalf of the students further illuminates the characterization of the instructor as "director." Although the majority of the teacher participants emphasized establishing themselves as their adult students' equal, in the realm of defining targets and steps to attain such targets, the teachers took on a directive stance and the seeming dichotomy between the roles of facilitator and director became less clear. Although she characterized herself primarily "as a facilitator" of student learning, Lori revealed a hint of obscurity as she elaborated, contrasting direction and facilitation:

> I don't see "student-centered" in the word, teacher. I see it more in the word, facilitator…"Teacher" just seems like the person who knows the information and who is going to test you and give you information. But the facilitator is more of, "Here's the information I want you to learn. This is how I think you're going to learn it. Therefore, I am going to create these activities." Does that mean "teacher?"

Lori's directive facilitation appeared to be comparable with the more didactic role explicitly assumed by teachers such as Louise.

The fusion of the two stances could be attributed partially to the student population—adult learners, who, according to Taylor, Marienau, and Fiddler (2000), could be "paradoxical" such as in terms of a desire of both teacher-provided direction and self-direction (p.3). As Lori further noted:

> It's not high school; it's college…I don't do attendance. If you don't want to come, you don't have to, but you have to do your homework, you have to turn it in, you have to take the test, and you have to pass…I mean, I'm teaching adults. I'm not going to sit there and take their names. If they don't want to come, don't come. You're going to fail the class, but that's your decision,

Suzanne stated that, for her students in the neighborhood-based setting:

> I hope to motivate them to do extra work, [which] doesn't have to be given by me, and to listen to me when I say, "This is how you're going to learn a language."...They have to listen to me giving them advice about how I learned another language through total immersion on my own…I expect them to do the homework, and I expect them to take it seriously, but we're are not going to have tests, unless I could see that they'd benefit from the tests…They are adults, and they might benefit more from being treated as though they were able to direct themselves, rather than me directing them. All they have to do is listen to me, take their tests, and do their homework.

Because the students were adults, the teachers expected a certain amount of self-direction that complemented teacher-provided directions. Jessica noted, "I can give them some English and help them with it, but it's really up to them to learn it. I'm more like a coach."

Yet, the fact that the adult students made the decision to attend class authorized the teacher to take charge on their behalf, as Charlotte's observation encapsulated:

> It's the given setup that makes it much easier for the teacher-student relationship…There is a certain pre-established understanding: you're giving me the go-ahead to share my vision and my method of how to learn these things. But it doesn't mean that I see myself as superior to the students at all.

She further acknowledged that "[the given setup] doesn't give it an automatic go ahead that this is going to work because you have to put in a lot to make that happen," for instance, by fostering community and rapport among all members in the classroom.

Regardless of where the teacher participants explicitly placed themselves on the continuum of facilitation and direction, they shared a similar perception regarding their expertise in determining what the students should attempt and how. This perceived expertise in turn led the teachers to exercise instructional practices that emphasized focus and awareness in order to advance the students towards the goal line, as I discuss next.

Teaching with focus and awareness. Not only did the teachers themselves remain focused and aware in the classrooms, but they also promoted focus and awareness in the students during the learning process. By diminishing effects from debilitative emotions and dissonance as well as by encouraging persistence, security, and trust, the teachers achieved a strong focus on the learning tasks. For Victor, "it gives me more room and time to focus on the actual activity" as he would not need to deal with any "surprises" such as friction among students. Nevertheless, focus and awareness still constituted a vital principle primarily because of the amount of time normally required before learning results could be ascertained and because of the limited time adult students could and would realistically devote to learning.

Confident in her diagnosis of students needs, Anna described her focused approach: "If you have to choose, you'd choose the useful over the unnecessary." Throughout data collection, she frequently reiterated her principle of functionality and practicality. For example, regarding the present perfect tense, Anna observed, "The spoken language has moved beyond the grammatical rules":

> If you speak to Americans on the street, nobody ever uses it. They use it wrong and say, "He's ate." They don't say, "He's eaten." Everyday conversational American English has dropped these grammatical rules, so why are we still teaching this grammatical thing that's not necessary? …I'd rather teach them more past tense verbs, to expand in scope, not necessarily in depth.[16]

Her critique below about pronunciation also simultaneously demonstrated a prioritized instructional focus:

> American teachers try to insist that [students] say things like "water" or "commuter" (with an alveolar flap, [ɾ], for the *t*), and they don't make the sound correctly; they say "warer" [wɑɹ], not "water" [wɑɾɹ]. People try to teach them to

[16] As will be discussed on p.186, Anna, who had experience working with students in a variety of program settings, also shared that there were occasions when she would address the grammatically correct use of the present perfect.

> pronounce like an American, but [instead] you should teach them to understand because they will never be able to pronounce like an American; they are adults learning English. They can say "water" [wɑtɹ] (with a voiceless alveolar plosive), because that way people can understand. It's very difficult, and nobody can make it except for Americans. Let's face it…It's ridiculous; you're creating another barrier for people to understand them…I am not trying to do anything where there's no use for it to be there…Maybe they will never lose their accent, but as long as they can be understood and understand others, that's what matters.

Although the other participants might not be as articulate as Anna, prioritization and selective teaching based on teacher-perceived student needs were common practices among many. For example, also focusing on the useful and necessary, Judy expressed that "I really don't concentrate too much on pronunciation because even in this country, there are so many regional dialects." Instead, for her beginning level students, she wanted to work more on writing skills as "so many of them have not had much experience writing, even in their native language. Or they write from a completely different alphabet, and writing in English is totally new." Victor observed that for the students to learn English in an environment where it is spoken, "they have to speak it, they have to hear it, and they get plenty of reading. I mean they got reading in their countries, and for them to pay all the money for the class," extensive reading of passages did not appear to him to be a necessary component for the students, particularly in his grammar and speaking classes. Philosophically summarizing her students' diverse goals, Jessica provided teacherly guidance and explicitly associated her teaching with "what the students need…You have to be sensitive to the students' needs and to the context of why and what they're trying to learn, what's their level of education." With a strong focus on functions for her students in the Community Education Program, Jessica explained:

> Some of them have real literacy issues. A lot of them didn't get to go to school when they were young, so they didn't learn to read and write in Spanish. They actually speak pretty well, but they need help with writing. So [writing on the board] is a way to help them with their reading and writing.

As alluded to in several teachers' observations thus far, one aspect of which teachers were aware in their management of learning and decision-making process was concern for the students' proficiency levels. Charlotte expressed that:

> I don't teach my [Level 2] the way I teach my [Level 6] (higher level), although there are major similarities in my style: I treat them as adults, I talk to them, we joke, and if they miss it in Level 2, they miss it. But in Level 6, I expect them to get it, and I expect a different response, so maybe I will change my questions…maybe the type of my language might go up and down.

The amount of repetition in Charlotte's classes also differed by level—a practice similarly espoused by Louise, who shared, "I do a lot of repeating, and I do less repeating as the level goes higher, but I still even do it there."

In addition to repetitive instruction, teachers also factored in levels in their selective teaching, with the awareness of potential student confusion. Based on her judgment of student readiness, Louise expressed that for structures more complicated than the current topic,

> generally, if someone asks, I'll explain it. I won't go into a whole lot of detail. I will give it a 30-second response and tell them this would be something that will be covered [at another level]…or I would say you [could] talk to me in my office. But I wouldn't want to actually teach it.

Aware of the structural complexity in question formation, Judy only explained to her beginning level class that

> "who" is for people, "what" is for things or ideas, "where" is for places, and "when" is time. But I didn't go into detail…[Using "do" and "does" in questions] is too complicated for them at this level. We haven't got there…I sort of blew it off [at this point of instruction].

Wanting her students at Level 2 firstly "to know very basic structures, the beginning, the core," Charlotte steered away from "going into every single exception because that's Level 3 and 4…I try to give them glimpses of exceptions, and I try not to go overboard because my main goal is to focus on the basic structure." Regarding advanced auxiliary

construction such as “would rather,” Anna stated, “This is something I wouldn’t go into. It’s just too complex. But it’s something that they should hear, so if they understand the whole gist of the sentence, it’s good.” In contrast, because “there are always gaps when [students] are advanced,” Anna directed her attention to, for example, strengthening the students’ knowledge about question formation. “They’re the advanced class and they still weren’t able to make questions correctly. If they were a lower level, I wouldn’t go as far or take as long.”

Evidently, avoiding explaining above-level topics in great detail also maintained and reinforced a clear focus in the instruction. However, for teachers who provided quick acknowledgement of more advanced topics, some did so with a simultaneous mindfulness of the multi-level composition of the class described earlier. For instance, when the phrasal verb “belong to” was included under the category of possession in the textbook, Charlotte pointed out the particle *to* in passing

> because of the 14 students, those who are ready are going to write that down. So it’s my way of also giving a little bit more advanced instruction to the ones that are a little further along, and that way, they don’t get bored. I try to put little goodies like that into [the lesson]. I know not everyone is going to get it. If everyone gets that this is simple present, that’s my goal for the day.

As the only participant with a designated mixed level class, John also tried to take care of more advanced students in a similar way. During one of my classroom visits, when a student asked why “He walks for exercise” could not be transformed into the passive voice, John contrasted it with “He walks his dog” and explained that some verbs “can be both transitive and intransitive.”

Other than in terms of proficiency, in light of learner levels defined in terms of grasp of the material, teachers focused the instruction on small doses at a time. For example, Carol shared that, with her work with beginners, “I notice when I state a

sentence without breaking it up, they would get stuck and lost in there. So I would just stop and break it down." Charlotte extended her sensitivity to both the students' levels of proficiency and understanding even to her provision of directions:

> With the higher levels, I just give them the directions sometimes and let them go. But with the lower levels, I try to break down the directions: OK first [do this], now circle, and then we go…I think some of them are overwhelmed by the language just in general, and then to have a direction that is like 3 or 4 steps…by the time you get to step 3, they've lost why they were doing it in the first place.

The small doses in Charlotte's and Carol's classes further served the purpose of increasing student awareness through salience. Charlotte's steps "also [point] out to them the grammar," whereas Carol's sentence elements "help them with pronunciation" because "if I have them repeat as a group, then a lot of them seem to lose their pronunciation, trying to state the whole sentence…I think the more emphasis they put on their sound, the better it is for them."

Small doses as preventive of student confusion were why Lori would decide against addressing certain topics arising during instruction, "because I can't get too detailed, or they would be overwhelmed. I can't do too much at once." As a result, at the beginning of the unit on adjective clauses, she engaged in "breaking it down into simple elements" and refrained from giving in-depth explanation: "maybe later on in the week I will do that, but right now I just wanted them to get the basics." Jessica described her teaching in consideration of both of the above definitions of learner levels:

> I probably have a tendency to start with the smaller pieces and work into the bigger pieces because my philosophy is, I don't want to give them too much information at one time; it overloads them and makes them confused…because these are beginners…[who] are more easily confused.

Anna began the lesson on question formation with her synthesis of "questions as three different categories," which she paraphrased during an interview:

> When you have a modal, no matter what it is, whether it's "may," "can," or "might," you will put that in the beginning to make a question. When you have a regular verb, you will put "do" or "did" or "does." And then you have the verb "to be."

Focusing on presenting a small amount of information, she noted, "As of the meaning of [categories], it doesn't concern me at this point because I'm trying to get the structure down." Louise also kept the initial teaching delineated and controlled, as "black and white" as possible, because particularly "in the beginning and intermediate levels…a lot of them don't have any ideas of the structures…I want the whole concept to really sink in first. I want that really imprinted on them because otherwise later, it all falls apart." Describing herself as generally teaching "in a very formulated way, like 'if this, then that,'" Louise tried to "make it really cut and dry and break it down," because with one focus at a time, "once they have a structure down, then they can move around." She applied the same "formula" in her effort to develop adequately students' writing skills within the constraints of a packed curriculum. She showed the students that "if you have this concept of organization and content down first, your paper topic and your grammar will become more sophisticated. We basically have this same approach…[for] different kinds of papers."

A foundation for application and production. Through controlling the amount of information to which they exposed the students, the teachers ensured that learning was manageable and that a solid foundation was established. For several teacher participants, structural knowledge of the English language was an essential element in the foundation they aimed to nurture in the students. For instance, John described himself as "very structurally oriented. Grammar is the key to learning." Referring to grammar as "the skeleton" and vocabulary as "meat," he shared:

> If you give them the skeleton, they'll put some meat on themselves. That's the way it's always been. [This student] is a good example of that because she had a real hard time with grammar, and now she's got her grammar pretty good, I'm seeing her vocabulary come up.

Louise, who taught in a program where she perceived the curriculum to be rather full, often had to "cut corners to catch up." But she also made sure that "none of the grammar gets cut out" because

> I see so many examples when [grammar instruction] didn't happen in another class, and then I have a student come up to my level, who is hopelessly lost and should not have been passed on…I want to make sure that they are ready.

Lori stressed that students "need to understand there's a different way to say what you want to say better…with the help of grammar." However, she told her students about grammar that "I don't expect you to memorize this. I'm hoping that it's going to show you that there's a structure out there called the passive voice, and it will always be there for you to refer to." Jessica noted, "To be able to use language, to communicate, and to understand, you have to know the grammar."

The cultivation of a grammatical foundation thus bore the purpose of enabling application and production, such as in writing and speaking. Synthesizing the diverse student goals into "production skills—speaking and writing" because "that's what counts when they're out there after an ESL class," Charlotte expressed that "[students] are not just learning for the sake of grammar" because

> I think that they have to understand the foundation of the structure, but the purpose is so that they can turn that into something that's fluent and spontaneous, communicative…But now their awareness is on being accurate, not just being fluent or being able to have organization [in writing].

As a result, although she noted that "grammar is always on my mind…permeating everything I do," after she presented a lesson, Charlotte focused on "[giving] them examples. Let's use it. Think of a sentence. Talk to your partner." John perceived his

form-focused management of learning as also supportive of writing "because they understand much more quickly, and they can see how sentences hang together." Lori would "try to tell them that they're learning this grammar because it's going to help them express themselves more clearly, not just in writing, but any sort of communication, oral or written." Louise observed that "you don't want to teach those structures without giving them the content or without giving them examples of how you use [them]. You can't teach one without the other." In addition, with her constant "recycling," "once I've really given a lesson, I just sort of touch back on it, so they can perceive how applicable it is…[by trying] to make the connections. That's always intentional."

The focus on application directed many teacher participants to the practice of integrating skills. For example, Victor shared that in his grammar class, "after they've done the rules,"

> I'm trying to get several activities per grammar point…[that] will naturally elicit the particular grammar structure. Like, for articles with proper nouns or geographical places, I had them present on parts of their country, and they had to write on parts of their country. The next time, they will have to tell their partners about that part of the country, and their partner has to write it.

He liked the integration of production skills "because you can see the actual progress in their writing and speaking over a semester." Louise described her teaching as "not compartmentalized" but with "a lot of overlap." For instance, for her reading and vocabulary class, she observed:

> I do a lot of reading cloze [exercises]. It's a good comprehension, and it teaches the grammar as well. You might have a word [where] the meaning might work, but the grammar isn't good. And vice versa, the grammar might be great, but it has nothing to do with what's happening with the rest of the story.

Perceiving ESL as "inherently an integrated field," Charlotte shared, "Even though we have separate classes—listening/speaking, reading, writing, and grammar—grammar is supposed to be where they can practice all of those skills." For example, in her grammar

class,

> at the beginning of the semester, I spent the first 30 minutes of class…[and told them,] "Let's say it, let's write it, let's spell it, let's teach it to a friend, let's use it in a sentence in another class." I want them to really play with the language in as many different ways as possible.

The emphasis on application and production further signified the ultimate goal of student independence. Representing the view commonly shared among the teacher participants, Jessica described her work as ensuring that the students "have a foundation…They come to me for a little while, and then I put them back into the world, and then they have to keep learning…They have to have perseverance." Judy shared, "What I would really like my students to do is to develop ways to continue learning English on their own and become independent English learners." So one practice she engaged in was to have students "think about why something is…Even though they [may not] know why, at least they should be able to go back to their paper and find out." Also during an exercise,

> if it's something that I really think they should know, that we've gone over before, I will wait longer and put more pressure on them to come up with an answer, because if I give the answers too soon, then they depend on that and don't depend on their own.

To develop self-reliant learners, Carol focused on her students' ability to use dictionaries by spending time on phonetic symbols:

> I realize that memorizing and understanding the symbols was going to be a challenge. But I wanted them to at least be able to signify differences in symbols to help them with the pronunciation.

The ability to use available resources independently was also why those teachers who considered grammar foundational equipped students with just the essential terminology, as John acutely observed, "You don't want to complicate things for the students." For Charlotte, terminology helped make sure that "they don't get lost with the

textbook… Maybe it helps them remember the rules and category, but so far as actually being communicative and producing English, I don't think they really care." Lori considered grammar instruction as "less than linguistics" and shared a similar view regarding the terminology:

> I think that it makes it easier for some students to know what they are studying… It might help them in their writing, when they're editing their own essays, and then maybe hopefully, they would go get their grammar book from my class, and look it up again…I'm not talking about when they're just out there communicating, [but] academic writing.

Her goal was not for students to leave her class with the terminology but with the ability to use the structure the terminology represents. Louise noted:

> You don't teach them grammarese, so they don't get stuck in the jargon. You want to teach them grammarese only to the extent that when they go home and work independently with the textbook they're using, they understand the terminology. You don't want to add to it…I don't test them on it.

In general, the teachers paraphrased the terms, for example, Louise's use of "the ing form" instead of "present participles," Lori's identification of "the main sentence" instead of "the independent clause," and Charlotte's reference to modals as special verbs.

Overall, what could be derived from the teachers' focus on cultivating a learning foundation and student independence was another crossing point between their management of learning and management of student responses. Judy, whose effort to foster student independence by managing learning tasks that continued to evolve, tentatively concluded that the first step was

> maybe just to have a successful experience in the class; then they can use things we do outside as well…to just continue on their own independently. And I think that can only come out of positive experience using English, which I hope I'm creating.

While Jessica embraced the view that "it's [the students'] responsibility…to want to learn and practice," she also emphasized her contribution to their continual learning because

"I'd like to help them have better lives." Adding to her previously described awareness of student responses, she summarized her two-pronged approach: "I'm trying to teach them how to learn…and trying to inspire confidence in my students to keep trying to learn." By calling on particular students, Carol aimed to "get them to participate [and] pronounce by themselves, and in an effect of that, to help them increase their confidence level…Part of [their] challenge was also believing that they could actually pronounce it. So there was a confidence factor." For Louise, the task of developing self-sufficient learners often also centered around learning strategies that alleviated hurdles triggered by anxiety from not knowing. For instance, she used "vocabulary in context" to show the students "they don't need to know every single word [if they] see connections," or "contextual clues." She described her practice:

> I am really trying to get them to use the other words in the sentence to help them figure out what that word means, because they get blinders on, and they keep looking at the one word they don't know and only that one word they don't know, instead of looking outside where they're going to find their answers.

Also, "they should be able to use those skills when they see a brand new reading, [by] transferring."

In Charlotte's teaching, learning strategies served as one place where she took care of student learning and responses. Observing that "strategies help create the confidence…[in] being vulnerable, and being OK with being vulnerable," Charlotte also noted that "learning strategies are what I'm finding as the number one deficiency in the students. That's why I love getting them at [a lower level]…giving them the strategies and the goals to help them through the rest of their time." For example, to encourage the habit of risk taking, Charlotte suggested the strategy that

> even if you know the answer, ask [the store clerk] what time they close. It's not a matter of meaningful communication really; it's a matter of practicing and feeling OK…teaching them to learn how to learn, to go past being in the

> classroom. [For example,] one day we're not going to be here to check your papers, so here's how you do it, with the limited English that they have.

To ensure success throughout the semester, Charlotte commented, "On the first day of class, the first thing I tell them is that taking notes is part of how to do well in this class." She advised the students:

> If I put it on the board or if I say it twice, it's important; you need to write it down. If you think you're going to remember it after an hour and a half, you're kidding yourself. Even if you're the greatest genius in the world, you are going to forget about what you've seen here today.

Lori incorporated into her management of learning a similar focus on "academic preparation, [as] these students want to go to college…The culture here [is that] teachers are going to expect them to ask if they don't understand; you can't be shy." As a result, "I'm trying to promote, if you don't get it, raise your hand and ask. So many people are just scared to ask a question in English." She also used the board to stress "how to study." She told the students, "You need to write down everything in your notebook that I write on the board," which included "things that I want them to review at night."

Augmenting learning within and beyond the classroom. Facing up to the challenge of helping their students continue to achieve, ultimately independently, the teacher participants not only repeated instruction to compensate for the slow learning pace but also consciously emphasized the importance of learning extensions outside of the classroom because, as John commented, "If somebody is really going to learn English, 80% of it is going to happen outside of the classroom" where the students spent most of their time. Raising their awareness, Lori told her students, "You have to do a lot of work on your own; it's not going to be all in class." To ensure an understanding of the hard work required:

> I even ask my students, "Do you think that you're going to learn English [by spending] three and a half hours a week [in class]?" They know what I am getting at: A lot of it is you; I can't do it all for you in class…I don't think that I'm the one that's going to make them speak English magically.

However, she also strived to be part of the students' out-of-class effort; "I stress that I have office hours. I stress that I have email." For Louise, in addition to her availability to assist students in her office, she encouraged the practice that when "they see something, they write it down and bring it to the class, so I could explain it."

In the neighborhood-based setting, where the students generally bore heavier financial responsibilities and experienced more difficulty in "having time to study," as Jessica observed, many teacher participants in this program endeavored to make their students aware of the possibility of turning their daily activities into learning extensions. Jessica sternly advised the students that "you can come to class four hours a week, but that's not going to teach you English. You have to work on your own." For her, the learning extension to "practice English every day…doesn't have to be formal. It can be informal like listening to the radio, watching TV, reading newspapers, or whatever. I try to encourage everyone to do that." For Suzanne, in addition to telling her students to "watch English TV every day, not just the news, but a show where people are conversing," learning extension could also be as simple as "[asking] my students to call me if they're not going to come. It's good practice for them, leaving a message on a machine."

Likewise, Judy encouraged students to take advantage of available resources. For example, "I tell them to practice with their children if they have children." And like Suzanne, Judy also made use of her cell phone. As discussed under the classroom-community accountability system, Judy would give out her phone number and ask students to call when they could not attend class. "That's also reinforcing for them to talk in English on the phone because I won't talk in Spanish to them…[unless] it's

something very important for them to understand." The resources Anna suggested to her students to extend their learning outside of class included a similar list:

> I try to tell them, make sure you watch TV in English. Instead of watching Spanish shows, watch an English show. Listen to the radio in English. Or go up and talk to your neighbors, though most of them have neighbors who are Spanish speakers, but you know, trying to encourage them to do those things.

Implicit in their emphasis of learning extensions was the teachers' awareness of one common misconception held by the students that they could be "overnight" achievers. With her sense of humor, Anna shared:

> They think it can be done in a day and a night…They would come in, you would give them this pill, they would swallow it, and they would know English. They come passively—go ahead and teach me. I don't think they are aware that they really have to work hard…how much work it takes on their part.

Judy described how many students thought "they can come to class for four months and they'd know English. They just really underestimate the time it takes and the amount of effort they have to put into it, that they have to also work outside of class." Likewise, John observed:

> Students really do believe that if they master what they're doing in the classroom, that's all they need. And of course, I can't teach them everything they need, [but] I'm just giving you the beginning of it, and you take it from here. They don't understand that at all…and most of them have no concept that they have got to apply some effort out there.

