Research and Practice in Language Teacher Education:
Voices from the Field

Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Language Teacher Education

EDITED BY BILL JOHNSTON AND SUZANNE IRUJO

CARLA | Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Part III: Sociocultural and Political Contexts of Language Teacher Education

Introduction:
Voices from the Field

Bill Johnston and Suzanne Irujo

In May of 1999, a group of language teacher educators who worked in many different contexts in many parts of the world gathered in Minneapolis, Minnesota, for a conference on "Research and Practice in Language Teacher Education." The sub-title of the conference was "Voices from the Field," and its aims were to bring together research, theory, and best practices from all contexts of language teacher education, and to initiate and sustain meaningful professional dialogue across languages, levels, and settings. In keeping with the purposes of the First International Conference on Language Teacher Education, the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) of the University of Minnesota is pleased to extend the dialogue by publishing some of the "voices from the field" that were presented at that conference.

A Short History of Language Teacher Education Research

In the field of language teacher education, there has long been an unusual relationship between research and practice. In many other fields – one need only think of language teaching itself – there is often thought to be a gap between research and practice. Researchers claim that teachers ignore research findings; teachers, in turn, complain that university-based researchers do not acknowledge the realities of classroom teaching. This "dysfunction" (Clarke, 1994) is an ever present source of tension.

Language teacher education is different. In this field, in the overwhelming majority of cases the researchers are the practitioners. This means that research is usually of a very different nature. Researchers often research their own settings, or settings they work in and are familiar with. Thus, the topics are those that arise directly from the issues faced by practitioners, while the findings are of immediate relevance in practical as well as academic terms. Furthermore, much research focuses on single settings and inevitably involves the researcher her- or himself. There has always been a strong tradition of qualitative research and a continuous undercurrent of reflexivity in this work, as exemplified in several of the papers in these proceedings.

Conversely, as can also be seen from the following papers, where language teacher educators set off primarily to describe programs, courses, and settings, they do so with an increasingly sophisticated use of theory and analysis that they have acquired through their roles as

researchers. In this way, from both sides the distinction between research and practice is blurred, and it can be said that in this particular field they are two aspects of the same thing.

The present collection, then, sees research and practice in language teacher education not as two distinct areas or domains of activity, but rather as different yet strongly interrelated facets of our work as teacher educators. The purpose of this introduction is to place the work presented here in the context of developments over the last ten or fifteen years in which language teacher education has emerged as a legitimate and important field in which inquiry and practice have developed a uniquely supportive relationship.

The first significant milestone in the development of this relationship was Bernhardt and Hammadou's (1987) survey of research in the area of language teacher education. Bernhardt and Hammadou cited 78 papers published on this topic in the preceding 10 years. Yet as they pointed out, the vast majority constituted straightforward descriptions of programs or aspects of them, or pieces of practical advice (what Bernhardt and Hammadou call the "perceptions of experienced foreign language educators" [p. 293]). Bernhardt and Hammadou found only 8 papers that focused on empirical (i.e., data-based) research.

At about this time, many of those involved in teacher education, teacher training, and teacher development were beginning to come together professionally. TESOL's Teacher Education Interest Section began in 1983. The Teacher Development Special Interest Group (SIG) of the British based IATEFL was established in the mid-1980s; a related but different SIG on Teacher Training was set up a couple of years later. For some years now ACTFL has had a Teacher Development SIG; while NABE has a Professional Development SIG.

The first notable publication that was rich in both theoretical approaches and empirical data was Richards and Nunan's (1990) edited collection entitled *Second Language Teacher Education*. Several papers from this book (for instance, Bartlett's [1990] essay on reflective teaching, and Lange's [1990] description of a program driven by the notion of teacher development) have become classics of a kind in the field. Further landmark publications included the ACTFL volume on teacher education in foreign language education (Guntermann, 1993), and Freeman and Richards' (1996) collection of reports specifically focusing on teacher learning. This was followed by a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* in Fall 1998 devoted to teacher education; parallel issues in foreign language journals such *as Modern Language Journal* or in publications in bilingual education such as *the Bilingual Research Journal* have not yet been forthcoming, though these publications are beginning to include writings on language teacher education with greater frequency than before. Most recently, Johnson (2000) offers a series of detailed descriptions of teacher education practices in a wide range of settings.

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The growing number of publications has been matched by greater activity at conferences and meetings. Most notable were a series of conferences organized by Jack Richards and his colleagues in Hong Kong in 1991, 1993, and 1995 (Flowerdew, Brock, & Hsia, 1992; Li, Mahoney, & Richards, 1994; Sachs, Brock, & Lo, 1996). These conferences, which de facto focused almost exclusively on ESL/EFL contexts, served as the inspiration for the First International Conference on Language Teacher Education, held in May 1999 and organized by the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) of the University of Minnesota, from which the papers in this collection were drawn. This meeting was the first to bring together those working in teacher education and teacher development in different areas of language teaching: ESL/EFL, foreign languages, bilingual education, and immersion education; and at all levels of language learning from K-12 to tertiary. The work done at these meetings has been matched by the growing presence of presentations, workshops, colloquia, and so on at language teaching conferences such as TESOL, ACTFL, IATEFL, NABE, and elsewhere.