Jessica, who inspired perseverance in those students who thought that "they will never get better," recognized another group of students who supposed that "it's really easy to learn English, and they can do it very quickly…[thinking] I will go to class, and I will learn it like that. But you have to persevere and work outside of class." Jessica concluded that "perseverance is the most important thing" and that it was the common denominator for both student groups with "total opposite" assumptions.

To enhance students' awareness of the effort required as well as to ensure that students would not lose sight of the task of learning, some teacher participants acted in a learning-focused counseling capacity to offer advice and, in some instances, direct reprimands to set the students on the right path. When a student remained non-participatory, John "took her out of class one day and chewed her out…I said, 'You want to learn English, but you don't want to do anything.' And she admitted that's really what it was." Aware that her program did not serve only "serious students," Charlotte met with those who "are not taking the time…[telling] them they have to meet me half way. I can't wave my magic wand and all of a sudden, they have fluent English." After she bluntly pointed out the students' lack of effort and what they needed to work on, often they would have "a little bit of turn-around." She elaborated:

> We're talking about relationships to the students, and part of it is like counseling, and saying…it has nothing to do with your ability to learn. It has everything to do with the environment in which you're learning. And it comes as a shock to them, but when they get it, it's like "oh yeah, wake up."

Teaching in the same program, Victor had also encountered students who enrolled just to "have fun in the U.S…I already had to talk to [one student] because he's complaining about how much work it is and how serious it is."

In addition to individual consultation, teachers could make students aware of the necessity to be devoted to learning in a classroom setting. While in class, Louise would "point out…'If you don't do the work, how are you going to be able to participate?'" She was mindful not to be "too pointed or directed to [particular students]," unless she dealt with them privately. Suzanne purposefully used the classroom interaction to make a student who over-estimated his true ability aware that he had to apply more effort. Letting the more advanced classmates make corrections, Suzanne shared:

> He thought he knew it, but he didn't. It was going to be a little bit hard for him to swallow the fact that he didn't, and he was going to have to work a little bit harder because they started correcting him right away…He was not challenging himself…and I knew that he could do better than that.

Similarly, on a case-by-case basis, with students who falsely perceived that "their language is better" and disruptively interrupted the instruction, Lori would "show them that they're not as good [as they think]…to the class and almost embarrass them. You have to let them know that they're equal to everybody else."

Evidently, as the teachers maximized learning, there existed another intersection between the management of student responses and the management of learning, where the former took on a slightly impeding role and the teachers had to strike a balance. Lori shared another example of the necessity in going against her endeavor to promote learning-conducive affective responses in the students. "I wanted to let them know that it's OK to be comfortable, but you'd better be paying attention, too." She noted how one time she "got a little irritated" because many students did not study for a scheduled test: "being a student for so long, I know how to study, and they weren't studying…so I gave a little speech" even though she confessed, "It makes me more comfortable when I'm nice. I get uncomfortable when I'm mean." Charlotte decided to ask students to pick a different seat because "they've gotten too safe in their seats and they started clicking. You want the students to bind, but you don't want it to become a click that's distracting…It's just so that they [do] not zone out in the same seat," for example, by engaging in "private talking." When inattentiveness did happen among students, she noted that "I use them in an example…It's my way of getting their attention. Then they look up because they hear their names." Judy observed the need to direct the students "to come back to the topic." She shared:

> They get into a side conversation, especially on Mondays, because they do develop friendships, and they want to see what's been going on. And so then I

> need to remind them. Or sometimes I just look, and then the other students will "Shhh."

With the informal study buddy formation, Jessica recognized that "[the students] need to have a question answered, so they'd turn to their easiest resource—their neighbor." However, she differentiated side conversations and described how she could momentarily modify her classroom community membership:

> If they are asking each other questions and getting help from each other, it's fine. But in this case, I was trying to make a point, so I needed them to be quiet. I can be the teacher if I want to. You're the students; you have to be quiet…But I don't like to treat my students like children.

Suzanne described how an unofficial study buddy in her classroom could be disruptive through his explanation in Spanish during instruction:

> From the very beginning, it was his confidence and enthusiasm that actually got the class off to a very good start. [But] I'm going to have to redirect him in some way…because he was talking so much, the night before, and I was trying to talk about something…But I also rely on him…because they feel comfortable and he can start this conversation that I want them to do.

Undertaking the balancing act of ensuring that students were "on task," the teachers helped students connect to the learning target by making it meaningful and relevant. Judy stated, "If I can relate it to something that I know they know, then that gives them a little boost up…Otherwise why would you remember anything?" She further shared, after recalling during an interview the concept of "input plus one" from her K-12 certification work, "That's what I keep trying and where I go back for the hints I guess. If I am working on the plus one, and they're struggling, I go back." As Carol offered explanation "that they can relate to, I try to make it personal for them, something that has to do with their work or their personal life and family and children." While giving "gag" as an example for the sound /g/, Carol was observed to define the word, using body language and triggering laughter and understanding: "When you brush your

teeth, all of the sudden, you take the toothbrush and you stick it; you gag. Or if you eat something, you swallow and you don't like it, gag." With the students' interest in sounds, Carol tapped into their prior knowledge, in their native languages of Vietnamese and Spanish, to help them connect with /ŋ/, "a weird sound in English" for words spelled with "-ng." She shared:

> I wanted to have them acknowledge the sound…I was thinking, I see this a lot in Vietnamese…And I just thought that it would help with the participation, to get [the students] involved and for them to think about other languages besides English; there are different sounds. It helped to also put them at ease, just to recognize that.

Trying to "make everything meaningful, to stick in their memory," Lori constantly gave students the opportunity "to create their own sentences…I'm trying to do anything possible to make them remember it. So later on in their life, they're going to remember something from the class." She also often used students in her examples:

> It just brings it back to something that they understand. If I do it abstractly, they would understand it, but I think it's better if they can relate to it in the class. That's why a lot of times I'd say, "the context of the classroom."

Many other teacher participants also adopted the practice of including familiar elements. Louise observed:

> I want to be sensitive to their interests, so I am going to choose reading topics hopefully they're interested in, or I'll try to find a textbook that has things…they are interested in. When I ask them to write, I will try to write prompts that will make them write about their own experiences.

She further combined her practice of providing examples and of intermittently sharing personal stories to ensure that "[they] are relevant to the thing I'm trying to teach." Drawing examples "from what I'm seeing in the class" to help students comprehend, as well as stay attentive, Charlotte also relied on students' interests to facilitate connection. "If I have a class that is obsessed with basketball, I'm going to use that. That's something

that will be personal, that they will click with, and it would increase their motivation." Referring to the multi-purpose nature of her program, Charlotte elaborated on her focus:

> Whatever their purpose is, make it stick, make it personal, make it related to them. Every time I give an example, time for them to write their examples or speak it, it's always "Make it from your life, make it interesting to you, make it part of your every day."…Whatever floats the boat.

With such a student-centered focus, she explained her use of textbooks that were often theme-based: "The textbooks have a certain theme for a chapter. [For example,] Chapter 5 is on 'Save the environment.' I don't ever take the theme from the textbook 100% because not everyone is interested in that."

Fostering the students' attention on and connection to the instruction, several teachers maximized learning by also assuming the role of guardian of time. By creating a routinized structure with "a set schedule" that specified areas of study (such as idioms or grammar) for a planned length of time on each class day, Victor observed, "It's really helpful because it's like a rhythm…[The students] know what to expect, so we don't waste time." John also established routines in his classroom to achieve effective and efficient use of instructional time. For instance, students always knew the first activity was the irregular verb list. His time consciousness was exhibited best through his banking away even very small amounts of time:

> I'm fairly quick about writing the answers up (on the board)…a lot of people will wait until all the heads will come up, but I will start writing when all the heads go down. That way, when they come up, the answer is there; it's a little quicker…I save probably 5 seconds each time.

One way Lori saved time for instruction concerned homework review. "It would take the whole hour if we review every single one…So what I've been doing lately is copying the answers…[have them] check it themselves or maybe check in groups, discuss areas that you miss, and then ask me."

Eloquent in her focus on topics she deemed useful and necessary, Anna used the instructional time well by, first, not "[wasting] class time on something that they can live without" because "we don't spend enough time with them." As the participant who most frequently made reference to the time factor, Anna focused on "[helping] the students to learn as much as possible, as much time as possible." Always organizing the class time prior to teaching, Anna noted, "I'm very time conscious because I have, for example, three topics that I definitely want to do." She guarded instructional time right from the beginning of a class before everyone arrived:

> Usually the first thing I give them in the day, I try to make it a maximum of 20 minutes because people are coming in. I already told them I want them to try to be on time, but if they're late, they'll be missing the first activity.

Her "chunk" planning was "very important…because if they don't get [any one activity], it's OK; you've got another one coming… [Otherwise,] you've wasted 60 minutes of time, instead of 10." She would also "always put more things in my plan than I know I can do…just in case things go fast…I think the most important thing in time management is to not have people sitting around." Louise, who considered the worst teachers as those wasting students' time, generally over-planned each day as an attempt to maximize the actual, available instructional time to get through the syllabus and materials. She noted:

> I know what I'm going to do when I walk into the class…I always come in, start the day, give [the students] some time to practice…and I try to communicate [the plan] to the students by writing it on the board, [giving] them a menu of what we will do for the day.

Consciously guarding instructional time, the teacher participants were simultaneously mindful of allowing time for students to practice and process the information. For example, to strengthen student understanding, Anna always did a whole-class example, "two if necessary…because they don't get the instructions without using them in an example. And it saves time." She further noted, "Adult classes have to

be student-centered. They're not going to learn by what you say; they learn by practice." Victor often had to "build a little story" to help students understand. To ensure the story example was not "out of context," he observed, "What I'm doing now is spending more time building the story because they seem to understand more quickly. So this story building is very useful for them, and everybody loves it; it's easy to listen to a story, I think." Louise described how "there's a lot of down time in the class" due to her emphasis on application and "always [giving] them lots of opportunities to practice in class." In addition to allowing for in-class practices, she recognized that, during instruction, "wait time is very important…I see such a sense of relief and accomplishment when they do get it. I think teachers tend to drive too quickly." For those vigilant guardians of instructional time, the previously discussed practices of regular repetition and of small doses also illustrated the allocation of adequate learning time that students required.

Teaching with a focus strengthened by student-centered achievement goals, many teacher participants maximized and reinforced learning by conducting timely interventions. The following section describes how the teachers appropriated time for temporary deviations from their original instructional plans.

Taking Pedagogical Detours

Whereas affectively focused digressions, as part of the management of student responses, ensured a learning-focused response from the students, the teacher participants engaged in pedagogical detours to address learning needs and zero in on problem areas evidenced by students' language use. For example, based on her honest evaluation of results from quizzes or assignments, Charlotte told the students, "You guys have done a really great job on passives, but you need some extra work on articles. Hey you're in luck:

we’re here, and I’m going to teach you that.” She expressed that “I’m not interested in the grade. I will give as many chances as you take to learn it, because eventually I want you to learn it.” Louise would also promptly admit that prior instruction had not led to student understanding and would deviate from “the continuity of what I’ve already done and what needs to be done still to meet the objectives.” She shared:

> I don’t have a problem telling the students as a whole group that the quiz grade was absolutely awful…You’re going to get another test, so let’s practice it first. Even though it’s effective to say, “You did great,” and I’m really trying to give a lot of praise, I will also be very honest with them and say, “You guys did an awful job on this. Let’s go back.” So I’m fine with that and I will throw the grade out, if everybody did badly, because I need to teach it again obviously.

The teachers were often afforded time for planning before taking pedagogical detours in response to student grades. More frequently, however, responsive detours in a classroom were relatively spontaneous: upon noticing points of confusion or interest during a planned lesson, most teacher participants paused and injected brief off-course instruction. Not dictated by her lesson plans but guided by student reactions, Jessica shared, “what I do [is] I hear the mistakes people are making, and then I will stop and explain it.” She often used Spanish “to make sure everyone understands [as] I consider it a bilingual class because they are all Spanish speakers [and] total beginners.” While Carol was different from Jessica in terms of using Spanish due to the presence of different languages, she was similar in spontaneous detours. She noted, “I may have to diverge from my plan because of the demands of the students, or we may end up spending more time on certain area that I didn’t expect to spend so much time on.” In Anna’s instruction, when she worked on pronunciation, it was to enhance clarity and comprehensibility. Such pronunciation components were “unplanned; when it comes up, I try to stress it.” Describing her teaching as “evolutionary,” Suzanne explained her decision in a detour:

> I've noticed that when we were working on present perfect, they were mixing up, like "in" and "to." They didn't quite have them down perfectly. So it's kind of folding this in there: we're making an omelet, and we're going to put prepositions in the present perfect [lesson].

Aligned with her view of preparing students for college after the community-based program, Suzanne's interjected lessons could also contain an academic focus. For example, during an observed class, she told the students in the midst of explaining contractions in the present perfect aspect:

> Generally when you're writing a story in school, like if you're going to college, they don't want you to use contractions, if you're writing a paper. In speaking, it's typical to use contractions; that's what you'll hear.

Louise also illustrated the fluid nature of her plan and instruction. Mindful of the caveat of keeping things "black and white," she sometimes introduced a new topic "that wasn't necessarily the main point of the lesson, based on what the students are asking" because

> Often if a student is able to ask a question, even if it's not the lesson per se, I will quickly give a response…[putting] aside what I was doing to answer it, if I think it's going to benefit the whole class.

Continuously observing students' needs, Charlotte shared, "I might stop and give 10 mini grammar points in a class, but it's for one minute each. And then we go on." When she asked if students understood a vocabulary item, Charlotte observed that, at times, "I know they don't want to admit that they don't know it, so I put it up on the board anyway. So it's a visual and a silent way of saying, 'Here's the word, in case you didn't know.'" Centered on promptly accommodating students' reactions, Lori expressed that, for instance, "I walk in there, knowing that I am doing adjective clauses, and then I take feedback and I let that move me on throughout the class," with a guiding principle that encompassed "some sort of acting, so they can relate it to their life. And group work, so

that's communication." And like Charlotte, Lori spontaneously wrote out instructional elements in pedagogical detours, such as "things that they definitely don't understand. If I sense any misunderstanding…as soon as I put it on the board, they know." Through the emphasis on variety in activities and modalities, Victor was able to "figure out where the conceptual misunderstanding is," briefly address it, and consciously "hold them accountable to [doing it right]" before moving on. As an observant teacher with experience working with Korean speakers, Victor also promptly paused the lesson to expel unvoiced confusion when he heard the subtle noise that was characteristic of uncertainly in the Korean culture; "that's their question, so I always try to address that."

Indeed, in addition to reactively addressing students' confusion or interests, many teacher participants actively, and spontaneously, offered explanations. For instance, Louise expressed that "I anticipate a lot of mistakes that they make, and I bring those up in the lesson because it gets their attention." For those familiar with the students' native languages, their ability to expect problem areas and initiate quick explanations often originated from a contrastive analysis on linguistic transfers. For example, in teaching a sentence about common colds, Suzanne clarified how "cold" did not mean "frio" in Spanish in this case. Judy spontaneously contrasted "soup" and "soap" in both English and Spanish. Louise shared, "I would use my understanding of Spanish structures to warn students, 'Be careful not to do this,'" such as in the usage of articles, adjectives, and word orders. She advised the students:

> This is how we do it in English. I know this is how you do it in Spanish; don't be tempted to use it. I make a joke and say, "Leave your Spanish brain in the car." …Don't try to use that rule in Spanish because it will fail you every single time when you try to do it in English.

Although he was not highly communicative in Korean, used his familiarity with its syntax allowed him to point out distinctively Korean constructions.

In addition to exploiting their knowledge about their students' languages, some teachers anticipated English-specific areas that might cause struggles. Working on verb tenses "like crazy," Louise observed, "They've picked up pretty well with present perfect, simple present, simple past, past progressive, [and] present progressive…but the minute you throw in past perfect and past together, they go back to present perfect, and it all falls apart." Within Anna's three categories of question formation mentioned previously, while "some people can do some of it, when you get to 'do' and 'does,'" students generally became profusely confused. Furthermore, throughout her teaching, vocabulary detours were based on her judgment of "if it's a word that could be confused with something else." In Judy's case, in addition to using her understanding of Spanish to discern semantic confusion, she shared how she also offered spontaneous explanation: "If I think it's a word they're not familiar with, like 'grip,' I tell them."

The practice of remaining focused described in the prior section of affective digressions held relatively true in the teacher participants' pedagogical detours. Cautious about the amount of affective digressions she undertook, Louise actually engaged in rather frequent instructionally centered deviations. However, she was well aware of the need to prevent herself from "[going] off…I might not be able to get back in time to get all the things done that I want to get done." Charlotte described an instance where she decided against explaining vocabulary use, "unless it has to do with any of the nonaction verbs…I don't want to get them off present progressive." Victor, another participant who demonstrated a similar awareness like Louise's regarding the extent of affectively focused digressions, was also mindful of the risk of obscuring the purpose of the activity. He shared that students could be "trying to learn two new things at the same time," for example, in a grammar lesson with quick detours in pronunciation or vocabulary. What he made sure always to address, however, were students' questions and to give them "a

chance" to clarify the questions, so "they feel like the question was answered" because "sometimes we can go on and on, and it's not really what [they are] asking…especially in this situation because their language isn't English. Or maybe any kind of communication system is going to be like that."

In the teachers' pedagogical detours focusing on student mistakes, the principle of awareness-raising was evident. For example, Lori aimed to make her students "think a little…to make them correct themselves and be more aware…It's the first step of monitoring themselves, correcting themselves in their grammar. Ultimately, that's what I want them to do." As an avowed socio-constructivist, she often had "the students figure out their own errors together" in groups, "and then maybe give a presentation on what they've learned from the errors circled [on their writing drafts]."

For Victor, he considered it important to make sure that students were affectively receptive to the attention on their mistakes: "a lot of teaching is [about making] the students feel comfortable enough so that you can say, 'You're not pronouncing the R right,' because that's a criticism." In class, for instance, Victor was observed to tell students, "This is the perfect place to make mistakes." He also raised the students' awareness through, for example, asking them to maintain "very specific logs" where "they can see progress. They see a chart of graphics, they see they're making less (grammar) mistakes, they see they're writing more words, and they see whether their paragraphs are better developed." He synthesized his emphasis on student awareness:

> They need to have the explanation of how things work and how they're doing it…Trying to get them to fix the mistakes is not going to work without them knowing that there's a mistake. They have to see the problem, see why it's a problem.

Like Victor, many teacher participants also embraced the sense of responsibility towards student mistakes. Anna described the proactive stance teachers should assume:

“You cannot be shy and passive because you have to aggressively get the message out. If you’re just suggesting things, they are not going to get it; you have to tell them.” John observed how many ESL teachers embraced the ineffective practice of having students just speak to acquire the language: “Whether it’s correct or not, I will never correct you, and you will never know you had a mistake.” In contrast, his practice augmented awareness: “If students make a mistake, let them know it.” Charlotte emphasized “letting them know what they do well, what they don’t do well…I think you really have to try different ways in getting them to notice.” She elaborated on her promotion of this “mindset of awareness of learning”:

> It’s a disservice to the students that everyone just gets “Everything is good.” I like positive reinforcements, but then you’ve got be real with the students; otherwise they’re not learning…[I let them know] there’s something they need to work on, and I always try to start with something positive.

Louise illustrated her teacherly responsibility through an example in writing:

> I think it’s lazy for teachers just to say “That sounds like fun” or “Good job”…You’re letting them know you understand what they’re trying to say…[but] I’m not judging their ideas as much as trying to teach them the structure…so I am really explicit with that.

Aiming to “reach their attention,” Louise often resorted to “holding them down…making them tally the kinds of mistakes they have made [based on my] feedback” because “I think they need to look to see why they’re making these mistakes. Where is their thinking going wrong? Where are the misconceptions?” Similarly, Jessica commented, “I’m not going to say ‘Check, that’s fine’ ...[because] part of the teacher’s job is to correct students, so they can reflect on it.” She was also always “very cautious about correcting students…[and] very aware of not embarrassing people.” She shared:

> I try not to say “No, that’s wrong”…I don’t want to over-correct people because I don’t want them to get discouraged. Even when I was correcting them, I was nodding my head, [saying] “Yes, yes.”

Furthermore, Jessica summarized well a practice common among many teacher participants in terms of differentiating communication, such as "when they have a long string of things that they just want to say to me," and accuracy:

> If we're doing a drill, and they get the form wrong, I will correct them, or if they give me a written assignment [on] a grammar point or certain forms of verbs…we're trying to learn. But if I have a dialog journal…I would maybe make one or two corrections. So it depends on the situation.

With a mindset to promote student learning, the teacher participants considered pedagogical detours as time-well-spent. Further, their effort in addressing students' mistakes echoed the attribute of conscientiousness and responsibility. The detours and attention to mistakes, along with the discussion of the management of learning thus far, portrayed much of the intricacy and complexity involved in the teaching of adult ESL, which was also the case in the previously explicated management of student responses. And like in the management of responses, as the teachers in the study managed student learning, they also demonstrated differences, which I discuss next.

Key Variation among Teacher Participants

As in the case of the teachers' management of student responses, variation also existed in their management of learning, such as in the scope of pedagogical detours. For example, in addition to prompt tips for grammar or pronunciation, John explained that his seemingly random notes about "current affairs" were in fact focused and a way to address the dual purpose of "90% ESL with occasional asides in EL/Civics." He described his amalgamated practice:

> Every day, I will say, "Did you read the newspaper today?" I'm trying to achieve that, but I'm also trying to keep them interested in what's going on in the world. That's part of this class, which is slightly different than an ESL class, because I do have that as a goal, too…Or, "Did you see that story on TV last night?" I'm just trying to make them think. In this class, the goal is eventually to make them

good citizens.

John also painstakingly reviewed movies and designed lessons that were rich in cultural information and real language use. In another ESL and EL/Civics class in the same program, although the administrative classification did not appear to direct Judy consciously to make current affairs a component of her lessons, she was observed to interject cultural information. In fact, all the teachers in the free community-based setting frequently diverged to impart aspects of the target culture, such as Jessica's references to "American culture, history."

In the academic focused setting, the teachers' instruction also comprised the target culture, most of which was embedded in the previously described affective digressions. For instance, by sharing about her life to put students at ease, Lori also "[provided an example of how you talk about your personal life because it's cultural, too. I'm teaching them American culture with an example." In a pedagogical sense, academic teachers mostly did not assign an equal weight to culture as did those teaching in the neighborhood programs. Charlotte described culture as "peripheral. It's the overall environment, but my goal is not to flood them with information about the American culture. I wouldn't see that as primary, but it's like this halo around everything that we do… [It] kind of permeates everything." She gave an example similar to Lori's:

> While I'm explaining something and they're getting ready to start the task, I might share a little anecdote about my day or about my family that, relates back to what we're doing. To me, that's how the culture sneaks in…They remember the story long after they remember what kind of activity they did in class. That's why, I don't make it so centered on this…but what they need to accomplish.

Louise also viewed the culture as peripheral and yet pervasive. She noted, "Generally I focus probably more on the content…I don't think we do much of target culture. Maybe it interests them; students talk about idioms and there is an interest in the target culture, but I do very little with that," except for "examples from my family or situations that are

relevant to the thing I'm trying to teach."

Victor differed slightly from the other academic teacher participants. Taking an ideological stance in viewing language as an entity that is "not neutral," Victor described himself as "very functional" and believed "students need to know cultural and social meanings of different things they can say," particularly for students in his speaking class to react in culturally appropriate way when participating in a conversation. In Victor's classes where the focus was not on oral skills, culture appeared to be more peripheral, although he also shared, "It's very rare, but I get inspired by students…who really want to learn about the culture and interaction, to connect to people through learning the language, [instead of] just learning adjective clauses or how they might appear on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language)."

Having experienced both program settings included in this study, Anna offered an informative observation regarding the generally dividing difference regarding the role of the target culture. While in the community setting, teachers' focus on helping students navigate the society and conduct business in English had to include a cultural component, she observed that with students taking classes in college, "the culture is up to them. It's something they would" get into on their own. Overall, the more academically oriented program setting conferred less flexibility. "[Stressing] different things in the classroom" based on the teaching context, Anna shared, "It's more fixed when you teach in college… I was given a curriculum" when working at a college in Maryland. Lori, also having taught in both program settings, noted the differing extents of organizational influences. In a neighborhood-based "adult basic education class, I was able to…basically do whatever I wanted to do in the classroom. There's not so much stress. In the academic class, there's a textbook."

The difference in the presence and absence of a clearly delineated curriculum was one factor impacting instructional sequence. Louise shared a typical mindset among those teaching in the academic program setting. Adjusting her instruction based on student reactions and continuity from the previous lesson, Louise observed, “What guides me more than anything else is the curriculum of what I need to do to get the students through the level up to the next one.” The sequential nature of the academic curriculum also assisted teachers with “getting [students] ready and preparing them for the next topic,” such as in Charlotte’s case: “In Level 2, you need to cover simple present, present progressive, and future. You need to start exposing them to articles…and be ok with them not having mastered it after your lesson.”

In the community program setting, except for the teachers’ consensus regarding the accountability through the summative assessment at the end of the semester, usually to satisfy funding agencies, administratively provided guidelines in instructional content were interpreted with much flexibility and variability. John observed that in his program, “a lot of the teachers have been really free-form and have no knowledge of what they’re doing at all.” However, in the eyes of the teacher participants, the lenient guidelines in this program setting did not provide effective guidance, either. Anna described those guidelines as “completely useless” as they focused on functions such as “how to write a résumé [or] how to prepare for a trip. There are language priorities…and what the students want to learn and their priorities—those are not on there…You can make your class completely pointless if you go by that.”

With the teachers left to their own devices, some participants demonstrated clearer directions than their peers. With an often mentally laid-out plan for student learning built primarily around grammar, John specified how to order and reinforce the topics. For example, he explained that after spending time with irregular verbs, “we

talked about regulars. And since we're going into the passive, I mixed it up a little bit to pull last week's lesson into this week's lesson." Anna exhibited her directions, as previously discussed, through her identification of priorities and planning lessons to address those priorities as well as build on them, such as in the case of question formation. Most of the other participants in the community program setting planned and conducted instruction in a similar manner: with discernable connections among lesson topics, including those about the English grammar, albeit allowing for opportune detour lessons.

One participant, Carol, stood out as there appeared to be abrupt shifts from one topic to another, particularly in her grammar instruction, although she described her planning process as including "[making] it flow from what I was teaching before to the next day." During my consecutive visits to her beginning-level class, Carol was observed to move from relative pronouns and clauses; to conjunctions; and then to the auxiliary verbs of "may/might" and "will"—spending approximately one class period on each topic. Interestingly, compared to Carol, Anna, who also planned for each class period separately, demonstrated clearer lesson contiguity across. She described her principle in lesson planning:

> The whole class has to be self-contained. You may not have the same group next time. Whatever you're teaching has to finish at the end of that class period… You may reinforce it, you may build on it, but it is complete in itself because students drop out and attendance is spotty. You want them to have learned something in that chunk of time, without waiting for the next time to finish it.

Anna's observation about contiguity, in light of consistency in attendance, also led her not to assign official, accountability-linked homework to her students. "Things like homework fall apart" because students in the neighborhood-based setting generally would not complete assignments. Jessica similarly commented, "I don't usually assign official homework to the students because it's hard without consistency [in

attendance]…and I know everybody is busy outside of class." John, who, like Anna and Jessica, was relatively experienced, added that in the free program setting, "I can't require the students to buy books, do homework, or take tests because they don't want to do it."

In contrast, Judy and Suzanne were both observed to assign extra work outside of class. With the realization that "they don't have much time," what Judy usually asked the class to do was "when you have time at home, maybe while you are watching TV and during commercials, see if you can figure this out." Evolution seemed to be underway in her case, however: "I encouraged them to do things…That didn't work." For example,

> I wanted to work on vocabulary, so Wednesday was vocabulary day (called "Words Day")…They were supposed to bring a word or more to class, and usually they would forget or not do it…But I'm going to think of some new kind of vocabulary activity for next semester.

And instead of depending on the students' initiative, as a way to to still address vocabulary learning, Judy shared, "Probably I will come up with some words, have them look them up in the dictionary, and then we will make sentences."

Suzanne's practice was almost the opposite of John's. As quoted in the brief discussion of unclear distinction between direction and facilitation, Suzanne would expect homework completion and not exclude beneficial exams. She confirmed during the stimulated recall that she would normally give homework at the end of class:

> I just say, "Take five minutes to look at it." What I'm trying to do is give them a study habit. It's like this is homework, and it's due on Monday…If they take five minutes to look at it, they're probably going to do it. It's not really a way to trick them; it's a study habit: Maybe they just need to know what it's going to take them to do this or how long it's going to take them…They do [it]. I don't know. Maybe.

Suzanne's different practice was very similar to that of the participants in the academically focused programs. For instance, Louise regularly supplemented instruction

and in-class practices by "[having] the students practice at home with homework exercises. All of that adds to the big exams, which are 20 percent of their grade." Except for the grade, which might explain Suzanne's uncertainty regarding homework completion, the academically comparable practice also reflected her expectations for students to attend college, another area in which she diverged from her fellow teachers in the neighborhood programs.

Also embracing high expectations for their teaching, most of the other participants in the community setting recognized that "not very many students" were considering college, as Judy observed, and provided assistance to those students on a case-by-case basis. A good example of the difference in college outlook came from the instruction of the present perfect tense. In light of inspiring and preparing her students for college, Suzanne regarded the tense as "a really nice thing for them to be able to use because we use this so much." In contrast, Anna deemphasized the tense in her neighborhood-based class, as mentioned, due to its lack of necessity for the particular student population she worked with:

> The aim of an adult education class is for them to converse…They are all adults who want to learn English to be able to survive in the American society; they're not learning English to get a bachelor's degree in anything… None of them. If they are, that's few and far between; that's years ahead.

She noted that when she was teaching in the college setting, she would address the accuracy of the present perfect as "this is where you teach them correct academic writing."

The sense of urgency in Anna's perception and the ambition in Suzanne's encouragement also connoted a continuum of realistic and idealistic evaluations. Although Suzanne perceived her greatest strength as "recognizing my students' strengths," she also realized going to college "is really going to be a challenge for them."

On the far realistic end of the continuum, based on "the people I've encountered," Anna observed that only "a very small group of students are willing to put in the time and the practice…It's not a serious effort because they don't really feel in their hearts the need." As a result, "maybe I've stopped thinking of these classes as effective as when I taught" in college or high school.

> It's not something that you can actually be too successful at, unfortunately. It takes a lot longer for them to learn, and you come to a point where you say, "OK, in one semester, I'm not really going to change too much in their life, unfortunately." I used to think that I'm going to make sure that they are going to be able to do some things when they are out of here. But semesters are short, the hours are not enough, the students drop out, and they don't do the work you've asked them to do in terms of homework.

For example, she discerned that, in her advanced-level class, "most of the students…can speak OK, but they cannot write." She went on to describe "the dilemma":

> Because writing takes so long, you hate to use class time. It's very time consuming, and you don't want to use 45 minutes of the class time for them to write a paragraph. So you give it as homework, but then they don't do it. What do you do?

What she did was spend the time necessary for student learning and have students practice writing in class. "I could see some progress; it was very little because they didn't do enough to make big strides. But the fact that they were ready to write some sentences was an achievement." With similar teaching experience with both program settings, John also perceived learning objectives as less attainable and that he had to be "much more patient" in the neighborhood-based program before seeing learning outcomes, which for him were a result of time and effort. However, part of the teachers' awareness in the neighborhood-based setting, according to John, was the fact that "you can't push [the students] too hard…They will never come back; you'll lose them."

The cognizance of the potential for student drop-out was another point of variance between the teachers in the two program settings. Even in Suzanne's case of consistent homework assignment, how she presented it as taking only 5 minutes hinted sensitivity toward not exerting too much pressure. Preferring for the students to be punctual to minimize interruptions to the instructional flow, Jessica noted, "I tell them it's OK to be late. It actually bothers me; I'd rather they come on time. But it's better for them to come late than not come at all." Through her chunked planning of activities, Anna observed, "If you tell them what to do, they will do it, but what happens is that they drop out if they don't like it…So you have to make sure that you keep them by keeping them interested." While still feeling her way in adult ESL teaching, Carol noted dwindling attendance and pondered, "What can we do about maintaining students? I don't know. For me, it's at least offer some individual attention, call them by name, talk to them, look at them in the eyes, and try to make them feel warm and welcome." Also referring to the focus on taking care of students' affective response, Suzanne observed, "If they didn't feel a personal connection, they weren't going to come."

Although teachers in both program settings worked on fostering a classroom community and, to some extent, a system to keep students accountable, those teaching in the more academically focused setting were generally less concerned about maintaining attendance, even though they adamantly expected students to be on time and assigned daily homework to be completed, in addition to instituting regular testing for which students must apply effort in preparation. For example, always pushing her students, Louise shared, "I'm happy with the attendance, in all my classes; there are very few absences." Charlotte described tardiness as "not cool" and noted:

> My rule on being late is if I've started teaching, they're late. And usually I start teaching right on time…If I am still taking roll, I don't count them as late, which is the first two minutes. But usually when I walk in there, everyone is there. I

have pretty good attendance from my students.

Unlike a typical neighborhood-based class, there was not a constant inflow of students in her class to interrupt the instruction. Lori's classes also had good attendance, although she did not record absences in her roster but allowed students to make their own decisions about whether to come to class.

John's experience in both program settings led him to attribute the variance in student attendance to differences in tuition. Whereas neighborhood programs were free of charge, students in academic programs could "pay hundreds of dollars; [it would be] a big decision not coming back. So you can push them a lot harder."[17] Also having taught in both settings in the United States, Anna added, "In a college setting…it's in their best interest to do the work I tell them because they're going to get a grade at the end." In addition, such contextual factors that instituted a mindset of diligence and deterred attrition might partially explain why the academically focused teachers generally did not observe overnight achievement as a misconception among their students. The contextual factors and setup might have also possibly allowed Louise to downplay developing relationships and a community atmosphere in her academic ESL classes, where the chance of maintaining attendance was more favorable.

However, the latitude in pressuring students did not translate into a relaxed instructional pace among the academic teacher participants. Quite the contrary, as previously discussed, time consciousness was an important characteristic among them. Nevertheless, a programmatic divide existed in the teachers' perceptions regarding the need to adjust and reduce the "taught" curriculum. Teaching in the Community College ESL Department, Lori and Louise elaborated much more about temporal limitations,

[17] In addition to serving immigrant students, academic programs also enroll many international students studying in the United States on an F-1 visa. The visa requires that the students maintain a full-time course load and satisfactory class attendance.

primarily due to the scope of defined learning objectives. A firm believer in socio-constructivism, Lori was doubtful about how much she could accomplish or apply the learning theory in her oral communication class. Louise adopted a generally less interactive teaching style with pairs and groups because the packed curriculum heightened her awareness of "how far behind I am." She shared:

> I look at the syllabus once a week to make sure I don't get too far off. That's going to determine how many extra exercises I will give; how many I will give as out of class exercise; how I am going in give them feedback…I know I have to push hard to get through. We just over-did the curriculum.

For example, Louise had to change the sustained reading exercise to an extra-credit activity "because the curriculum is so full that we get to the vocabulary barely. I can't do it all and do it well." Balancing the time restriction and her desire to cultivate writing, which was "the last skill to really get going," Louise would "have them rewrite. Unfortunately because of the curriculum, we only have time to do basically a rough draft and a final draft." Although the nature of her dilemma was similar to Anna's, as discussed, Louise assigned the writing as homework. As a responsible instructor, Louise reported:

> On the rough draft, they get a lot of input…They might fix it superficially or they might fix it incorrectly. So when I get the final draft, I will fix it for them if they didn't get it right because if they made a mistake the first time and they repeat the mistake, there's a very good chance now that they have a grade on the paper, they're not even going to figure out what was wrong.

Her colleague, Lori, also taught writing but observed, "You are going to find that you need three [drafts]…because the first draft is going to be a mess and all over the place." However, time also restricted Lori's practice in giving feedback:

> The first draft that they give me, I only read the thesis and the topic sentences, not the rest of the essay unless their thesis and topic sentences are perfect. And I offer suggestions…The second draft, I make sure that their thesis and topic sentences are good, then I check the grammar and maybe only the introduction. I

> give it back and say, "I feel that the rest of your essay has the same grammar mistakes that you're making in this paragraph. Learn from them and try to correct the rest of your essay yourself." And then the third one is the final.

For those teaching free community classes, the restriction from time and from how much pressure they thought they could impose on the students underscored the importance of pace in their classrooms. Unlike the academic classes, which all conferred total instructional hours that equaled approximately a three-credit-hour college course each semester, the free programs offered a much shorter semester and a range of class length configurations, with John teaching the most overall hours per class, followed by Judy; Carol and Suzanne; and Anna and Jessica. Although student levels and teacher personality traits, such as patience, could also impact a teacher's instructional pace, the two most experienced teachers, Anna and John, who taught advanced and mixed levels, were the most time-conscious and had the fastest paced instruction.[18] For example, compared to Carol, who always included designated extensive time for each student to interact with her individually during whole-class instruction, such as a question-and-answer exchange, "because this is part of the learning process," Anna focused on "[getting] the point across. I don't want them spinning their heads with 10 exercises one-on-one; it takes too long, and minds start to wonder."

In Suzanne's class, although she consciously decided to ignore distractions such as students' phones ringing to preserve instructional time, the pace at which she conducted teaching seemed protracted, such as her multi-week lesson on the present perfect tense. The rationale she shared was "I keep repeating this lesson because everybody kept saying, 'It's OK,' and only three people got it. We were carrying the rest

[18] As a piece of anecdotal evidence, the process of transcribing verbatim the classroom observation fieldnotes was the most time-consuming when it was a recording of Anna's or John's class (among all who taught free community classes). I had to constantly rewind the audio player in order to encompass the complete content.

of the class along." However, additional clarification from Suzanne indicated another area of variation: the ability to determine or anticipate students' difficulties beyond merely reacting to explicitly expressed confusions. Exerting sincere efforts to help the students understand, Suzanne clarified:

> I was thinking, why are they not getting this? They were asking me questions… But they had to get to the point where they told me exactly why they weren't understanding this…like "Why is the past participle [used in the present perfect] different from simple past?"

Although she herself clearly understood the two tenses, her struggle in providing assistance resulted from her inability to connect the two and relate to the subtle conceptual differences between them—an area about which English learners tend to be baffled. I observed a sign of relief from both Suzanne and her students as they finally reached one of the most important distinctions in teaching and learning the present perfect tense.

Other teacher participants who were often observed to miss the mark in their responsive and earnest efforts to address student confusion were Carol and Judy. Describing herself as a good listener and observer, Carol often fell short of identifying the core issue underlying students' confusion. For example, during the lesson on relative pronouns and clauses, she did not discern the students' difficulty in seeing the connection between the antecedent in the independent clause and the pronoun in the dependent one, which might be a concept too complex for her beginning students. It also appeared that she herself did not grasp the structure of relative clauses. Instead, she referred to relative pronouns as interrogatives, as indicated by the following excerpts from her explanation using a handout:

> No.1, "We use 'which' or 'that' for places, people or things." Which one? We use "which" or "that" for (pause) things. So this book is a thing, an object. So when you talk about the book, you talk about, that book, which book? Uh, sometimes

> people will use these words to ask about people, which person? This person or that person.
>
> Now we use "who" for people, not for books or things, only for people. So when we say, "Who drank the juice?" or "Who broke the cup?" You know, it's a question.
>
> Ok now, No.3, "We use where for places." …Do you know a restaurant where I can eat a hamburger? So a question, do you know where?

During an interview, with honesty she shared another challenge in anticipating student questions and taking detours to address such inquiries:

> It was like for every single word, they wanted to know what it meant. I presented the conjunctions to them, but they wanted to know "What does that word mean?" It's difficult because this is my first time teaching this level…I wasn't expecting that someone was going to ask me, "What is the meaning of 'an?'" And then I got stuck. A couple of times, I would pull a dictionary out and we would look up the word together. And then I would explain what type of word that is, where it falls into the grammar description: an adjective or a noun or pronoun. And then [the terminology] became an issue. It's almost as though anything I wrote on the board was open for question.

While Judy appeared quite capable of expecting vocabulary words students were unfamiliar with, in the area of grammatical instruction and explanation, she frequently had to rely on an inductive process before providing a response. Attempting to explain why, in writing, the final consonant of some regular past tense verbs is duplicated before "-ed" is added, Judy when through the following process with her class:

> I think this is right; it's at least right most of the time…If a word is one syllable and ends in p or t, double the last letter. You know how I make rules? I think of all the words I can think of that end in p or t, and see how that happens. You don't have to memorize rules; just start making a list. "Hunt." OK, I've found out what's wrong. P or t, double the last letter, if the letter before it is a vowel, like "Stop"—one syllable, ends in p, the letter before it is a vowel. So we have to add another p. If you find a word that doesn't fit that rule, let me know, and we will figure out why.

The next class, however, she told the class:

> I gave you bad info last week…When I was driving home, I thought of lots of words that didn't fit, and so I started thinking about it more. I looked it up, and so I found out it can be two syllables, but the last syllable has to have the stress, for example, "Commit."

Although Suzanne, Carol, and Judy might struggle more than others participating in the study, the variation in the effectiveness in eradicating student confusion was actually a matter of frequency as some of the other teachers were also observed to stumble, although it happened much less frequently and they did not normally ended up offering incorrect information.

The variation in struggles with grammatical instruction might also explain the difference in the weight placed on helping students develop a foundation of structural knowledge. Emphasizing reading in her class, Suzanne described her predicament:

> It surprised me that so many ESL teachers weren't interested in literature. They're more interested in the grammar, breaking it all down and making it into a system…We read a lot, and I think my original impulse was I like to read out loud; I just love the words so much that I want to hear them…I wish I could be more specific about what kind of benefit they get from reading, like this story has this tense and this tense, and that's this tense. But actually that's kind of waste of time for me. I don't know. I wish I was so great in grammar that I could just take the book and go, "There is that; there is that." The only benefit that I could think of is that reading is like them watching a good play or a good TV story, not just a soap opera. They hear the pronunciation; I work a lot on my own pronunciation.

Suzanne's predicament was her desire to meet the students' needs by transmitting her understanding that was not fully developed. And she seemed to mask the incomplete development by resorting to reading, her area of interest, or by attributing the class' difficulties to the students' lack of readiness for grammar lessons, such as the one in the present perfect:

> I can tell whenever we do conversation that they need to work on an intellectual level of grammar, to reinforce what's missing, so we can get over [what a trainer]

> called "Tarzan English." I actually hated that expression; I thought that was very chauvinistic. I want my students to be fluent and to be able to express what they want to say. So I just thought, "Let's go with this." We've been working with this for so long, and I thought it's just like anything: you just keep repeating it, little by little…I'm not a grammarian at all; I'm not that kind of person. It seemed to be the next in line; they put it in different places in books…Every evening I planned to do it, but every evening I'm ready to chuck it also because it's a grammatical concept. Actually [a student] told me he speaks really well but he has trouble with grammatical concepts because he only went to third grade when he was in Mexico.

Interestingly, Carol also referred to the students' readiness: "I didn't put a whole lot of emphasis on grammar because this is a beginners' ESL class." In addition,

> It was important for the students, in their own mind, to get the exact and right pronunciation. So that really put an emphasis in my mind to really help them with pronunciation…Now I introduced a little grammar in between, like mid-way through the course. But they were having problems with understanding the grammar. So then I thought, I won't get so much into grammar at this level, and what I would do is maybe just interject some punctuation.

However, she also described another area of difficulty for students as "putting together sentences and coming up with a grammatically correct sentence." And she recognized that some students came to class with "this perception that, 'I'm going to learn all the grammar; it's all about grammar.' But if you don't have vocabulary and you don't understand vocabulary or nouns to begin with, it's going to be difficult." As I followed up with her after she started a new semester and class, her instructional focus appeared to be the same, including vocabulary, pronunciation, and conjunctions. Carol seemed to find her comfort level in pronunciation and vocabulary instruction, in preference to grammar, which she was observed to teach as vocabulary items, such as in the instruction of the relative pronouns as well as the auxiliary verbs of "will" and "may," which she referred to as "the two *words* [italics added]."

In addition to variation in how the teachers planned and carried out instruction, one area of variance that could have an impact on the management of learning was

professional development. Although most teachers voiced their preference for practicality, a comparison among Anna, Carol, Jessica, and Suzanne—the four participants from the Community Education Program who participated in the same program-provided workshop entitled "Superlearning"—pointed to interesting division and variation. The workshop, which was essentially about Georgi Lozanov's Suggestopedia, was conducted by two teachers from the program who claimed that Baroque music modified brain waves and enhanced learning. Both Carol and Suzanne named the workshop as one of their recent favorites. Carol noted:

> I never know we can do that…integrating relaxing music to your lessons. Even though I've never used it, I thought that was really interesting…I like [the workshop] because it's a psychological approach to teaching, using music in the background really can tap into all kinds of emotions and opening up brain waves. [The presenters] talked about the different brain waves.

Suzanne shared, "I liked [the workshop] because you could really go off on some kind of divergent thinking; it really started you thinking…I felt it was very interesting and very useful."

In contrast, while acknowledging that some professional development offerings could be informative, Jessica was also critical of their usefulness in general—like most of the other teacher participants. Regarding the Superlearning workshop, she commented:

> [It was] the worst that I recently have seen…[The presenters] didn't even know what Suggestopedia was. They said, "You need to play the Baroque music and it will make the students better." I was like, "No, no, no, no!" Plus, I've learned that people don't think that [method] is so great…I just thought it was not well thought-out. It was just, I don't know, stupid.

She once considered the possibility of getting involved in teacher training "because I see that we didn't have much training for our teachers," who "don't necessarily come with a lot of training." Although Anna did not name the workshop the worst, she did not buy into it, either, because she perceived the idea to be somewhat "experimenting on the

students" as she was not convinced of its utility and effectiveness.

The variation among the four teachers working in the same program was distinctive partly because Carol and Suzanne did not consider themselves professionally affiliated with ESL, in terms of organizational memberships and conference attendance. So while Carol's and Suzanne's choices were rather limited to offerings at the Community Education Program, Anna and Jessica would participate in additional professional development activities. The other participants in the study were mostly similar to Anna and Jessica. For example, Judy would take the initiative to attend conferences hosted by regional or national organizations to which she had been a member. In addition, workshops provided by the community college where the Adult Education Program was located also allowed Judy access to generally high-quality professional development. Likewise, Charlotte and Victor's university employer offered and often subsidized quality training. And both teachers had been able to proactively pursue what Charlotte described as "multi-disciplinary professional development" that was broader than ESL, for instance, in area of drama and acting that enhanced Victor's "abilities to stand in front of a class and do interpersonal stuff."

Although Suzanne seemed relatively gullible in judging ESL-specific professional development, it is interesting to note that she could be as critical as Jessica or Anna. Her extensive experience working with children on literacy development equipped her with a solid understanding of the subject of learning disabilities, and she eloquently critiqued a workshop on that particular subject:

> I think it's such a complex subject that it's a serious thing to just try to pop out there…It didn't specifically address, in an authoritative way, the issue of learning disabilities. I felt like she didn't have enough expertise or knowledge because some of what she had said was kind of contrary to what I'd learned…I think, first of all, in a classroom like where we're teaching, we are in no position to diagnose people with learning disabilities. Also it's a second language, and there are going

> to be things that look like learning disabilities but they aren't. Even if a person had a learning disability, we're just not equipped. It's a very specialized field; even people in the specialized field make mistakes all the time, and I learned that working in the classroom with younger children.

When she turned her attention to the presenter's suggestion of using techniques based on minimal pairs and phonemes to address ESL learners' learning disabilities, Suzanne became less assertive: "To be honest, I don't know very much about those topics. So there I've said it. I don't."

Tools for Managing Student Learning

As in their management of student responses, the teacher participants made use of a variety of knowledge to guide and facilitate students' learning. Assuming a more directive role to achieve results, the teachers began with their Knowledge of Learning, which for many included the view that instruction was instrumental for student improvement. Focused practices such as persistently reiterating the instructional content and consciously raising students' awareness about their mistakes were examples of what many teachers considered as contributive to actual learning results. Sharing how one teacher in his program conducted her class in a "free-form" manner, John voiced his opinion that students would not pick up the language on their own merely by means of exposure:

> Her classroom instruction was based on bringing a pizza and a video, just any old video. She put it on, they ate pizza, and she never said a word in class, thinking that they would just learn. They never learned anything…It was a nice time to socialize—there was an awful lot of Spanish going on—but they never learned anything in her class. But that was her curriculum…Nobody [in the program] seemed to have a plan until someone realized [I've] got a plan, [I've] got classes and stick with them, and students are learning something…Teachers just have some rule thing that they do. [For example, another teacher] teaches pronunciation almost totally, and he never gets into the nitty gritty of the language.

In Victor's class, occasionally there were students who preferred to "just talk" to acquire English. However, for him, in order for students to become competent interlocutors and their language use to become "automatic," one thing they needed was repeated practices using instructional materials he developed as card games that contained situational phrases (e.g., to disagree with someone) with appropriate social meanings. For Louise, repeated practice with her guidance also led to student awareness and internalization as "things have to become automatized…It needs to be directly spelled out for them first, then they practice and practice and practice." As students applied what they had learned, "I can bring it to their attention that they are doing it right here, wrong here. Why is this wrong? Why is this right? …I think that students have to be very analytical with language, and I teach that way." Her practice was informed by both her awareness to ensure the amount of information was not overwhelming and her "theory" of challenging students cognitively because as there was "more processing…they learn better."

Like with the "affective" elements in the teachers' Knowledge of Learning that informed the management of student responses, experiences served as a source that helped shape the teachers' perception of how learning takes place from a more instructional and pedagogical perspective. Charlotte, for example, raised students' awareness and stressed application because "as a student, I would be in a class, listening and doing the activities, and yet I wasn't really aware of what I was supposed to be learning or what the application was." Judy made students aware of mistakes as "the problem I have learning Spanish with friends is that they won't correct me or hardly ever. I try not to do that to my students. While there are things I will let slide, I will correct them." Suzanne considered total immersion as beneficial and motivated students to do work outside because of her experience with French. "When I went to Paris, that's not

unlike the situation the students I have are in. How did I learn a language? So I go back to knowledge gained through personal experience."

It is important to point out that the boundaries of the affective and the pedagogical elements in the teachers' Knowledge of Learning were not clearly delineated. In fact, they formed an integral mix. For instance, Jessica's reference to her teacherly responsibility in raising students' awareness of mistakes and her sensitivity in doing so illustrated such dual consciousness, informed by her experience:

> I went to Mexico and Guatemala this summer to study, and I got a big dose of what it's like to be a student again…I felt a lot of the feelings that my students have: Why can't this stuff stick in my head? The way you're correcting me is insulting…But I'm correcting more now because my teachers in Mexico corrected me a lot. I just realized that you have to be tactful…I think people want to be corrected. They're there to learn, right?

As was the case of the management of student responses, teachers' Knowledge of Learning that informed the management of learning could also be strengthened by theories from their professional education and preparation. For example, Louise perceived her doctoral degree coursework in educational psychology had reinforced her personal theorizing regarding "how we think, how we learn, and, I guess you can say, how things are acquired."

With learning and instructional theories in their repertoire, a few teacher participants, however, assertively went against some of the theoretical flow, deriving confidence from their success and effectiveness as ESL teachers. John noted, "If something works, I just stick with it." And what had worked for him was the opposite of the Natural Approach (Brown, 2007), as he emphasized grammar instruction and held the view that students do not simply pick up the language. Describing himself as "traditional," John repeated instruction via drill-like activities that had "proven to work." Also fueled by consistent student learning results, Victor's affinity toward social

meanings and "the field of conversation analysis in general" was paired with the opinion that there existed "the misconception that comprehensible input is all you need." He observed:

> ESL teachers buy into, at some level, Krashen's theory or (Steven) Pinker's theory, and a lot of that is based on Chomsky and linguistics. I think that conversation analysis gives us a way to really analyze language; it doesn't necessarily have to be tied to the brain. It's about how people actually use language, not going in to a tape and saying 10 sentences that are grammatically correct…So those little phrases [used in my classes] took years to develop. You can actually see where they just kind of appear in conversation…I can see when things occur, like language is actually a being on its own, a living thing…which makes so much more sense than Chomsky's work, but that's what everybody is into.

Jessica's critique of the theoretical, or disciplinary, sphere mostly involved the whole language approach to teaching. Her proven effectiveness and her years of experience in the classroom helped her clarify that:

> One thing that I think we learned [in the graduate program] is don't teach grammar…or the whole language approach…I was influenced by whole language, but maybe I ran too far that way and I'm coming back a little bit more…The whole thing about just being intuitive and just picking it up the whole language way, I don't really think that's effective. Maybe [it is] with children, but I'm talking adult education. Adults have a different way of thinking than children. Adults want to know why, to know the rules, so they can reflect on it; they need to have experience with it…They can have a whole example, like from a newspaper, but at the same time, they want to be able to know their rules. People always ask me for rules. I used to think that's not important, but now I realize that it is because it's something that they want and they need and they use.

In her Knowledge of Learning, she also recognized that "you shouldn't overload them with grammar rules because in my theory, it's too abstract."

Like the component of Knowledge of Learning they utilized in managing students' responses, many teachers, such as Jessica, formed a Knowledge of Learning component that was specific to managing adult students' learning, as for example, the repetition required due to adults' slower pace in achievement. Interestingly, however,

Carol and Suzanne both made reference to their understanding of children's learning as a source of their Knowledge of Learning. Carol shared that she stressed repetition as "it's like a baby first learning to talk. You keep repeating the word over and over, and hopefully they maintain it." Suzanne also attributed repetition as "that's how children learn…How we learn to learn, adults and children, it's in the same brain." She expressed often that "because I don't have the education and experience in a way, I have to go back to what I do know—teaching kids how to read and write," in addition to her own language learning experience. However, the strong relevance Suzanne perceived in children's and adult's learning seemed to be evolving. During the member check, she commented:

> I think I was off on the wrong track. Because there are similarities in how adults and children learn…We are going to start at the same place at the beginning. But we are going to learn differently. We are going to learn certain things faster, and then some things are going to be maybe more difficult for us.

Apparently, as the teachers managed learning to achieve results, their Knowledge of Students was also factored into the process. For example, speaking specifically of adult learners, Anna observed:

> They are in the classroom by choice…but they don't really understand how much work it takes to learn a new language; they don't put in the effort. And they are very busy. There are a lot of reasons why they can't put in the time.

Another common difficulty in adult students' learning was that "lack of previous education is a big factor…People who have more education do better than people who don't." Jessica also noted there were "many different factors" in adult education, "work, child care, whatever kinds of emergencies that come up." Therefore, she did not usually assign homework.

Though specific to adult learners, the illustrative observation above regarding student characteristics was more applicable to those learning in a free community-based

program. Indeed, as operationalized, teachers' Knowledge of Context often informed their general assessment of student attributes. For example, a teacher participant's experience at both program settings included in the study allowed conscious comparisons, such as John's description of community students as "slower than a real college student." Anna observed that one of the reasons advanced students in the neighborhood setting exhibited various gaps in their writing skills was because

> they are put into the classes according to an oral test, the highest level…In writing, it starts from people who cannot write a sentence who cannot spell anything [to] people who can to a certain extent and make themselves understood.

In the case of academic students, examples of contextually informed student characteristics included the wide variety of student aspirations many working in this program setting depicted. The more clearly delineated course levels also equipped the teachers with information about overall student readiness before classes started, as for instance, Louise's judgment based on whether students "do well in the previous class…[or are] taking the class for the third time."

In addition to contextualized Knowledge of Students, the teachers' practice was also informed by more individualized characteristics such as the students' native languages and cultures. In the realm of management of student learning, such knowledge was particularly critical in the teachers' attention to students' confusion or problem areas. Several teachers who spoke Spanish referred to language transfers in pronunciation. Judy commented, "It's really hard for them not to pronounce the '-ed' (ending in regular past tense verbs) because in Spanish, everything is pronounced; they don't have any useless letters." Able to warn students about common mistakes, Louise noted that "it helps a little bit that I know Spanish myself," as she could "pretty much anticipate" and point out "the traps" in grammar. She wished she knew more languages "because I would do the same

thing" for the other students, such as the Vietnamese- and Chinese-speaking ones. Carol and Lori, the two teacher participants who avoided using Spanish in the instruction to ensure equality, would also apply their second language to help students, for instance, with vocabulary during individual student work in Carol's class. Lori would offer out-of-class assistance, telling Spanish-speaking students, "If you're just not getting it, I'll be happy to help you compare this grammar [to] your language."

A teacher's knowledge about the students' native languages does not have to be communicatively functional. By continually "[looking] at the mistakes they generally make," Louise enriched her Knowledge of Students by synthesizing the information, such as how most students speaking an Asian language under-use articles, whereas Spanish speakers over-use the definite article *the*. Also, although Victor was not a fluent Korean speaker, his previous self-study of Korean syntax allowed him to contrast structures and guide students. Not knowing any Spanish, Anna was able to boost intelligibility and help students with language transfer issues through the accumulation of language-related Knowledge of Students. "I know with Spanish speakers, they have initial problems and end problems" in their pronunciation of words. Her knowledge continued to evolve: "I just realized recently that there are middle problems also."

In addition to enhancing the language-specific component in their Knowledge of Students, teachers' actual contact and experience with students strengthened also this knowledge category. To make her teaching meaningful to the students, Judy shared, "I feel like I need to know them and what they're interested in, what they know, and relate to them that way." Describing her teaching as "no spoon-feeding" and challenging students intellectually, Louise would find "their roof and then push a little harder." Charlotte related to the students' need to learn strategically: "students don't always know how to learn," so she directed her attention to learning strategies.

Equipped with enriched and informative Knowledge of Students and Knowledge of Learning, teachers called upon their General Pedagogical Knowledge to assist with, primarily, effective use of instructional time and learning activities. Anna illustrated how she fused the three types of knowledge. Knowing that although learning required time and practice students did not exert the necessary effort, Anna used her understanding of "how long things will take for students to get" to prevent one activity from "[infringing] on another. Sometimes it's going to, and I do leave some leeway" to ensure a sufficient amount of learning-conducive practice. Her General Pedagogical Knowledge facilitated the use of grouping arrangements in consideration of the activity and time allocation. For example, for one activity:

> I wanted them talking and moving. Originally I thought they should go around and tell the next person they see their point of view…just walking around to everybody…Because I wanted to cut the time, I had each person tell just one person…I didn't have that much time. But the point was made.

One area where General Pedagogical Knowledge was evidenced was the teachers' diligent effort and perseverance in repeating instruction to help students retain the information. For example, to address her perception regarding the deficiency in learning strategies, Charlotte derived "an ESL methodology: the more you can say the same thing over and over again, the more you feel confident." As discussed, she also advised the students to practice outside of the classroom. Victor developed a classroom rhythm and transformed the instructional content into card games, with the latter greatly facilitating lesson reviews, students' interaction and engagement in pairs or groups, and their "feeling that they have this whole thing accomplished." John's use of drill-like activity routines also served the purpose of reviewing and preserving time. To raise students' awareness, Louise required them to "look at it again" analytically to explain their mistakes. She also regularly repeated information using both the visual and oral modes, a practice that had

been a part of her General Pedagogical Knowledge since participating in a two-week workshop on "principles of teaching" at the Defense Language Institute, when she was hired as a German instructor. Other examples of practices that were informed by General Pedagogical Knowledge, as well as by Knowledge of Students and of Learning, included breaking content up into small doses and planning a variety of activities. Adhering to her philosophy of controlling the amount of information at every point of a lesson in her work with beginning learners, Jessica shared, "I have a tendency to start with smaller pieces and work into the bigger pieces (deductively)."

Many teachers embraced the inclusion of eclectic variety in their enactment of General Pedagogical Knowledge. Aware of her particularly tendency, Jessica also tried to "offer the smorgasbord of options for learning to reach different students…I try to offer a little bit of everything." Her eclecticism came from the fact that "I don't know there's necessarily the best way…You can choose from different ones, using them in a different way that you need to use them…[and offering] people a lot of different choices of ways to learn," including lessons and activities based on rules, the whole language approach, and deductive or inductive tactics. Eclecticism also characterized the explicitly socio-constructivist teacher, Lori; "that's the kind of teacher I am, communicative. Yet I still do the basics of quizzes and tests, grammar translation. Everything." Although Carol did not necessarily demonstrate efficacy in her use of time, she also stressed variety, primarily based on her undergraduate studies in psychology:

> There are different ways people learn: visual, tactile, auditory, and then verbal. So am I going to stand there and just give a lecture? I'm going to lose some students that are visual learners. So I have to incorporate a variety.

Similar to the development of Knowledge of Learning and Knowledge of Students, teachers' experience informed their General Pedagogical Knowledge, such as their experience in the form of what Lortie (1975, 2002) described as "the apprenticeship

of observation." To make sure students knew how to study and do well in class activities, Lori extrapolated to her academic classes an activity her 10th-grade Spanish teacher had emphasized:

> She was telling us, if she ever writes anything on the board, we need to write it in our notebook, to review what we learned in class that day. When I went to study and would see it in my notebook, I thought "I'm so glad that I wrote it down because now I'm going to remember that point."…That's what I do as a teacher.

Judy considered one of the most influential factors in shaping her ESL practices as "my own experience as a foreign language learner." For example, from her most recent experience learning Spanish, "I'm learning all the classroom techniques—how she teaches this as much as what she teaches. I call on that a lot in [my] classroom. That's why I started the sustained reading, [my] trying to read novels in another language." Carol retraced her experience in public schools for the activity she used to teach "the American sounds" through dictionary symbols. "I learned them when I was really little. That was the approach teachers used to help you understand pronunciation in the dictionary." Although Carol herself admitted that the dictionary symbols were challenging for the students, her use of those symbols was also an example of her Pedagogical Content Knowledge, that is, her attempt to convey the topic of sounds to help the students understand.

In the current study, defined as including a repertoire of examples, analogies, learner misconceptions, and the like that facilitate the transformation of what teachers know into instruction, Pedagogical Content Knowledge not only informed the teacher participants' activity design that was linked to General Pedagogical Knowledge; it was also crucially connected to their Subject Matter Knowledge. Thus, before a discussion about the role of Pedagogical Content Knowledge in the teachers' management of learning, it is important to clarify what constitutes the subject matter of the field of ESL.

As alluded to in the discussion of teacher variations, the scope of the subject matter differed in the eyes of the participants. The teacher participants in the academic setting were more likely to view the subject matter primarily as linguistic skill areas such as writing, grammar, or speaking. By contrast, those in the community setting frequently included a large dose of cultural competency such as what Anna and Jessica termed as "life skills." In addition to prioritizing among all such skills, Jessica applied "the concept of negotiating curriculum with the students" from her graduate study to refine "what they need to learn. So that would be the subject matter." Likewise, for Anna, the subject matter also depended on "student levels and priorities." With beginners, the priority would be "survival English…off the streets of America" that dealt with the basics of the culture and functions, before she engaged in "fine-tuning," for example, advanced students' pronunciation. However, Anna also perceived the subject matter in ESL as "hard to put your finger on…[because] it's language; I mean you're not talking math…I guess the communication in English is what you are trying to teach." It was "open-ended" and "general," instead of "precise." The lack of precisely delineated scope was what led Anna to ponder about the extent of success at the end of each semester. Giving a humorous example, she observed:

> We are talking about language. [For example,] I want you to be able to talk to the butcher…What is it that you want to say to the butcher? What is it I want to teach you to say to the butcher? What if he says something that is not in my script? It's more open-ended, and therefore it's not as accomplishable.

Judy's characterization of a student knowing English also revealed an extensive definition of the subject matter as "everything is connected." She shared:

> [The person] will not have any trouble communicating or expressing his ideas or thoughts, understanding what other people are telling him in that language or [when] reading or writing, and understanding the jokes…I think when they can understand the jokes, they've got it.

In the academic setting, Charlotte, for example, was able to articulate that "subject matter means, if you're teaching level 2 grammar, what points are critical to cover and what points are not." However, she also noted, "It's tough to define because it's not just one source…It's a combination of curriculum" and areas where culture might permeate: bonding as a class, students' needs, motivation, interests, and sense of humor. For her, thus, the subject matter included a student-centered component—her Knowledge of Students. In addition, although "culture" was mostly considered peripheral in this setting, it could expand to include, for instance, the academic culture in Lori's classroom.

Whereas teachers working in different program settings assigned differing prominence to the infusion of the target culture, in light of "the (re)unification of language and culture" described by Lantolf and Johnson (2007, p.878) based on Agar's (1994) concept of languaculture, the majority of the teacher participants indeed incorporated a languacultural aspect into their classrooms, for instance, through the combination of linguistic presentation and functions or opportunities for application, or through explanation of vocabulary usage. As a result of this inclusive characterization of both linguistic and cultural information, there would be no real, or irrelevant, digressions in the teachers' instruction. And the previously described affectively informed digressions thus also addressed the subject matter, as Judy noted, "Everything we do in class is English related," even when it only concerned information about the target culture.

This broad definition not only expanded the Subject Matter Knowledge in the teacher's knowledge base, but also their Pedagogical Content Knowledge. Many participants referred to the connection between the two categories of knowledge, for examples, Anna's process of "[making] it teachable," Lori's "first [figuring] out the way the students are going to learn the information," or Louise's "[translating] it into student-friendly terms." The teachers' renditions above of the connection between

Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge and the following discussion of the roles played by the two knowledge categories in management of learning, however, mostly centered around the linguistic, particularly the structural, aspect of the subject matter, as the teacher participants appeared able to convey the purely cultural aspect with relative ease.

In calling upon their Pedagogical Content Knowledge to transform the subject matter, the teachers also used additional knowledge categories, among which were Knowledge of Learning and Knowledge of Students. For example, making learning meaningful, Charlotte summarized "how we learn" as related to "what is the analogy, what is the theme that will stick for you?" What Jessica knew about her students' native language allowed her to build in typical problems and find a fast and easy way to explain. Likewise, Louise included the "traps…I'd fallen into myself" as well as additional common misconceptions based on her cumulative observations. Able to anticipate student confusion, she shared an example of the present progressive tense. Students often misunderstood that "-ing is for now. So they over-use –ing when they're talking about repeated actions or facts in the present. Once they realize there are two different levels of now, immediate and factual, then they start to distinguish between the two."

In the realm of linguistic terminology, Pedagogical Content Knowledge played a key role in helping teachers simplify it. As mentioned, Louise was continuously aware of the importance of "not bombarding the students with new vocabulary words." Lori, who would "do anything to not make them confused," shared an example of the passive voice structure:

> They wanted to look at a passive sentence and say, "So the subject here is now the book," [in the sentence,] "The book was read." I don't want them to think that was a subject, because it's not, so I said, "subject area." In (graduate) school, we learned it as "patient." But I can't do that in my class.

Anna expressed that “I don’t care about the terminology. Actually, after teaching adult education, I forgot a lot of terminology because it doesn’t matter. It also turns them off if you use big words. I don’t think naming is necessary.” Instead, she paraphrased, using terms the students were familiar with, such as “regular verbs” and “the verb to be.” Charlotte would often “translate the terminology into analogies.” For example, in teaching the use of outlines in writing, instead of using what was “construed even by native speakers in so many ways,” she said, “Here’s our treasure map. I should be able to look at this treasure map and get a lay of the land...So [it’s to] boil it down to something they already know.”

Pedagogical Content Knowledge also assisted teachers with simplifying the instructional content. John described that “I put on the board what I think they should be writing down in their notebooks…It’s not everything, but what I consider important goes on the board.” Louise’s effort in keeping everything “black and white” guided her to say, in teaching the passive, “When you have a sentence, the first thing you need to do is find the verb. See if the subject is doing the verb or if there even is a subject. Then find the tense, then the actual structure for passive for that tense.”

Thus far, the primacy of Subject Matter Knowledge was evident in the teachers’ ability to apply their Pedagogical Content Knowledge to the instruction of the linguistic aspect. Many participants distinguished between people who know and speak English and those who can teach ESL. Judy commented that the difference was in “the ability to teach it. You can know it, but not how to explain it or the basics where you have to start building a foundation.” Louise also noted, “I know English. That doesn’t mean I know what I’m doing when I teach it. I can’t say that’s just the way it is. You need to be able to explain it.” During interviews, Charlotte would refer to “nuances…most of the native speakers don’t know…Teachers need to, obviously, know the grammar [and] not have a

long list of things they don't know." Lori also observed, "Just because you speak English, [it doesn't mean] you can teach it…A lot of teachers out there don't know their grammar…saying, 'Current theory [is] you don't teach grammar.' But you still need to know it." In addition to an understanding of "how language in general works…that it's used to communicate and that there are different meanings," Victor observed that teachers "need to know a lot about grammar…If you don't know why something is the way that it is, you're in trouble in a classroom because all you can do is hope that nobody asks you that question." When serving on the hiring committee, John would "make sure [the candidates] know what their own language is" so that they would be able to go beyond what was "obvious to them" and explain "this is the reason why" for what he referred to as "the nitty gritty of the language."

Subject Matter Knowledge assumed a prominent role in the teachers' management of learning partly because of the need to offer spontaneous explanations. The teachers needed first to retrieve the appropriate Subject Matter Knowledge, along with their Pedagogical Content Knowledge, to address students' confusion and questions promptly. Charlotte illustrated that a mid-lesson modification was the result of "how students' response goes back to my way of interpreting or translating for them…It's improvisation, in order to be able to do that." The strength and explicitness of a teacher's Subject Matter Knowledge contributed much to the variation of efficiency and effectiveness discussed previously. The participants who were confident in their Subject Matter Knowledge also did not shun away from students' inquiries, as Lori expressed that "I love explaining things," and she also encouraged students to ask questions. Recalling her rationale behind an activity, Charlotte noted, "I know they are not going to know some of this vocabulary…It forces them to ask a question [and] interact with me." As described in the management of student responses, a teacher's Subject Matter Knowledge and

Pedagogical Content Knowledge also allowed them to remain mindful during spontaneous teaching and smoothly resume the focus of the lesson.

Oftentimes, teachers with weak, or relatively intuitive, Subject Matter Knowledge did not always know the heart of the issue. Although Judy perceived one of her strengths to be "a strong background in the English language…knowing what I'm talking about and being able to improvise," the explicitness required for effectiveness and efficiency seemed absent, as she often had to rely on inductive reasoning to derive an explanation, and her impromptu induction did not always arrive at an accurate explanation. In Carol's case, like many participants, she observed that higher level classes "were more demanding." She noted:

> A lot of times, what happens in the more advanced classes is that they start asking grammar questions. And maybe I don't have a handout or maybe I can't come up with a very good example, so I would just tell them, I will bring better examples or I will bring more examples next time, and we can study this more.

However, unlike the participants with strong and explicit Subject Matter Knowledge, her perception about the sufficiency of her knowledge for beginning-level classes, as discussed, seemed an over-estimate. Similarly, Suzanne observed:

> I don't have the sort of pristine grasp of grammar that I'd like to have. But at the level my students are at, it really doesn't matter in my classroom…I'm still at a pretty good level, enough for my students. If I was to try to teach advanced students, sometimes I wouldn't know why.

She also shared that through teaching:

> I've learned a lot…I am not a linguist-teacher. I majored in art. I have a lot of virtues that I bring to this, but one of them is not that I was trained to do this…I can speak; I can write, but I'm having to go back to junior high grammar class to re-equip myself with grammatical terms and the particulars.

Sometimes, to explain a topic, she would pose the question, "How am I going to teach myself this?" as her guide in instruction.

Although these teachers demonstrated weaker and more intuitive Subject Matter Knowledge, this knowledge category could be placed on a continuum of explicitness and intuitiveness. With the teacher participants whose stronger Subject Matter Knowledge allowed them to address student questions more efficiently, the explicitness of their Subject Matter Knowledge might not be at an all-pervading level. Considering that "American spoken English is very important for the teacher to know," Anna described questions she couldn't answer as "something like why a word is spelled this way, or why would you say, 'for crying out loud?'" In the linguistic aspect of her Subject Matter Knowledge, however, "there could be instances where I do research [to find out], but it's not a regular thing." John and Victor both observed that questions about meaning and usage of idioms, along with out-of-context and possibly misspelled vocabulary that students had heard somewhere, were sometimes difficult to answer. Victor added, "I don't have all the answers…I don't know if anyone is able to do that…I just try to tell them the best answer possible," which was generally what he knew "for sure" and would comfortably share with the students as true.

As many teacher participants had serendipitously started teaching ESL, they attributed their development of explicit knowledge to experience, or as Charlotte put it, "by doing." For example, in the subject matter component of "life skills," Jessica shared, "Part of my teaching experience has been learning about…the themes and functions. I'm functional in English, but I never reflected on that until I became a teacher." Explicitness in grammar knowledge also developed on the job. Before Jessica started teaching ESL,

> high school was the last place I studied grammar. In my teaching, I studied it a little bit more. I know what the correct structures are intuitively, but to explain why we do it a certain way, I have to have some grammar knowledge.

When he was a new teacher, John found grammar questions difficult. "I had to find out exactly how to explain those kinds of things. I understood them, but I couldn't explain

them…You'll learn your own language teaching it. It's just amazing how much you would learn." Louise expressed that "I didn't really know my rules in English that well. So I was actually studying grammar on my own after I started teaching so that I knew what I was talking about. I learned a lot after I started teaching." Victor also "had to do all that on my own" and now grammar classes were "where I really shine." Having been teaching before starting graduate studies, Lori observed that her classes had also "really helped me in my grammar explanations."

The teachers' strength in Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge also impacted their use of instructional materials that were part of their Knowledge of Resources: the participants with weaker Subject Matter Knowledge, particularly in the linguistic and structural aspect, showed more reliance on materials, both printed and published online. As discussed in the management of student responses, some teachers would finish everything included in the handout. In light of the current discussion, such complete implementation of materials partially indicated the teachers' using the resources as their Subject Matter Knowledge and, therefore, Pedagogical Content Knowledge. For example, during the stimulated recall, Suzanne commented on her lesson on the present perfect: "I guess it would look better if I didn't use the paper. It looks like I don't know what I'm really doing…If I knew it by heart, I wouldn't be doing it." Although she relied heavily on the handout as her Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge to convey the content, Suzanne did modify the vocabulary included, using a sub-aspect of her Pedagogical Content Knowledge concerning what would facilitate student understanding. When she read, "The present perfect has three different meanings," she shared, "I thought I don't like that because that's not very clear." So she paused and added, "We use it in three different cases." Carol also demonstrated her Pedagogical Content Knowledge relative to student-friendly

vocabulary in a similar way. Teaching the lesson on the modal "will," she told the class, "This is 'more definitive.' This is more sure. No questions asked. It is going to happen. It's for sure."

In contrast, the teacher participants who demonstrated less difficulty with the subject matter frequently put their spin on published instructional materials and regularly created their own, with the help of their Pedagogical Content Knowledge. For example, Anna used her own synthesis of three categories of question formation for the lesson that she revisited to reinforce student understanding. Moonlighting in the Community Education Program, she faced a time constraint in lesson preparation and "a big problem is the lack of good ESL books for adults that contain everything you want." As a result, she noted:

> A lot of times, I wind up writing the handouts myself because if you're looking for a point, I want it to be obvious as a point that you don't have to search through the text for it. I think a lot of teachers don't realize that you can come up with a lot better handouts if you just do it yourself, because everything else has other things that are involved that you have to get into.

John critiqued how ESL books normally "talk down to the students…[and] don't have anything for somebody who's actually coming up in their language…They don't do a lot for the teachers in the classroom. I just hate those things." So he created many lessons and materials on his own for grammar and the target culture.

Also not relying on published materials, Lori comfortably taught writing classes without textbooks: "I didn't like any of the selections [the department] gave." Even with the department-required grammar textbook, as noted, Lori still planned and conducted lessons in her own way in order to remain responsive to the students. Louise's general practice was based on the fact that "some books have shortcomings and require you to supplement. How good the textbook is depends on how closely the content matches the

curriculum—the goals of your course." For instance, regarding the lack of integration of reading and vocabulary development, Louise observed, "Teachers have the power to change that by incorporating the vocabulary into the supplementary reading exercises they come up with, into the quizzes, into the exams." She reflected, "When you integrate, you have to have subject knowledge in both areas, and you also have to know…how to blend the two," in other words, a practice informed by her Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge.

Victor described himself as "very critical of materials." When explaining a lesson, he would skip

> things in the textbook that are confusing, minor points, or just wrong. Or they are, in my opinion, not worth the time to explain it the way they are trying to explain it. In those times, I have said [to the students], "The textbook says this. I want you to just ignore that because it's not worth your time."

He had built up his own materials over the years, such as the card games and cumulative quizzes, to turn the non-useful into useful and to focus on specific objectives to pinpoint areas students needed to work on. For Charlotte, "the textbook is a supplement. It has exercises…I modify it, making it communicative…to have [the students] do a little bit of practice…I use it very sparingly in class…I'm very stubborn that way and really do my own explanations," as for example, when she used analogies to which students could relate.

These teachers' non-dependence on published materials did not entail a lack of acknowledgement of instances of effectiveness in such materials. Some teachers selectively retained effective components from their Knowledge of Resources, while simultaneously enriching these resources with, for instance, realia, or real-life artifacts. For example, in addition to textbook exercises, Charlotte kept one textbook's presentation of linking verbs: "I like the fact that there are four categories. It makes it easier to

remember, instead of 20 verbs. It gives more of a sense of structured organization to [the verbs].” To stimulate students’ application of linking verbs in the simple present tense, she was observed to bring in drawings from a Korean calendar and design a descriptive writing activity. Louise took from “a higher level book” structures that were “good to know: the pronoun reference to the good of cohesion…word forms. I want them to use the syntax to know why certain words will be used in certain positions in a sentence.” To reinforce such skills, she created “a lot of cloze tests,” for example, using “video snippets” from a TV news program (CNN) that were related to the reading passages and integrating listening to rapid English, scanning and skimming, and reading. John appreciated published materials from which “you can get a ton of information” that reinforced his taught lessons, particularly in grammar. When designing lessons from realia such as movies, he would “study them all out” with a focus on learning goals in terms of vocabulary and of allowing the students to

> see the language live. They can’t just go to [the grocery store], and that’s the only time they use English because they use Spanish at home. I want them to see that English can be educational and entertaining, and it has so many things that are going on that they could be learning about.

The incorporation of realia into their classrooms highlighted the teachers’ General Pedagogical Knowledge. Jessica, who selectively focused on sections of published materials when she made use of them, also used artifacts such as grocery circulars to “[make] the meaning stronger…and [learning] interesting.” She recognized that often realia “[do] not have much of an activity.” However, through her General Pedagogical Knowledge, as well as her Pedagogical Content Knowledge, “I can create an activity with it.”

In contrast, among Carol, Judy, and Suzanne, lessons were generally created based on textbooks provided by the program administration—an indication of more

limited Knowledge of Resources. However, there seemed to be signs of expansion and of lessening reliance on published materials, as for example, Suzanne's use of award-winning books. Judy had also started building a class library and incorporating sustained silent reading into her class. She was also observed regularly to use her own brief activities in error correction or scrambled sentences as warm-up exercises while students were arriving. During a follow-up interview, Carol shared how she "would like to bring an American English song, print out the words, then we can study those." However, time was an issue "because I'd have to look for songs that are quite simple…[and] repeat the same verses."

The above teacher participants' limited use and awareness of resources, however, also highlighted an impact from the program administration and context. For one, the absence of curricular materials in the neighborhood-based program setting as a missing piece in what Shulman (1987) termed as "the tools of the trade" did not build up those teachers' Knowledge of Resources. Secondly, the scarcity in administratively supplied instructional materials with a focus beyond functionality and navigation in the society, such as in areas concerning more structurally informed guidance, did not enhance this knowledge category possessed by those teachers. For example, the handout Suzanne used for the present perfect tense failed to address the distinction between the tense and the simple past that is crucial for student understanding.

As discussed in the variation among teachers, the instructional focus differed mostly based on programmatic boundaries. In addition to impacting Knowledge of Resources, the teachers' Knowledge of Context indeed permeated and contributed to the other forms of teacher knowledge discussed thus far. For instance, as described, what the teachers knew about their programs provided them with preliminary Knowledge of Students. When Knowledge of Context is interpreted as pertinent to programs serving

adult students, it also informs the teachers' Knowledge of Learning, as several participants had characterized how adults learn.

The presence and clarity of curricula in their programs directed those participants in the academic setting in their retrieval of Subject Matter Knowledge. Through a winnowing process based on the curriculum, Louise would "pick and choose whatever subject matter knowledge you are going to use." The spiral nature of the curriculum in the University ESL Services guided Charlotte's use of Pedagogical Content Knowledge in determining how in-depth she would introduce a topic. She introduced the basics of the present progressive in Level 2, knowing exceptions would be covered in Levels 3 and 4. In the neighborhood-based setting, teachers were also selective in their application of Subject Matter Knowledge, albeit some did so more successfully than others. Knowledge of Context also impacted General Pedagogical Knowledge. For example, perceiving the instructional time as insufficient, Anna not only had to maximize the available time but frequently had to modify activities to preserve time. As she observed that "time management is my forte," she seemed equipped to help students learn as much as possible in the restrictive context in which she worked.

Anna's perception about her time management strengths, as well as other teachers' self-perception regarding their strengths and weaknesses, was part of the last knowledge category present in the teachers' management of learning: Knowledge of Self. In addition to what they observed about their Subject Matter Knowledge, the teachers' Knowledge of Self covered other aspects of their teaching as well. For example, in refocusing students through a lecture, Lori did not feel completely comfortable because "I feel bad about hurting people's feelings. Sometimes, it's not a good thing in a class." However, her student-centeredness in learning results outweighed her discomfort. Similarly, Anna connected the importance of aggressively raising students' awareness to

“a character trait of teachers that’s necessary.” Citing the performer persona, she shared, “You’re on display as a teacher, the center of attention, and you have to like it or you won’t be there. I’ve seen teachers who are shy; it’s a mark of bad teaching.” Several other teachers also connected the dots between ESL teaching and aspects of their lives. For example, an artist by training, Suzanne observed, “I think I teach ESL like I do art, and I work very intuitively when I do art. That’s what I think of myself as, and I found what works best is that if I teach ESL like that, too.” Recognizing there was more human interaction in ESL, she elaborated on the analogy:

> I walk into the classroom; that’s my studio. There are the people, and that’s the materials. Then I have some skills as a craftsperson: grammar, enunciation, my love of literature. I have to take the intellectual discipline and do something creative in it. But you can’t be creative unless you have the discipline.

In addition to a sense of the type of teachers they were, what teachers had experienced as learners helped them to put themselves in the students’ shoes. Jessica and Judy referred to how their own visual learning style informed their use of the board and overhead transparencies. Judy described her empathetic process: “I think the key thing that guides my teaching is ‘What’s it like for me?’ Then I try to guess what it’s like for the students.” For Carol, because of her emphasis on probing designated students individually during whole-class instruction, her memory of how a teacher pushed her “to the point where I just froze” led her to be mindful that “I hope I never do that…That’s not good if you make a student freeze.” Charlotte synthesized the role of Knowledge of Self by also referring to several types of teacher knowledge:

> I think that teaching involves the language itself. I think it involves a little psychology; sociology, in the sense that you’ve got to know the cultural boundaries of certain (student) groups; and “know thyself” —There has to be personal reflection [although] it’s hard to do.

To help her know about her own “flaws, talents,” Charlotte added two critical questions to the self-reflection: “Are you able to apply that reflection? Are you able to gain observational cues from outside source?”

Role of Teacher Reflectivity

In addition to enhancing the teachers’ Knowledge of Self, reflection, particularly reflection-on-action (Schön, 1987), was very critical in the development of the other knowledge categories. More specifically, it was the combination of experience accumulation and reflection on such experience that contributed greatly to continuous improvement. For example, after teaching for more than 10 years, Jessica still revised her Knowledge of Learning based on thoughts about her experience. She shared during the member check:

> I had a philosophy, then I learned more about theories (in graduate studies), and that built up my philosophy…made me feel more self-confident or changed my philosophy, too. I’ve been teaching for 13 years, and I think this whole process has been a learning process. [For example], one thing that I learned recently is a bilingual classroom is not effective enough, and I changed my philosophy…I think it’s important to use less of the students’ language than what I thought before. Some of my students won’t speak to me in English because they were comfortable speaking to me in Spanish. Maybe they speak English with other people, but that’s something that I had to work out, and that changed my idea about that.

Her practice during the data collection was to “speak in English and repeat it in Spanish” as a way to ensure understanding among the students who were all Spanish-speaking beginners. Reflection on experience also informed management of student responses. For instance, John shared the origin of his unique Knowledge of Learning that was a blend of comfort and stress, which in turn facilitated his management of learning:

> I learned that stress works really well when I was taught to shoot an arrow…[The instructor] said, "I'm going to hit you every time you miss." I didn't miss much after that. And I realized this is a great way of learning. It's negative reinforcement. It's mean, but it works.

As discussed previously, his unique view was also based on his observation of why adult students learned English and what it required of them: to care for their families and to overcome emotional barriers.

Anna observed that although experience could be helpful, "you have to pay attention to it…I've seen teachers who have been teaching for a long time, and they are just stuck in a groove of doing the same wrong thing over and over, year after year." Her reflectivity, for example, increased her Knowledge of Students, such as her observation about how previous education correlated to ease of learning. "That's my theory. I've seen it in the classroom, [although] I haven't read about any theory about that." She further provided an example of the evolution of General Pedagogical Knowledge. "I use the board when I want to emphasize something…I used to use the board constantly. As I evolved, I realized that if I write everything, I can't emphasize." Carol also shared an instance of paying attention and combining reflection-on-action and reflection-in-action:

> Several times at the very beginning of this semester, I would just tell them, "Look at exercise 24, no. 4," and some of them were just like totally lost. And so I realize maybe if I just hold it up and point, they would look, and they would find the place. Even if they couldn't see the words, they would at least see whereabout I was.

Victor regarded the injection of reflectivity as what would make any experience "useful." His observation of and reflection on how language works, informed by his study of conversation analysis during his doctoral program, enriched his Knowledge of Learning as well as Subject Matter Knowledge by his incorporating the cultural aspect; Pedagogical Content Knowledge by his translating culture into commonly used phrases; General Pedagogical Knowledge by his creating activities for students to practice the

phrases in groups; and Knowledge of Resources by his supplementing commercially available materials. He further shared:

> You have to keep refining your skills. Every class you teach, you can learn something…[For example,] I put a lot of effort into something, but students don't like it, so I have to be able to say maybe I'm wrong in some ways…as opposed to doing the same thing semester after semester…I'm never going to be the best teacher. There's always something I can improve on.

He referred to such self-perceived weaknesses as "areas of opportunity" and stated, "I have a strong investment in making myself better."

That these teachers looked out for complacency that might deter them from needed change was a strong indicator of their reflective practice. Jessica spoke of the "danger of getting in the rut…thinking that you know how to do everything and not opening your mind." Louise noted, "What makes a teacher better is having the opportunity to weed out what didn't work the time before." She shared an example:

> I'm trying new things this semester…Things I might have been using for years that I like, I finally let go of them because they were not as effective…[when] I found different ways to short cut…Just the fact that I've done it longer doesn't really mean anything…I'm always figuring out what didn't work and changing it, and what's more effective.

Judy noted, "We're always learning…At the end of each semester, I know what I'm going to do a little differently next semester. It just sort of evolves. Like I think, 'Oh, this didn't work too well. What can I do instead?'" She offered an example of her wait time. When she first started teaching adults, she observed:

> I had to jump in and say something; you had this empty space. There's a tendency, I think. If nobody is saying anything, then nobody understands. But actually they are processing, and you have to allow them to process it. It's not that they don't understand, but they're working on it.

Suzanne also chose to "leave the things out that don't work." In teaching as well as in other aspects of her life, she observed, "I don't ever want to say, 'I know exactly what

I'm doing' because…it doesn't help me do anything better. As long as I ask, 'What can I learn?' I can be better at what I'm doing." She showed great reflectivity as she recalled her spontaneous use of Pedagogical Content Knowledge to personify the regular past tense marker as "our little friend Ed, Eduardo." She noted:

> I doubt I would use it again; it fell completely flat. It didn't help them remember. And actually after I did it, I realized that that was not going to be helpful to them, because one of the habits that they had is to say, walk-ed, talk-ed…That's a typical Spanish-speaking mistake in pronunciation. When students come into my class, one of the things that I emphasize is we never pronounce it like that.

As discussed, Suzanne's Knowledge of Learning was also evolving as she continued to contemplate on how adults and children learn languages.

For a few teachers, their accumulatively reflected-upon experience led them to develop what they explicitly referred to as "my theory," such as Louise's emphasis on cognitive process, Jessica's avoidance of grammatical overload, and Anna's correlation between level of education and learning, as well as those participants who assertively went against the theoretical flow in the discipline.

In fact, most participants who had been exposed to theories that were not part of their personal theorizing rarely demonstrated complete buy-in to everything. For instance, Judy's teacher certification process introduced her to major theories in ESL teaching, but "I don't have to think about theories anymore…I used to read everything. I guess I absorbed what I wanted and let go." Charlotte shared that "I don't subscribe to one theory…I take the best aspect of each theory, and I recognize the flaws. [Then I] take the pros from this one and this one, and synergize them into one theory, or one task, one activity." Even with her relatively strong proclivity for socio-constructivism, Lori reflected, "The biggest thing I learned in (graduate) school was there's not just one theory; there are a lot of theories coming together…[for example,] the relaxed atmosphere related

to Krashen, sociocultural theory, and task-based learning." Anna, having never developed any affinity toward theories while taking education course with implications for teaching English, still did not "believe in theory." She shared:

> I don't want to read books about theories of learning. I want to go into the classroom, try something out, and if it doesn't work, then I will see how to make it work…I might be able to derive a theory from it, but I can't go from theory to practice…All the theory books don't teach me much; I'm not very good at transferring theory to practice…[In Lebanon], I had to train people, so I had to have answers [about how to teach effectively], and I'm good with finding answers. I've also taught for a very long time, so there are a lot of things that I have had time to think about.

Thus far, I have focused on depicting not only similarities but also differences among the teacher participants, particularly in terms of their classroom actions and their enactment of the components in their knowledge base as well as characteristics of such knowledge components. In the following section, I summarize the above discussed findings and relate the summary to the issue of teacher attrition.

Summary: Multiple Knowledge Categories and Multiple Tasks

The preceding discussion of the management of students' responses and learning, as well as reflective theorization, illustrated how the teacher participants called upon multiple components in their knowledge base simultaneously and how the various knowledge categories were evidently interconnected. In addition, although the learning-conducive environment fostered by the management of affective responses appeared to a prerequisite, teachers often attended to both the students' affect and their learning simultaneously, along with time management and activity management.

For the two primary managerial tasks the teachers faced, management of students' responses and of learning, the knowledge categories interacted slightly differently, with some categories carrying differing importance in each type of management. The

following diagrams summarize the interactions by management focus based on the previous discussions.

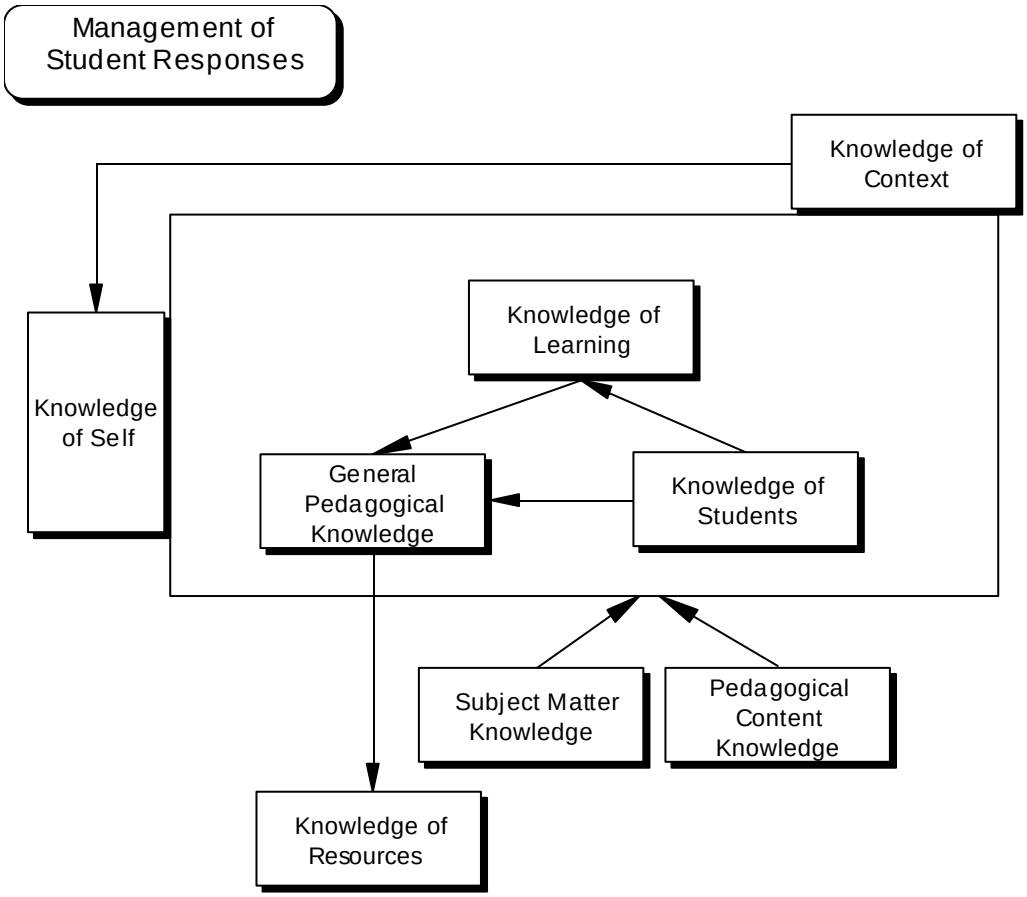


Figure 2 Interactions among teacher knowledge categories in the management of student responses

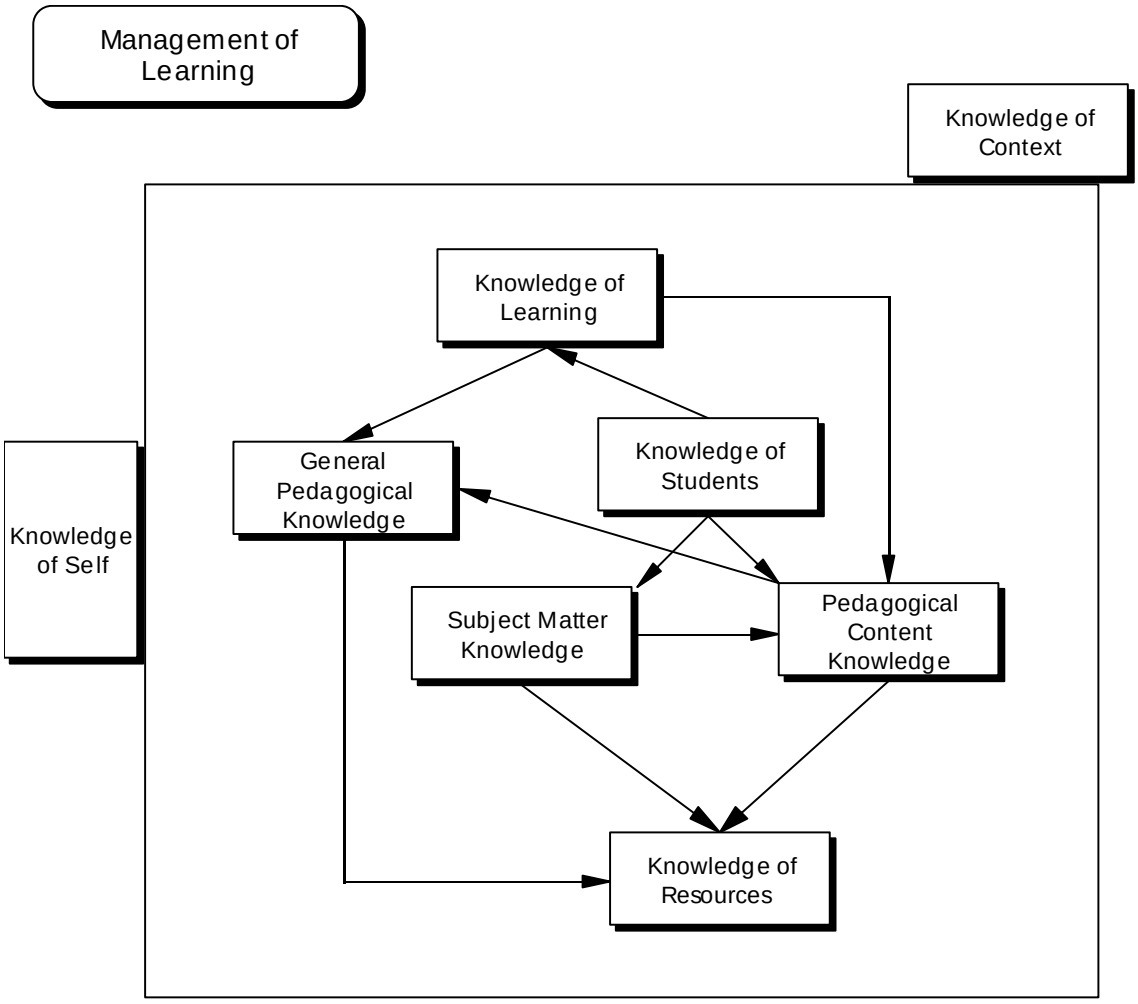


Figure 3 Interactions among teacher knowledge categories in the management of learning

In both types of management, the teachers' Knowledge of Learning and Knowledge of Students played a rather central role. In both Figure 2 and Figure 3, Knowledge of Students assumes a position in the middle because of the teachers' student-centered stance in their performance of both managerial tasks. The Knowledge of Learning most of the teachers called upon was specific to the adult learner population, thus the connection to Knowledge of Students in the diagrams. However, the specificity stood true for all participants only in the affective component of the Knowledge of

Learning. In the more ideal model of management of learning, which is presented above, teachers who were more successful in effecting learning tended to espouse an instructional component that was adult-specific. A comparison of the two components in Suzanne's Knowledge of Learning, for instance, indicated that although she focused on emotions and issues such as the preservation of a sense of identity that adult learners would experience, her view of how adult ESL learning occurs was based on how children learn their first language. This association of the two groups of learners perhaps could also explain Suzanne's argument for a lesser focus on grammar instruction, that children learn to use English, their first language, without relying on grammar lessons. A similar line of reasoning might also exist in Carol's case.

For all teacher participants, in both of the learner-focused management tasks, the interconnections among Knowledge of Learning, Knowledge of Students, and General Pedagogical Knowledge were similar, though not identical. In the management of student responses, the direct links between Knowledge of Learning and General Pedagogical Knowledge as well as between Knowledge of Students and General Pedagogical Knowledge demonstrate the emphasis on community-building and enhancing student engagement. In the management of learning, while the link between Knowledge of Learning and General Pedagogical Knowledge remains—now with an emphasis on repetition and students' awareness towards learning, the teachers' Pedagogical Content Knowledge mediates the connection. The highlighted role of Pedagogical Content Knowledge is a result of the nature of the task, the focus of which concerns the transmission of instructional content. Thus, teachers have to be profoundly mindful of, for instance, making the content meaningful and preventing confusion, a kind of awareness that was also true, for instance, in the user-friendly vocabulary substitution in Carol's and Suzanne's teaching. As teachers often manage student responses and learning

simultaneously, the mediation through Pedagogical Content Knowledge in the diagram, on the one hand, simply adds detail to the connection between Knowledge of Students and General Pedagogical Knowledge. On the other hand, when a teacher focuses more on fostering positive student responses, the absence of such mediation accurately conveys the interactions among the three primary knowledge categories presented in Figure 2: Knowledge of Learning, Knowledge of Students, and General Pedagogical Knowledge. In addition, General Pedagogical Knowledge in both diagrams also interacts with the teachers' Knowledge of Resources. In their focus on student responses, the teachers' attention to variety and dynamics informed their resource selection, as well as non-selection, for example, Charlotte's reluctance to include computer resources. Thus, Knowledge of Learning and Knowledge of Students had an impact on resources indirectly through General Pedagogical Knowledge. Also, Knowledge of Resources resides outside of the box in Figure 2 because instructional resources are one of the elements that facilitate response management, in addition to personal stories, anecdotes, conversations, jokes—just to name a few. When the focus was on the management of learning, General Pedagogical Knowledge also similarly facilitated the teachers' sifting through their Knowledge of Resources, for example, when many teachers adopted and adapted realia to enhance meaningfulness in the learning process.

In response management, three knowledge categories are primarily active, whereas categories such as Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge, particularly when defined structurally, played mostly a supportive role in the maintenance of a lesson's focus. This supportive role is because, although ensuring positive student responses facilitated learning and was an integral part of classroom teaching, it was not the heart of the instruction. The inclusion of Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Figure 2, however, also indicates the

more broadly defined subject matter in ESL instruction.

In the management of learning, a teacher's understanding of the content and her skills in transforming the understanding for instructional purposes assumed vital importance, particularly in more linguistically focused instruction. In Figure 3, the transformation process, planned and spontaneous, for the more successful teachers involved not only Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge but also Knowledge of Students, which, as briefly mentioned above, provided information such as areas that generally confuse students or examples that appeal to them. In addition, Knowledge of Students assisted teachers, for example, in prioritizing Subject Matter Knowledge based on students' needs in the community setting or in infusing culture-related Subject Matter Knowledge into the instruction delivered in the more academic setting. Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge also both impacted Knowledge of Resources, particularly in the teachers' use, evaluation, and creation of instructional materials.

With the teacher participants whose Subject Matter Knowledge was weaker and more intuitive, however, the following diagram applies.

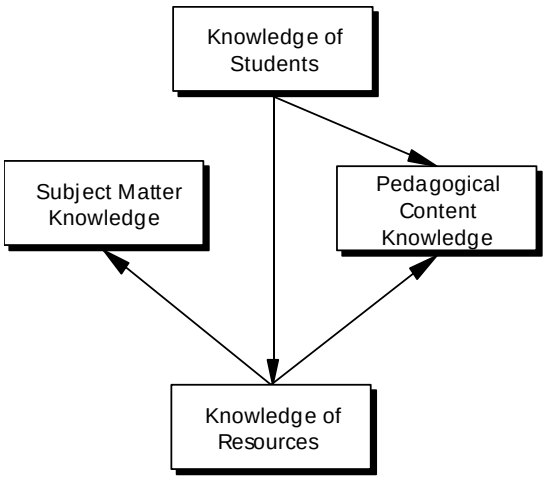


Figure 4 Interconnections among knowledge categories for teachers with weaker subject matter knowledge

Their reliance on published materials indicated the teachers' furnishing their Subject Matter Knowledge with resources of which they were aware. Although Knowledge of Students still informed these teachers of priority areas, the link between this information and Subject Matter Knowledge became mediated through their familiarity with available materials. In addition, as briefly alluded to above, Knowledge of Students remained interactive with Pedagogical Content Knowledge in student-friendly paraphrases. However, the link from Subject Matter Knowledge to Pedagogical Content Knowledge was replaced by a connection between Knowledge of Resource and Pedagogical Content Knowledge as the teachers also relied heavily on the materials to convert and convey the instructional content, particularly when the content involved grammar.

Regardless of the teachers' strengths in Subject Matter Knowledge, three additional interactions existed in their management of learning. The first was a link between Knowledge of Learning and Pedagogical Content Knowledge, represented by the dotted line. For example, the principle of focusing on a small dose of information was factored in the pre-instructional transformation. For teachers more dependent on resources, although the interaction was less about the transformation of content, their presentation of the material would still be divided into small portions, the sum of which constituted the entirety of the adopted material.

The second additional interaction concerns the permeating nature of Knowledge of Context. As explicated, this knowledge had an impact on almost every other knowledge category, hence its position at the top of Figure 3. The impact was sometimes in an informative manner (e.g., general student characteristics) and other times in a more restrictive way (e.g., shortage of instructional time or lack of clear curricular guidelines).

The last interaction involves Knowledge of Self, functioning as a filter that was not as pervasive as Knowledge of Context. In the figure, I placed it on the left of the diagram to accentuate the proximity to the knowledge categories with which it interacted the most. To a certain extent, the teachers' preference in learning styles and their aversion to certain techniques sculpted their Knowledge of Students, Knowledge of Learning, and General Pedagogical Knowledge. Also, when a teacher misestimated the strength of her Subject Matter Knowledge, the effect could reduce the contribution it played in instruction.

In the management of student responses, Knowledge of Context and Knowledge of Self took similar positions in Figure 2, external of the knowledge categories that are primarily responsible for the management task. In this case, however, Knowledge of Context mainly enhanced a teacher's Knowledge of Students and functioned more peripherally as awareness in the background that could also be informative or restrictive. For example, whereas Louise perceived the presence of a full curriculum as limiting the extent of response management, Lori's awareness of the same information did not greatly deter her from promoting learning-conducive responses in her students. Lastly, Knowledge of Self in the teachers' response management acted in a way similar to its role in the management of learning and interacted predominantly with three of the four knowledge categories listed in the former: Knowledge of Learning, Knowledge of Students, and General Pedagogical Knowledge. Additionally, Knowledge of Context had an impact on Knowledge of Self in the management of student responses: in the academic setting, there were more measures to hold students accountable, and teachers thus felt less comfortable forming friendships with their students outside of the classroom context.

The diagrams and the explication of the interconnections among teacher knowledge categories suggest a new definition of multi-tasking. In a traditional sense, the

teacher participants did take on multiple tasks in managing student responses, student learning, time, and activity, and each of the tasks could be further expanded to include various aspects. For example, Victor would switch to the task of making up stories on the spot to help students understand. He often wondered if including students in the story examples would be too personal, so he tried to use himself for negative examples. He also came to each class with different materials and pieces of equipment and had to focus on keeping things going, so students would not have to wait for him to get ready. And because some students did not react as quickly, he had to repeat the question for them or tried to say it faster so those who needed the entire question before answering could still participate. The teachers also constantly tried to gauge their students' reactions. Charlotte looked for

> facial expressions, level of energy, response time, [or] lag between hearing something and response time. And that doesn't always mean that they're not interested; it might just mean that they didn't understand it, but then that's something that I need to know, too.

The new definition of multi-tasking extended the list of multiple tasks into the mental sphere behind the scene. Although it may appear to an observer that teachers are merely conducting instruction, the internal apparatus of their knowledge base is working assiduously and effortfully at the same time. Lori provided an illustration:

> The way I attack teaching a second language is like a content class. I'm trying to get them to understand it in English. So this is kind of task-based learning: they have to take a very difficult grammar lesson, understand it together, and then create English and communicate with it. So it's everything coming together. I do multi-task in that manner because I was thinking about all these things…I didn't do that before my education [in graduate school], and now I do do that, and it helps a lot.

The list of knowledge Lori drew on simultaneously and fused together included: Pedagogical Content Knowledge, General Pedagogical Knowledge, Knowledge of

Learning, Subject Matter Knowledge, and implicitly, Knowledge of Students.

Although not as aware of the mental tasks they were performing, some participants shared similar reflections during the member check when they were presented with a diagram depicting their world as an ESL teacher, including the teacher knowledge terminology. For example, Louise commented, "It's interesting to see this (diagram), how busy it is and the interconnections. You just kind of don't realize all the things that are going on in your teaching." Jessica provided a more elaborated account:

> I think I do think about all of these things, but I probably don't break it down like this. What makes someone an effective teacher is these different factors…I think that I do take the stuff, perhaps subconsciously a lot of the times. I think I'm very conscious of the subject matter, and trying to meet the students' needs of what they need to learn. And as far as making people feel comfortable in the classroom, that's probably more of an intuitive thing, [ingrained] in a manner of acting.

As described before, Jessica's promotion of student comfort was strengthened by theories she learned during her graduate studies.

Although the teachers may not have been fully aware of the cognitive activities that informed their actions in the classroom, the layers of external and internal exercises make teaching a rather demanding task, particularly in light of the continuously transient nature of classroom dynamics to which the teachers reacted spontaneously. In addition, teaching may not come to an end when teachers leave the classroom and may extend to before they enter the classroom. For example, although her full-time job kept her from spending extensive time on lesson preparation, Carol, in her consideration of incorporating repetitious song lyrics, indicated an exertion of at least Knowledge of Resources and Pedagogical Content Knowledge. In Louise's case, to raise students' awareness while having them only produce two writing drafts, she emphasized providing feedback when grading the first drafts and fixing every mistake on the second, and final, drafts—all the while making use of her knowledge base.

Teacher Attrition and Continuation

Conscientiously spending time outside of the class reviewing drafts, Louise stated, "I'm just constantly grading…The grading is causing major burnout." Although she enjoyed teaching grammar, "the reason why I don't do that is because of the grading…It's almost a mistake that we put the grammar and writing together [into one class]" Teaching the same class, Lori only focused on specific elements on each draft, but she also noted, "That's a lot of grading…It's stressful. You want the majority of your students to pass," and, in order to achieve that, they would need to practice writing as much as possible, but there was often not enough time in the curriculum.

The other two participants from the academic setting were also experiencing exhaustion during data collection. Although there were personal reasons making him exhausted, Victor noted:

> I don't want to be that tired. Maybe I need a break; maybe I'm burned out. That's it…I think there's still a high energy level [in my classes], but sometimes I just want to go in and be a student in the corner.

He added, "I've reached my limits," partly because the administration had given him more classes than he could handle, and the program-adopted textbook was so problematic that he had to spend much time making it work. Charlotte also described herself as burned out because of the administration's request for her to emcee events: "I couldn't do it anymore." Also, "when you have a class of 14, conferencing with them for half an hour each, non-stop, back-to-back," even with just a few of them, added to the exhaustion.

Many teachers in the neighborhood-based programs also experienced difficulties, particularly those teaching in the Community Education Program. Moonlighting, Carol observed, "It was very exhausting for me to work a full-time job and then go teach at night." She was "nervous" about the program administration's new, sterner student retention requirement. She shared during the member check:

> I was really trying to maintain the numbers in my classroom, and I had a high maintenance…And then, my class was cut; I don't know why. [The coordinator] took the students and put them in the other classes that had low numbers. She said, "Go home. You don't have to teach anymore." …I'm sure they evaluated. I want to give them the benefit of a doubt because something political was going on.

Suzanne had also stopped teaching prior to the member check: "I have to work in places where people have the same values that I have about the students." Without providing exact details about the interaction with the administration, she noted:

> What was happening was that I was getting less respect, less acknowledgement, just less plain human kindness. I could have done without a pat on the back, but I didn't want a kick in the pants, either, and I was getting a lot of that. It was almost like out with the old and in with the new, no matter what, and they did say that.

Anna commented on the lack of time and lack of support from the administration:

> They want you to do files and do all this paperwork…I can't do them in the class, so I have to do some things outside that I'm not being paid for. Plus it's not fun; I'm not a folder person…You have to check things off that you have done, and if I go by that, I have done three things, but I have done 100 things. A lot of this extra paperwork to satisfy government agencies is completely ridiculous and time consuming.

The new program director was "a business person, not a teacher. So she is looking at this as a product: we pay this much, I want this much out. She doesn't know the problems of teaching ESL," particularly regarding student attendance and pace of improvement. Anna described teaching in the program as

> an extra thing that has become more work than I can stand…I still enjoy the class and the students, but that's it. The program no longer appeals to me…just the pressure of all that. I don't need that in a part time job. It was not worth the aggravation.

In the Adult Education Program, the only full-time teachers in the neighborhood-based setting, John, expressed his discontent during the member check regarding his new assignment:

> I don't have any students over there, because they registered but then they never come to class…Five hours a day, I sit there. Can you believe that? I'm being wasted as a teacher…I really am thinking about quitting…It doesn't have any excitement at all; I'm bored to death.

Attrition patterns were different among the teacher participants. At the time of the final member check, although Lori was the only one who had left her program in the academic setting, half of the participants from the neighborhood setting were no longer teaching—Anna, Carol, and Suzanne, all from the Community Education Program. Personal reasons partly explained their departures: Lori decided to move to Oregon to be with family, Anna's full-time job was expanding, and Carol and Suzanne had health issues. However, a common factor was present in the form of administration-induced stress. And so, for both the management of responses and learning, perhaps there existed a general connection between Knowledge of Context and Knowledge of Self, with the former leading to a teacher's awareness of feeling burned out and of having to balance responsibility and conscientiousness, as for example, by avoiding teaching a class with much grading, a conscientious teacher avoids the conviction that drives her to do the right thing. The connection between the two knowledge categories also seemed more detrimental in a program setting where the entrance is easier, teaching is not the primary professional activity, and the pay is supplemental.

However, when the Knowledge of Context highlights a program's undertaking of serving adult learners, the connection to Knowledge of Self could be more positive and suggested the underlying attribute of altruism in many teachers' cases. Serendipitously entering the field, Lori noted during the member check:

> It is a rewarding profession. I truly feel like I'm helping people; I see it every day. I actually look forward to being in the classroom. I'm helping people in more than just language. I'm teaching them about culture and how to live in this country…[helping them] make sense of their new world and language.

Regarding her initial experience, she observed:

> I didn't really know what I was doing, but I liked it…I decided to get my master's because I realized, well, how much more money you can make…It's an awesome job. I love it; I love being a teacher. The students were just so interesting and wonderful, eager to learn; I learn about their cultures. It's the coolest job ever; that's why I stay with it. I even convinced my husband to get his master's because he saw how much I love my job and what a cool job it is…I took something I enjoyed doing and made it my profession.

Shortly after her move to Oregon, Lori began teaching again in a neighborhood-based program.

Although Anna did not return to teaching, she observed that before she quit, "I got a lot of joy out of it. I stayed with the program so long because [being] in the classroom with the students pushed me to want to stay." Suzanne's sense of a kinship and development of friendships with the students contributed to how she normally felt "happy and energized from the class…I like teaching adults, and I especially like teaching adults from different cultures. I like the adult interaction." She confessed, "I've been missing it," since she had stopped teaching. Carol also experienced transformation through teaching the class. One example was when she was late due to car trouble. She later shared, "Just interacting with the students made me feel better. I came in here, and once I started teaching, I was like, (sigh of relief)…It's great." However, like Anna, neither Suzanne nor Carol went back to teaching.

The other participants who remained in their neighborhood-based programs observed similarly positive connections between teaching ESL to adults and their high spirits. Jessica shared, "After I finish teaching, I always feel so good and so happy." She would "come out [of teaching] with a change of attitude and feel good about myself," even when she went into the class "[feeling] depressed or [having] a bad day…I definitely want to stay with ESL." After the member check, she had ventured into

teaching in an academic program part-time. Judy described teaching ESL as "[giving] my life sparks." She shared:

> I'm always kind of "high" after class. Most of the time, it makes me feel good. I really like that kind of problem solving, or working with people and helping them do that. Most of the work I do, otherwise, has been very solitary. So this gets me out; it's my social life. I'm retired. And I say I would do this as long as it's fun, until it stops being fun, or until I can't remember anybody's name anymore!

She has remained in the field. In the summer of 2009, she began working on her third master's degree—this time in language education. John also saw himself maintaining the tie with ESL. He jokingly commented, "If I won a lottery…I would continue teaching ESL, and probably what I'd do is move to a small town and have free classes in the library [since] I don't need the money."

The remaining three participants in the academic setting who had expressed exhaustion also revealed another aspect of how they felt rejuvenated. As a novice teacher, Victor "used to dread facing the students." As time progressed and as he spent more focused time planning, he noted:

> [S]ometimes I actually look forward to classes; I'm like those are going to be easy. And I'll feel better afterwards, like I'm always happier after the grammar class, which is weird. It's like taking anti-depressant, and like an extra cup of coffee. It's like, I come out feeling happy.

Louise similarly observed, "I think being in the classroom, or talking about teaching, does give you energy. It's invigorating and I like it. I feel I know what I'm doing, and so that's very empowering." She contrasted, "It's before and after the class, with the grading, committees" that were less energizing. "But when I'm in it, I love it!" Charlotte described how she felt "recharged" because of teaching:

> I have walked into my classroom many times, when I feel like I want to go home. But as soon as I see my students, it's like there's a switch, ding. I'm completely different. I think teaching brings something really good out of me…I see myself staying in the field. I can't not teach.

Also, Charlotte, Louise, and Victor stated they would like to pursue other professional opportunities such as teacher training and publishing while remaining connected to the field of ESL.

The presentation and discussion of the current study's findings, to an extent that is as thorough and inclusive as possible, at the very least evidenced and demonstrated the complex and demanding nature of ESL instruction for adult learners. In the last chapter, I will examine and synthesize the findings in light of the research questions guiding the current study.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

During their work with adult learners served by the two primary program settings offering ESL instruction, the teachers who participated in the current study embraced a student-centered stance. Although the teachers' perceptions regarding the extent to which they were able to help their students along on the journey to English proficiency might not always be accurate, as the prior discussion has shown, all the teacher participants indeed demonstrated great care for their students and the provision of ESL instruction to adult learners was an immensely complex undertaking. Based on the findings presented in the previous chapter, the current chapter addresses the three research questions identified at the outset of the study, repeated below, as well as discusses the study's contributions, limitations, and implications.

1. How are the teachers participating in this study similar or different with regards to their teaching and knowledge base? What factors contribute to such similarities and differences?
2. What role does professional preparation play in how the teachers teach?
3. What role does the teachers' own language learning experience play in their teaching?

Similarities and Differences among Teachers

Based on the data collected, a list of common attributes was identified as characteristic of the teacher participants from four different program contexts: conscientiousness, empathy and responsiveness towards students, self-perception of stylistic uniqueness, and adoption of various personas. Altruistic and reflective are also fitting descriptions of the teachers, with regards to their work with adult ESL learners as well as their decisions to participate in the research study.

Another attribute, and perhaps the most salient similarity among the teacher participants, concerns their entry into the field of ESL. As described, none of the teacher participants started out considering ESL as their first or primary career choice, and they were drawn to the field for reasons ranging from flexibility in hours and availability of positions, to provision of assistance to acquaintances, contribution to the community, human interaction after retirement, affinity towards "outsiders" in the society, and financial support while studying in college or sojourning in a foreign country. Mostly, the teacher participants mentioned a combination of motives for their entry.

The fact that the 10 teachers recruited based on rather general and liberal criteria and sampling strategies had all entered the field of TESOL haphazardly with little to none professional preparation seems to point to how the field may be distinctive. Furthermore, this shared attribute among the participants communicates the attractiveness of the field as well as confirms the ease of initial entry in both the ESL and EFL settings, thereby unfortunately also substantiating the public perception of simplicity in the provision of English instruction to speakers of other languages.

Among the four ESL programs included in this study, leniency in the hiring criteria was particularly evident in those based in the community where most instructors worked on a part-time basis. As Table 2 illustrates, however, among the participants from the community-based programs, many also possessed a master's degree that is typically required by college-affiliated programs. Nevertheless, all the teacher participants still brought with them various years of experience and professional backgrounds. When the participants are compared in terms of program settings, while those from the more academically focused programs also had their initial accrual of teaching experience in an environment with less rigid hiring criteria, they also appeared to be more homogeneous,

particularly in terms of their professional preparation.[19] In contrast, diversity exists in not only professional preparation but also teaching experience among the participants from the community-based programs.

In the area of teacher burnout and attrition, while the majority of teacher participants expressed a certain degree of administratively instigated dissatisfaction, resilience differed primarily according to the program setting where each teacher found herself, and easy entrance translated into a higher likelihood for departure. While most of the teacher participants, regardless of their programs, experienced rejuvenation and excitement when in the classroom, the ancillary nature that typically characterize neighborhood-based teachers' involvement in adult ESL instruction did not appear to supply the participants' perseverance to remain in the field. One factor in a teacher's decision of continuous involvement despite discontent appears to be whether the teacher's employment is full-time or part-time (also see Tamassia et al., 2007). As the only full-time teacher in the neighborhood setting, John continued with the Adult Education Program. And as previously discussed, the difference in employment category is often aligned with program settings, with neighborhood-based programs offering dominantly part-time positions.

In addition to similarities and differences related to the entry into ESL teaching, in the classroom, the teacher participants' management of student responses and of learning also exhibited patterns in terms of their enactment of the elements in their knowledge base as well as in terms of the strengths of their knowledge. In these two primary tasks of

[19] While teaching positions in academically focused ESL programs generally require a graduate degree in a discipline related to language education, a quick web search of such programs and information about their teaching staffs, when the latter is made public on the web site, normally reveals an array of disciplinary relatedness. In addition to the areas in which the four participants in the current study obtained their degrees (i.e., language education, linguistics, applied linguistics, and bilingual/bicultural education), others include English, sociology, educational psychology, student affairs in higher education, and Latin American studies, to name just a few.

management, the teacher participants were similar in how they made use of multiple knowledge categories simultaneously, and as a result, elucidated the meaning of multi-tasking in teaching as encompassing both the behavioral aspect and the supporting cognitive processes.

In the area of management of student responses, the teacher participants were overall similar as all of them acknowledged the role of the affective domain and most placed emphasis on taking care of it through, for instance, fostering comfort, rapport, equality, and a sense of community. The teachers also similarly called upon a variety of interconnected knowledge categories to inform this student-centered management task. The sole point of variance existed in the amount of pressure Louise observed from the packed curriculum in her academically focused program, which led her to apply less time and energy to the cultivation of in-class relationships. In addition, like Louise, the other participants in the academic setting were also less likely than the teachers in the neighborhood setting to develop and extend the in-class relationships to outside of the classroom context.

In the management of student learning, however, the teacher participants showed more variation both in their knowledge enactment and in the strength of key knowledge categories they drew on to facilitate this managerial task in order to effect learning results. For instance, most of the teacher participants demonstrated principled practices based on their Knowledge of Learning that was specific to adult learners. In contrast, Carol and Suzanne, two of the relatively less experienced teachers in the neighborhood setting, observed a resemblance of how language learning occurs for children and for adults.

A more significant difference in the teachers' management of learning that directly impacted learning results, however, concerned their Subject Matter Knowledge,

the strength of which was defined in terms of degrees of explicitness. The importance attached to the nature of this knowledge category was particularly true for the linguistic, or languacultural (Agar, 1994; Lantolf & Johnson, 2007), aspect of the subject matter (as opposed to the aspect that is truly cultural). Relatively high explicitness in the Subject Matter Knowledge, as the discussion of study findings has shown, directly impacted the teachers' ability to efficiently and responsively offer effective and accurate explanations that were also informed by Pedagogical Content Knowledge and Knowledge of Students. Such efficiency and responsiveness is critical because of characteristics of adult language learners, that they tend to take longer to develop proficiency and that they have a propensity for rules and explanations in order to attain clarity in their learning. By using the allocated time well through succinct instruction that successfully results in student understanding, the teachers could accomplish more in their classes, even when they also take the time to address students' confusion and difficulties through, again, concise and precise explanations they constructed right on the spot.

The teacher participants who demonstrated the weakest, or least explicit, Subject Matter Knowledge were Carol, Judy, and Suzanne, all of whom from the neighborhood-based setting. Mostly tacit and intuitive, their Subject Matter Knowledge could not be retrieved or articulated easily, efficiently, and accurately in order for them to communicate the content successfully. Instead, they showed reliance on instructional materials as the source of Subject Matter Knowledge as well as Pedagogical Content Knowledge. As a result, they often faltered in their attempts to attend to students' confusion and spontaneous inquiries. In addition, these teachers' reliance on materials was ineffective because of their also limited Knowledge of Resources, which, at least for Carol and Suzanne, did not extend beyond what the program administration had made available, which they occasionally supplemented with online materials.

Differences in the amount of experience in teaching adult ESL could possibly explain the tacit knowledge that might still be in development, as many teachers made reference to having learned more about the English language by teaching it. However, the fact that, regardless of the difference in experience, none of the participants in the academic setting were observed to show a reliance on instructional materials or recurrent difficulties in retrieving and communicating Subject Matter Knowledge suggested another possible factor associated with professional preparation, to which I turn next.

Impact of Teachers' Learning about the Trade

As an extension of the discussion above regarding the varying levels of explicitness in Subject Matter Knowledge, a comparison of Carol, Judy, and Suzanne with Charlotte, who had approximately the same amount of experience teaching adult ESL, seemed to point to an effect of professional preparation on teacher knowledge. While the four academics-focused participants, including Charlotte, all had a master's degree in language education or a related field, among the six teachers in the neighborhood setting, Carol and Suzanne were the only ones without formal professional preparation. Although variety certainly exists in the professional preparation curricula, and although the small number of teacher participants in the current study necessitates a caveat in the interpretation of any suggested connection between factors, the positive impact on the strength of Subject Matter Knowledge from teacher preparation seemed evident when nearly all of the teacher participants in both program settings who had been professionally prepared at the time of the study, regardless of years of experience, were observed to falter rarely but capably achieve student understanding promptly and successfully.

In the case of Judy, who reported and was observed to often inductively derive rules in class as well as modify her derivation after online research, the teacher preparation program that certified her to teach ESL in Texas public schools appeared to not equip her with the ability to provide adult learners with explanations for why something is the way it is in English. The only linguistics-related component in the certification program she attended is a course in applied linguistics, which is combined with methods in ESL. The paucity in linguistic preparation in the program of work is understandable as children are less likely to request explicit rules in an environment where English is the language that surrounds them,[20] although it is possible that, like the teachers in Reeves' (2009) study, Judy may have also struggled with providing linguistic explanations when she taught in the public school setting.

However, Judy's exposure to theories of second language acquisition during the certification process may have allowed her to distinguish herself from Carol and Suzanne in the area of Knowledge of Learning, particularly as pertinent to the management of learning. Unlike Carol and Suzanne, who regarded learning for children and adults to be relatively similar, Judy differentiated between the two learner groups, for example, in emphasizing the practice of making the adults stretch. While other factors could have contributed to the difference on the continuum of specificity among the three participants, Suzanne's similar, and longer, experience working with children seemed to lend some support to the inference of an effect on Knowledge of Learning from field-relevant professional preparation.

The combination of weak Subject Matter Knowledge and less adult-specific Knowledge of Learning could lead to less principled instruction that does not address

[20] Anna's certification to teach English to school children in Lebanon had a different focus--EFL. She shared once how teaching EFL helped her teach adult ESL: "Even if you're teaching literature, you're going back to basics of grammar because they have language gaps, because they're not native speakers."

students' needs and moves students along the lengthy language learning process more slowly. For example, Carol and Suzanne both expressed their observation regarding students' lack of readiness for grammar; however, they were simultaneously faced with the predicament in their perception that students did indeed need grammar instruction—an area difficult for the two teachers to support because of the incompletely elucidated Subject Matter Knowledge. The teachers thus experienced an epistemological dilemma and incongruence that they had to resolve. In contrast, teachers such as Anna, Jessica, John, and those in the academic setting more adeptly prioritized students' needs and provide instruction, even when it was about grammar.

The foundation from professional preparation also seems to, along with a history of effectiveness in student learning, enhance teachers' development of eclecticism and confidence in their own Knowledge of Learning that is a fusion of both personal and disciplinary theories. For example, Jessica acquired a stronger voice for her originally experiential theory through the reflective process of "articulation" using "the professional language of the teacher education program" (Freeman, 1993, p.489), while also assertively going against some theoretical flows in the discipline of language education and arriving at a composite of principles and practices, all through her graduate studies. In addition, the professional foundation also appears to provide teachers with better guidance and criteria in evaluating professional development as well as in accessing broader development opportunities through an affiliation with professional organizations—another area where Carol and Suzanne also appeared to fall short.

Apprenticeships through Language Acquisition

In addition to professional preparation, the teachers' experience as language learners also informed several of their knowledge categories, such as Knowledge of

Learning. Knowledge of Learning as potentially shaped by both personal and disciplinary theories, for those participants without professional preparation, however, the primary origin of this knowledge category of theirs would be personal experience.

All having studied at least one additional language other than English, the teacher participants—professionally prepared or not—often referred to an aspect of their personal theory related to their experience as a learner, or as Lortie (1975, 2002) termed, "the apprenticeship of observation." While in their references to their own learning experience, there are instances when the teachers were simply focusing on what Lortie described as "intuitive and imitative rather than explicit and analytical…based on individual personalities rather than pedagogical principles" (p.62), many teachers in the current study took a more analytical and pedagogical angle, for example, by extrapolating what they evaluated as having assisted their learning. Also in the current study, the teachers' apprenticeship appeared to play a role in shaping and ratifying several knowledge categories.

In the category of Knowledge of Learning, examples of such an influence include the emphasis on raising students' awareness of what and how they were learning (e.g., Charlotte's experience of not knowing what she was supposed to be learning and Judy's desire to have her mistakes brought to her attention), and on taking care of the affective domain through an understanding of the learning process (e.g., Jessica's analysis of how she reacted to correction during her recent study abroad experience). The ability to empathize with the students from a standpoint of language learning further informed the teachers' Knowledge of Students (e.g., Louise's positive spins when she occasionally shared stories about language learning and adjustment to the target culture) and General Pedagogical Knowledge, examples of the latter including classroom dynamics and interaction (e.g., Carol's mindfulness in not pushing students to a point where they froze)

as well as activity ideas (e.g., Lori's emphasis of students' use of notebooks for what they needed to review at the end of the day). And often, the teachers' reflection on the experience as a student acted as one source of their Knowledge of Self, such as in terms of preferences that were more "intuitive and imitative" in Lortie's description. In addition, the apprenticeship of observation that informed teacher knowledge could be broader than language learning experience, such as Jessica's and Judy's visual learning style, or John's mixture of comfort and stress that was partly from his learning to shoot arrows.

However, when the focus is on language learning experience, unlike in the case of teachers of math or even Spanish, the apprenticeship of observations did not appear to have a strong presence in the interrelated knowledge categories of Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge. As native speakers of English, the teacher participants had not gone through the learning process of the subject matter of English as a Second Language. When teachers referred back to their early education in English, as Carol and Suzanne both reported to have done, the information rendered was not quite as informative because it was not through the lens of English as a Second Language. This discrepancy not only helps explain the teachers' reliance on instructional materials, but also highlights again the importance of explicitness in Subject Matter Knowledge as well as of teacher preparation.

Significance of the Study

Through a rigorous research design with an extensive data collection process, the current study elucidates the nature and enactment of teacher knowledge. Specifically, the study has identified and operationalized significant categories comprising the knowledge base possessed by teachers of adult ESL learners: (1) what the teachers know and

recognize about the program context, or Knowledge of Context, (2) what instructional resources they are aware of and use, or Knowledge of Resources, (3) what they discern and grasp as the content of instruction, or Subject Matter Knowledge (4) how they understand and transform instructional topics into learnable lessons, or Pedagogical Content Knowledge, (5) how they make sense of and manage the various aspects of the classroom (e.g., time, activities, student responses, and learning), or General Pedagogical Knowledge, (6) what they know and are able to predict about the learners, or Knowledge of Students, (7) how they perceive and believe learning takes place, or Knowledge of Learning, and (8) what they appreciate and consider essential about themselves, or Knowledge of Self.

Although several of these identified teacher knowledge categories are based on Shulman's (1986, 1987) framework, the inductively derived delineation in terms of definitions and scopes significantly adds to the level of specificity in Shulman's original framework and in much of the previous research informed by his framework. In addition, the delineation of teacher knowledge in the current study expands previous work by including a demonstration of how the knowledge categories are not discrete entities but interconnect and interact with one another. The relationships are presented through discussions of how the teachers engaged in managing their students' responses and in managing their learning by drawing on multiple knowledge categories simultaneously.

Specificity regarding teacher knowledge and its interconnections was also achieved in this study through the separation of the two management tasks—one focusing on affective reactions and the other on the learning process. Although in both of the management tasks, several knowledge categories behave and interact similarly, the approach of explicating the tasks separately has conferred appropriate weight to the affective domain of language learning, clarified the role of Subject Matter Knowledge,

and elucidated differences and similarities in Knowledge of Learning. Clarity regarding Subject Matter Knowledge and Knowledge of Learning further informs the impact of professional preparation on ESL teaching, including the suggestion that although teacher training in ESL with a focus on K-12 public education might equip teachers with capacities they could transfer to working with adult learners, such professional preparation might not be adequate for the teachers to competently address adult learners' needs.

The study's findings concerning teachers' use of interconnected knowledge categories and their often simultaneous undertaking of two different management tasks also add to the meaning of *multi-tasking*, in that the concept describes the intricacy of not only a teacher's outward actions but also the working of her cognitive apparatus. In addition, the multi-taking that involves both action and cognition, as illustrated, could also extend to when the teacher is not physically in the classroom.

Limitations and Challenges in the Research Process

The current study has some limitations related to participant recruitment. Although an effort was made to include several nonnative-speaking teachers in the field of ESL, I was ultimately unsuccessful, and all the teacher participants in the study were native speakers of English. The inclusion of this group of teachers who had experienced learning English as a Second Language could have further illuminated how different or useful the reference to the apprenticeship of observation might be, especially in terms of impacts on Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge when the instructional focus was on the structural aspect of the subject matter. In addition, the inclusion of nonnative-speaking teachers might lead to possible additional differentiation among the teachers in the cultural aspect of the subject matter. The extent to which

nonnative-speaking teachers' empathy toward their students in terms of what it is like to learn the target language may generate insights to inform factors interacting with teachers' knowledge (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Medgyes, 1992; Spiegel, 1988; Tang, 1997).

The other recruitment-related limitation concerns the common attributes among the teacher participants in the study. As described, the participants seemed all to perceive themselves to be altruistic and reflective as individuals. For those who had developed friendships with me prior to the study, their participation was also an indication of altruism. All the participants further conveyed a sense of confidence, for example, in their perceptions regarding their individualistic styles or regarding their strength in knowing the English language well. Whether true or not, the teachers' self-assessment suggests a group of participants who liked to help people and who were overall confident enough to be comfortable with having someone watch them teach and in talking about their teaching. Perhaps the confidence factor was why it was difficult to get nonnative-speaking ESL teachers involved.

Once a group of rather helpful and confident teachers had been recruited, one major challenge in the process of this qualitative research study was an ethical one and involved the balance between truthfully presenting findings to the readers and justly upholding fairness to the participants in my selective portrayals of them based on the sea of collected data. Having the control over "[d]eciding what is important—what should or should not be attended to when collecting and analyzing data," I endeavored to include and present my analysis to as thorough an extent as possible. An example of my attempt to do the participants' justice was the inclusion of a description of data-derived positive attributes that were common among all the participants, before a comparative and evaluative account of how the teachers differed. In addition, through the thoroughness in

the report, I hoped also to have adequately demonstrated the complexity in the teachers' work as well as enhanced the trustworthiness of the findings.

The evaluative stance I took in adjudicating the teachers' "effectiveness" was not an easy task, either, because competence and incompetence in teaching do not make a clear dichotomy as filtered through my qualitative perception of efficacy. This obscurity is yet another indication of complexity and partly justifies my approach in the rather comprehensive reporting, for instance, through examining the teachers' work through the lens of two management tasks within the classroom.

Implications for Future Scholarly Undertakings

Based on the current study's significance and limitations, implications for future research endeavors in the realm of teacher knowledge and cognitions primarily concern the scope of investigation. Although it is challenging to conduct a research project of a holistic nature in terms of the collection of multiple data points and of analysis deriving multiple facets regarding teaching and teacher knowledge, the current study demonstrated how triangulated findings in teachers' knowledge base could better and more concretely elucidate the complexity in what teachers do and deliberate. Such holistic and complex depictions also prevent the assumption that elements in the teachers' knowledge base are discrete.

As implied in the discussion of limitations above, the inclusion of more diverse teacher participants in future research, such as in terms of language backgrounds and teaching contexts, could also expand the current study's findings into a more grounded theory of teaching. Such a theory should also be grounded in the different student populations served. Examining adult learning in general, Merriam, Caffarella, and Baumgartner (2007) regarded learning in adulthood as distinctive from learning in

childhood “in terms of the learner, the context, and to some extent, the learning process” as well as of “the configuration of learner, context, and process together” (p.423). Inquiries of similarities and differences among teachers working with adult and young learners of English thus have the potential of elucidating the nature of such teachers’ actions and knowledge.

Although the current study has elucidated the nature of teacher knowledge through rather extensive contact with each of the participants, the fact that it was not a longitudinal research project restricts its usefulness in the understanding of how teacher knowledge developed in adult ESL teaching. Therefore, future research can be illuminating by following practitioners and involving an investigation of how categories of teacher knowledge and the interactions among them evolve.

Furthermore, although in the case of ESL, student learning likely also occurs outside of the classroom, it may also be beneficial for future research to include student participants, incorporate measures of student performance, and relate the description of teacher knowledge as well as actions that could be attributed as application of such knowledge to observations regarding student learning. In other words, this extension of the current study supplements the definition of teacher effectiveness, competence, or expertise with the impact on student learning. This definition seemingly resembles the process-product paradigm to which scholars initiating the teacher knowledge research agenda were reacting (e.g., Erickson, 1986; Shulman, 1992).

Perhaps the resemblance to the process-product paradigm is the reality. A complete departure from this agenda appears unfeasible, and the paradigm shift appears at best ideological, because an obliteration of students and learning results from the equation of the complexity of teaching seems contrary to common sense. Ultimately, teaching is to effect student learning, with or without abstract conceptualization or

reconceptualization. What is different in this post-process-product paradigm, however, is the relatively significant focus on a cognitive aspect of teaching, instead of a mechanical and universally generalizable one. The post-process-product perspective therefore may be characterized as factoring in student learning and results into discipline-specific and context-specific teaching that is informed by complex teacherly cognitive processes that could be made public through reflective discussions (e.g., with a researcher or colleague). The private-turned-public information, for instance, in terms of knowledge depth and knowledge-informed actions that promote student learning, is useful for practitioners and teacher educators working in the same specific context to consult or even strive for.

This post-process-product view may have been present all along in the scholarly interest in teacher cognition, for example, in studies involving expert and novice teachers (e.g., Tsui, 2003). However, the presence of this view may have been mostly covert and implied due to scholars' efforts to distinguish themselves from the previous, more positivist conceptualization of teaching. The assertion of and implications from teaching effectiveness based on student results do bear the caveat and danger of reverting to a generalizable mechanical conception of teaching, as Carter (1990) cautioned, particularly about the line of expert-novice research, that generalization and evaluative application of expert characteristics, such as those in teacher thinking, from just a few cases are dangerous and unjustified. In that one aspect of teacher knowledge is its domain specificity, it would seem important to encourage accumulative research efforts about teaching in each discipline as well as fostering the synthesis of such efforts across disciplines.

Practical Implications

With both the caveat and recognition regarding the complexity in teaching and the interconnected nature of teacher knowledge, the current study presents contingent implications for adult ESL programs focusing particularly on the management of learning, an area that appears to be more challenging than the management of students' affective responses.

Although in the field of ESL there has been an ongoing debate on whether to teach the English language communicatively or structurally (e.g., Brown, 2001), what the current study has found seems to support the call for preparing linguistically aware teachers (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 1995; Liu & Master, 2003; also teaching assistants in Katz & Watzinger-Tharp, 2007). Regardless of the instructional philosophy that is communicative, functional, or form-focused, as teachers participating in this study pointed out, whether in a statement or, in some cases, in the form of an observed struggle, teaching English of adult learners brings to the foreground a teacher's ability to clear up confusions and support adults' predilection for explanations and rules they can apply to make sense of the language. The significance of teachers' linguistic awareness identified in this study also demystifies the impression that anybody can teach ESL; an individual's ability to use and function in English alone does not sufficiently equip him or her to be an effective ESL teacher of the language, for adult learners at least. Furthermore, as the study's findings have clarified, it is not the rigid and prescriptive type of linguistic awareness that teachers seem to need. Rather, it is the combination of clarity in a teacher's consciousness of the English language and the teacher's ability to articulate this consciousness in a way that facilitates students' understanding and learning.

In the more academically focused program setting, generally a relatively high percentage of teachers are linguistically aware. However, administrators in this program

setting could probably still benefit from reinforcing such awareness—as well as the ability to convert this awareness into student friendly lessons—through continuous development opportunities. The graduate programs teachers have completed may not always emphasize this critical type of awareness or the conversion of this awareness into learner-friendly lessons, especially as pertinent to the English language. In addition, as many teacher participants pointed out, Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge are not static but are cumulative and continuously modified, for instance, through self-study or learning on the job.

In the neighborhood-based setting, linguistic awareness and the ability to convey the awareness are also, if not more, important, as ESL classes in this setting often acquire a strong civic orientation in the advancement of the community. And program administrators play an extremely crucial role in augmenting good intentions with training that supports making the tacit explicit. While it is beneficial to maintain an open door to attract individuals enthusiastic about helping members in our community in need of stronger English skills to advance in life, staff members may encounter difficulties in retrieving and converting their intuitive knowledge about the language they are hired to teach. Their prior schooling has limited utility because it was not anchored in an ESL perspective and, most likely, it has been incorporated as part of their tacit knowledge. Experience and learning on the job over time could certainly help lessen the difficulties. However, this could be a long process, especially in the absence of guidance. Also, the rather scarce instructional time and the high likelihood of teacher turnover in this setting makes it especially critical to strengthen the hired staff's capacity to effectively address student needs from the first day in the classroom and translate student-centeredness into learning results. Perhaps, such a successful experience could also inspire teachers to remain in the program longer.

Also essential in the community setting is a focused approach to building teachers' capacities according to the specific characteristics of the adult learner population. As discussed, even teachers with K-12 certification may not be fully equipped to assist adult ESL learners. Most without a background in professional preparation in ESL (e.g., Bradley, 1998; Judd, 2000; Schlusberg & Mueller, 1995; Tamassia et al., 2007), however, teachers in this setting would be unlikely or unable to evaluate the quality and efficacy of training offerings critically, as in the case of the Superlearning session in the Community Education Program that the presenters had derived from Suggestopedia without themselves applying a critical lens.

The provision of quality and targeted teacher development opportunities thus also requires certain knowledge and skills from program administrators. In fact, the quality and qualifications of program administrators also bear importance, not only in terms of teacher development, but also in terms of support and understanding, the lack of which, as several participants in the neighborhood setting pointed out, could negatively impact teacher retention.

A movement towards formalizing professional development for those working with adult learners in the community may be spreading (Janysek, Martinez, & Miller-Payne, 2009). In Texas, the endeavor is through free and optional teacher and administrator credentials provided by GREAT Centers—Getting Results Educating Adults in Texas. Such providers could potentially be a good resource for teachers and administrators, particularly in consideration of funding limitations in the neighborhood program setting. However, these credential programs' offerings appear to lean more heavily towards the practical aspect (e.g., strategies and approaches), the theoretical aspect (e.g., principles of adult learning), and the accountability aspect (e.g., assessment). Therefore, as administrators request for or participate in the offered opportunities, it may

be important and worthwhile to inquire about the possibility of additional offerings in the more cognitive aspect, i.e., assistance in turning the tact explicit and in teaching it.

Another way to promote teachers' cognitive capacity in the transformation of the tacit linguistic knowledge concerns the talents from within. The easy entry in the neighborhood setting, while attracting many without professional education, also draws experienced and professionally prepared teachers like Anna, Jessica, and John with strengths in Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge. Although moonlighters like Anna may not be able to take on additional responsibilities, program administrators could certainly tap into available human resources to serve as mentors or training providers, also without breaking the budget. The concept of mentoring could also foster ongoing teacher development throughout the semester. As part of or independent from the mentoring, by providing more higher quality instructional and reference materials, administrators could also encourage and sustain continuous self-study to supplement more formalized professional development. If teachers find it hard to allocate time for the above intensive activities, the availability of better materials could at least ensure the teachers' reliance on them could lead to more instructional efficiency and effectiveness. While the above implications regarding linguistic awareness based on the study's findings seem more pertinent to one particular program setting, they could be applicable to any academic programs that operate in a way similar to those based in the neighborhood, especially in terms of hiring.

Another cognition-related area of teacher development involves reflectivity. The teachers' responsiveness to student confusion and inquiries, as related to the above discussion of efficient use of Subject Matter Knowledge and Pedagogical Content Knowledge, typifies reflection-in-action with "direct connection to present action" (Schön, 1987, p.26). What many teacher participants referred to as beneficial and as

contributive to the refinement of their craft and development of the elements in their interconnected knowledge base was the blending of experience and reflection-on-action. Even though reflective teaching has become a familiar phrase, administrators in both academic and community programs could probably still benefit from reminding their staff to engage in such a practice. The study's limitation in terms of attracting and including possibly more reflective individuals as participants did not necessarily diminish the value of simultaneously strengthening experience and reflection. The limitation could possibly point to the small percentage in a teaching staff that welcomes opportunities of reflection through the research process. In addition, it is probably more vital for administrators in programs with more lenient hiring practices to embrace fostering reflectivity among the staff, for instance, through professional development activities, or encouraging collaborative reflection, which the teacher education literature has identified as beneficial (e.g., Dong, 2000; Knezevic & Scholl, 1996), through guidance provided by mentor or master teachers. Teachers without a background in professional preparation may be more likely to experience epistemological incongruence that hinders their decisions regarding how to address the needs of their students.

One last critical area that could help to ensure or enhance student learning concerns the availability of curricular and instructional guidelines. While in the academic setting, a clearly defined yet overly ambitious curriculum could become an obstacle, in the neighborhood-based setting, advising teachers to follow loosely defined guidelines tied to funding accountability and leaving the decision regarding the scope and sequence of curriculum to the teachers may not work well across the board, as in some cases the decisions may result in flawed and unfocused patchwork. Serving a student population with aspirations distinct from those embraced by individuals enrolled in more academically focused programs, administrators working in the neighborhood should not

simply adopt an academically focused framework as it probably would not adequately address the specific needs in their program setting, such as in terms of essential functions and information the students need in order to navigate the society. However, the administrators' awareness of the more academic framework may still be beneficial, at least in informing how students who desire more explicit academic preparation may transition to the other program setting.

Evidently, providing better delineated curriculum guidelines to inform instruction is not an easy undertaking, particular when the diverse student needs are taken into account (Alfred, 2004). Not only does it require involvement from administrators knowledgeable in teaching and learning in ESL, it also can be a long process that calls for a commitment from the administrators as well as effective teachers like those identified in the current study whose individual curriculum was principled and addressed students' need for both functional and linguistic information. In addition to seeking input from such effective and principled teachers, administrators could again make use of mentoring as an interim arrangement while the program's curriculum is in development. Although a demanding endeavor, the development and delineation of a curriculum is an important step toward a more consistent level of instructional effectiveness that better empowers adult learners and supports their aspirations, including, if any learner so aspires later on, college attendance.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Call for Participation

Dear ESL teacher,

Because of your experience working with adult ESL learners, you are being invited to participate in a qualitative research study that has as its goal to elucidate the knowledge possessed by ESL teachers of adult learners. Specifically, the research project is looking for ESL teachers who

- have been teaching at their current program(s) for more than one year
- have more than two years of overall teaching experience

This flyer provides information pertinent to the research procedure:

(1) Interviewing
A series of interviews will be conducted, where together we will look at your past and present experiences as well as your reflection on such experiences and future outlooks. Depending on your preference for scheduling, the interviews could be combined or conducted as 3 separate ones—past, present, and future.

The interviews will be tape-recorded and take about 1 to 2 hours each. They will be set up at a time and place convenient for you. The total number of hours for interviewing will be around 3 to 5.

(2) Classroom Observation & Stimulated Recall
Classroom observation will be conducted for about 5 hours to follow at least one instructional unit consecutively. Your preference will decide whether the class observation will be audio- or video-taped.

Near the end of classroom observation, one recording will be used to conduct a stimulated recall interview, where you will be asked to share the thoughts you have while teaching the class. The stimulated recall procedure will be audio-taped and will take about 1 to 2 hours.

(3) Document Collection
Relevant documents (such as syllabi, written lesson plans, handouts, etc.) will be collected.

Please contact me at flin@mail.utexas.edu or (512) XXX-XXXX if you are interested and/or need further clarification!

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 2 Program Administrator Interview Guide

- How would you characterize the objective of the program?
- What is the focus of ESL instruction here in the program?
- How would you characterize students enrolled in the program?
    - What do you perceive as their goals?
- How would you characterize the teaching faculty? (e.g. knowledge, credentials, experiences, etc.)
- What are the characteristics the program looks for when hiring teachers?
- Are you familiar with other ESL programs within the Austin city limits?
    - What aspects would you say are similar between your program and those other programs? Different?

Appendix 3 Teacher Participant Interview Guide-Background Information

- Demographic information, including birthplace, nationality, native languages, experience learning/using other languages & achieved proficiency levels

- Sojourn in a foreign country (length, location, & purpose)

- Professional organization memberships (related to language teaching) & professional conference attendance (frequency, purpose, & focus)

- Employment History
    - How did you become an ESL teacher?
        - Reasons for teaching and for teaching ESL
        - Other jobs held before
    - What types of ESL programs have you taught for?
        - Describe how you taught at those different programs (e.g. teaching styles, focus of instruction, materials used, etc.)
    - How long have you been teaching at your current program?
    - How many classes are you teaching this semester?
        - Which class(es) would you consider to be what you typically teach? Why?

- Professional Development
    - Please talk briefly about your post-secondary educational experiences.
    - Can you briefly talk about your professional development experiences that are related to ESL or language teaching?
        - Why do you participate in professional development programs?
        - Tell me about workshops (courses) that you remember as your favorite.
            - Least favorite.

- Tell me about the best teachers you ever had (if applicable, language teachers).
    - Worst.

Appendix 4 Teacher Participant Interview Guide-Present Experience

- What aspects of your life experiences have been the most influential in making who you are as an ESL teacher today?
- Describe a typical teacher who teaches in your current program.
    - Would you consider yourself typical? Why or why not?
- If you could work with another teacher, what characteristics would you like for that teacher to have? Why?
    - How often do you discuss teaching-related issues with your colleagues?
    - Observe them teach?
- Could you compare your first day at the program with where you are right now?
    - How would you characterize the goal of your program?
- What do you perceive as the goal of your students?
- How do you perceive your role as an ESL teacher?
    - What is your goal as a teacher?
- What do you feel are your strengths in teaching ESL?
    - Relative weaknesses?
- How did you decide on the textbooks/materials to use in your class(es)?
- To what extent do you plan for lessons?
- If you were to get a gift of 10 more hours a week, how would you choose to spend that extra time? Why?
    - On ESL teaching-related activities?
- How often do you read about ESL teaching?
    - What do you read?
    - The most influential reading on your teaching? How has it influenced you?
- What do you think it means for an ESL teacher to know English?
- Could you talk about the major components that make up ESL as a field?
    - How do you think the components relate to one another?
- If you were in charge of preparing ESL teachers, how would you design the curriculum?
- How do you relate to your students?
    - On personal & instructional levels
- How do you think students learn English?
    - What do you think are common difficulties students have in learning English?
    - What common misconceptions do students have?
- What you consider to be the most common disruptive student behaviors?
    - How do you deal with such behaviors?
- How do you think a teacher should respond when he/she does not know the answer to a student's question?
    - Has that ever happened to you? What sort of questions usually?

Appendix 5 Teacher Participant Interview Guide-Reflection & Final Member Check

- (In combination with the visual displays used for member checking) Probe about what stands out in the interpretation and representations.

- How do you make sense of ESL teaching in your life?

- Where do you see yourself going in the future?
    - Do you see yourself teaching ESL for a long time? Why or Why not?
    - Do you see yourself teaching at your program for a long time? Why or Why not?

- If anything, what role has your participation in the research project played?

Appendix 6 Interview Excerpt with Probes

Q: Would you compare your first day in the program and you, right now?
A: Compare
Q: What you were like
A: At the first, OK the first semester was kind of bad ‘cause I was given these classes, and they don’t have specific, they don’t really tell you what you’re doing. They give you a book, and like loosey-goosey type curriculum, and so it was real hard
Q: So you had to do all the work yourself?
A: Right, and so I didn’t know exactly what I was doing, especially I was teaching AEP (Academic English Program), and, it was OK, but I was like always dreading going to class, dreading teaching, and just like ruin my life. It was so demanding
Q: That was when X was in charge?
A: M-hm, and a lot of, there was a lot of extra stress from X ‘cause she is picking on you, started yelling or whatever, and so from that experience to now it’s like, sometimes I actually look forward to classes; I’m like those are gonna be easy. And I’ll feel better afterwards, like I’m always happier after the grammar class, which is weird. It’s like taking anti-depressant, and like an extra cup of coffee. It’s like, I come out feeling happy. So and I don’t, I used to dread facing the students, what am I gonna do? Now it’s like, I have to put in a lot of work into planning and activities. I think that’s where the change has been. It’s like, the more activities, the better. It’s like a nuclear reactor; when there’s not enough going on, there’s gonna be a problem. If there’s a lot going on, there’s no time for anybody to misbehave, and so like keeping things going. So now that’s what I see, that’s, but I do still have to put a lot of time into planning ‘cause you know, you will have 10 activities in an hour and a half, you have to plan those things
Q: that would be the difference between good teachers and not so good ones?
A: yea but I still think it’s, I think it’s easier to do what I do
Q: easier to do what you do?
A: because I used to be a bad teacher, because as a bad teacher, you’d still go, but you spent, at least I spent all this time stressing about the class, it was a negative experience, depressed after class, students were not always happy, and just negative, negative, negative, in like, even though it takes a lot of energy to put into it, it’s like, oh I did it, and after class, I’m still energized, have a lot of energy. So as a person, it’s like, it’s so much easier, like in the long run. Even though it looks like a lot of work, and people are like, oh you do a lot of work. Well, I do, but I don’t do a lot of stress, you know. It’s kind of a trade-off: the stressing all the time and thinking about that, how shitty I’m doing. I actually did the work, and I’m like, having, you know, having fun and then I leave, and then go do other stuff, so.

Appendix 7 Classroom Observation Guide

Date: Instructor: Class:

Time	Topic/ Activity	Student-initiated exchange	Instructional explanation (Verbatim)	Student reaction	Teacher writing on the board	Notes

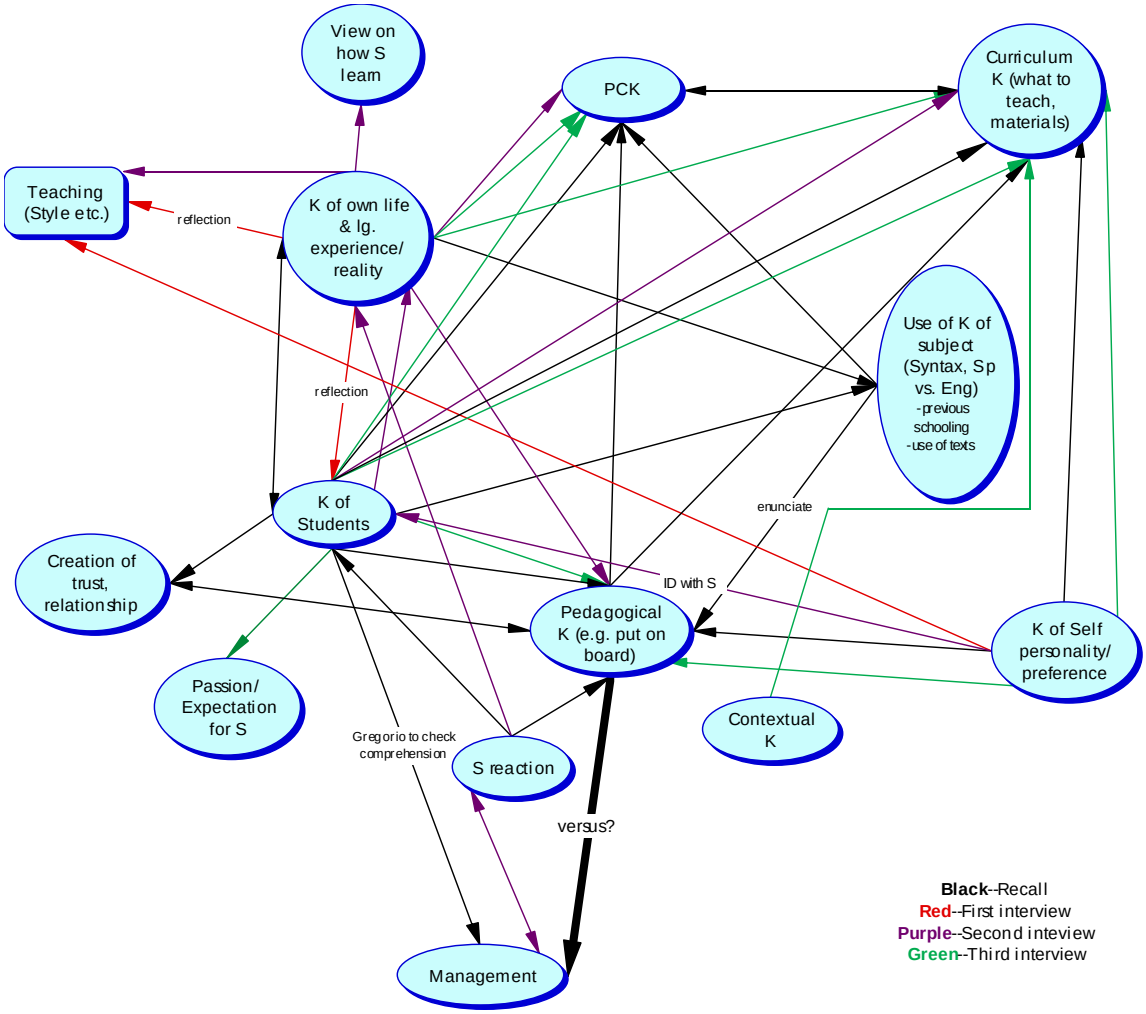
Appendix 8 Instructions for the Stimulated Recall Protocol

The purpose of this activity is for me to learn about what you were thinking as you were teaching the class. I heard what you said and saw what you did during the class, but I don't know what you were thinking during the lesson. So what I would like for you to do is to tell me what was on your mind.

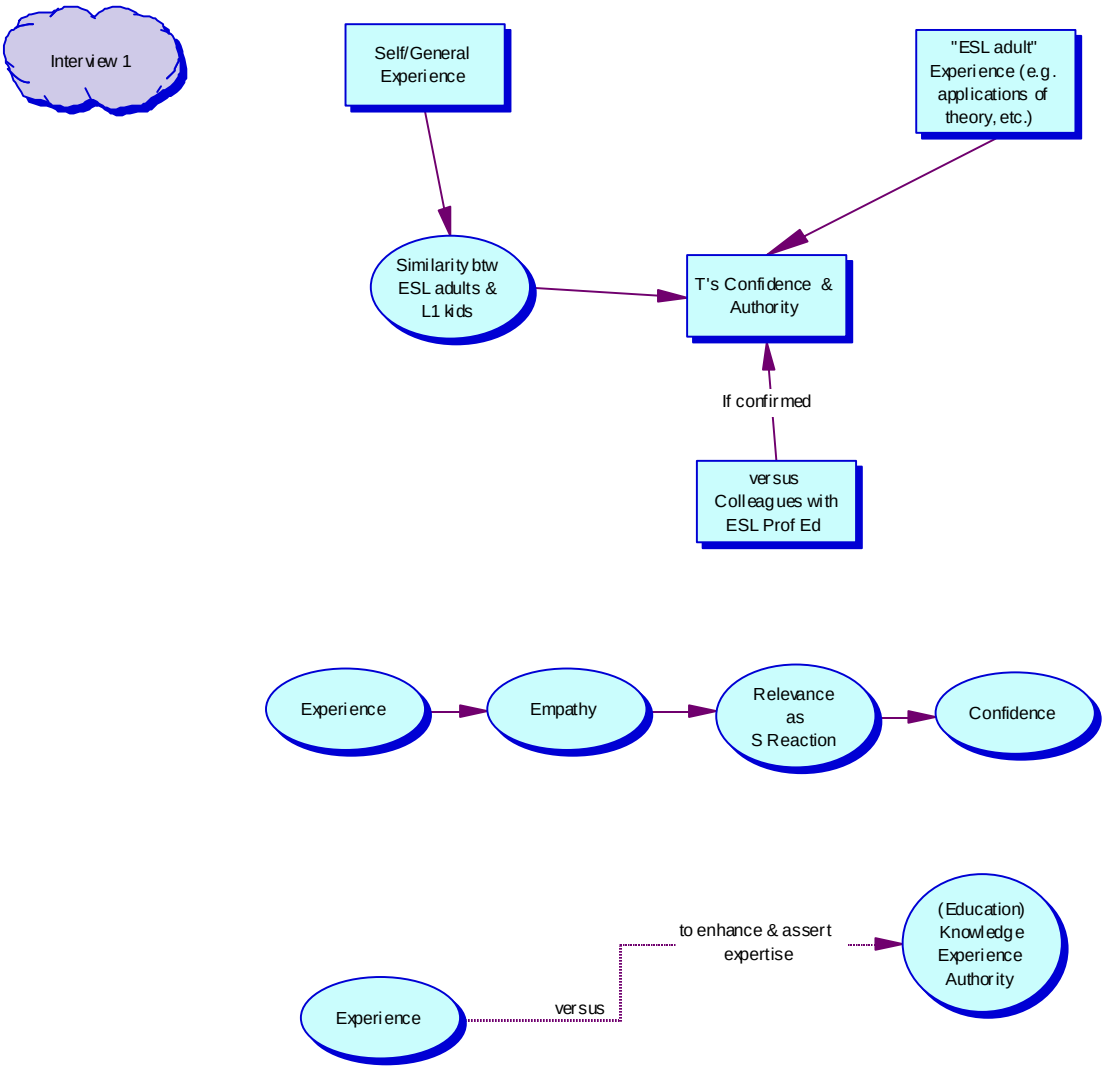
To help you remember your thoughts, what we are going to do now is to review the recording of the lesson you taught. I am going to place the laptop computer between us so you can pause the video clip anytime you want to tell me something about the lesson, and I will also press the pause button if I have any questions about segments of the lesson. Please feel free to say "I don't know" if you can't remember what you were thinking or why you did something. So relax and get ready to be entertained by yourself!

Appendix 9 Interpretation of Suzanne's Data

Web of categories:



Key concepts from the first interview:



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VITA

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