At the present moment there is a wealth of material being published in the area of language teacher education. A survey similar to that of Bernhardt and Hammadou's in 1987 would today reveal literally hundreds of sources. The literature being written today is increasingly sophisticated in its use of theory, its methodologies, its analyses, and its descriptions of practices and processes in language teacher education and language teacher development. Furthermore, it is addressing an ever-widening range of substantive issues and concerns.

In these proceedings, we have chosen to focus on three particularly important areas of research. We regard these three areas as among the most significant currently being addressed and discussed by researchers and practitioners in language teacher education. They are: the knowledge base of language teaching; processes of language teacher education; and sociocultural and political contexts of language teacher education.

The Knowledge Base of Language Teaching

The topic of teacher knowledge and the nature of the knowledge base has emerged as one of the central concerns of research in language teacher education over the last few years.

Recent interest in the teacher knowledge base emerged in general education in the 1980s. A number of theoretical frameworks were proposed; possibly the most influential of these was Shulman's (e.g., 1987) formulation of the knowledge base of teaching as comprising a set of different categories of knowledge:

- content knowledge

- general pedagogical knowledge (pedagogical issues that "transcend subject matter")
- curriculum knowledge
- pedagogical content knowledge (the "special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers")
- knowledge of learners and their characteristics
- knowledge of educational contexts (at both micro- and macro-levels)
- knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values (adapted from Shulman, 1987, p. 8).

It was not until the mid-1990s, however, that serious thought began to be given to the question of what the knowledge base of language teaching might be. Up until this point, since the early years of theorizing about language teaching (Fries, 1945; Lado, 1957) there had been a largely unchallenged assumption that what language teachers needed was declarative knowledge about the language which they were teaching. This assumption is encapsulated in the very term "applied linguistics," which Pennycook (1994, p. 127) reports to have been coined in 1948, and which was used to refer primarily to the training of language teachers, even though its use could clearly be extended (as it has been more recently) to many other domains. Under this conception, what teachers "knew" was the structure of the language they taught, and also some largely mechanistic pedagogy for "transferring" that knowledge to students. The great majority of the masters programs in TESOL offered in the U.S., Canada, Britain, Australia, and elsewhere based their curricula on such a view of what teachers need to know. At the same time, in foreign language teaching an equally unchallenged assumption has been that foreign language teacher preparation should consist primarily or exclusively of an undergraduate major in the language in question that focuses largely on literature, cultural knowledge, and language proficiency, with little or no attention paid to pedagogical kinds of knowledge (for a critique of this assumption see Lafayette, 1993).

A serious reevaluation of this view of teacher knowledge did not really begin until researchers such as Freeman (e.g., 1989, 1993), Johnson (1992), Woods (1996), and others started to conduct research based on empirical data from actual language teaching. Gradually the central focus of teacher knowledge began to emerge. Perhaps the first major formulation of this notion was found in Woods' (1996) construct of BAK, or beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge. Woods proposes BAK as a set of interrelated "propositions ... and the relationships among them" (p. 196), analogous to schemata but incorporating the more value-laden elements of beliefs and assumptions.

It is also worth pointing out that the emergence of this field of interest parallels the more general development of inquiry in general education, with an initial concern with teacher behaviors

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leading to an examination of cognitive issues in teaching and finally to a more complex and contextualized sense of teacher knowledge as played out in classrooms (for an account of this history, see Freeman, 1996).

This new view of teacher knowledge – and consequently of what teacher education should look like – has perhaps been most forcefully and cogently argued by Freeman and Johnson (1998). In their paper, which served as the introduction to a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* devoted to teacher education in ESL/EFL, Freeman and Johnson proposed a radically new view of the knowledge base of language teaching, one which is rooted in sociocultural context and in what teachers actually do in classrooms: "We argue that the core of the new knowledge-base must focus on the activity of teaching itself; it should center on the teacher who does it, the contexts in which it is done, and pedagogy by which it is done" (p. 397).

Much of the most recent empirical research has, either explicitly or implicitly, been addressed to Freeman and Johnson's call for a revised understanding and appreciation of the nature of teacher knowledge. This line of inquiry is still in its infancy, however, and further research is urgently needed. We have little empirical evidence to support, critique, or reevaluate the customary components of teacher education programs – coursework in syntax, phonology, pragmatics, second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and so on. We still have precious little understanding of how teachers acquire the knowledge they have. We do not fully appreciate the huge variety of sources of knowledge that teachers draw on, or the different kinds of knowledge that may be needed in the vastly different contexts in which language teachers work. And we do not know nearly enough about how the disparate kinds of knowledge – pedagogical, linguistic, institutional, interpersonal – intertwine and are played out in the context of teaching.

To help further the discussion on the knowledge base of language teaching, we have chosen five papers from the conference to include in this collection. The first two argue both for and against some of the customary components of teacher education programs. In "How Can SLA Theories and SLA Researchers Contribute to Teachers' Practices?" Julie Kerekes examines the effects of a second language acquisition course, which is a traditional component of language teacher education programs, on teachers' practices. Jean Marie Schultz challenges the traditional focus on language acquisition and methodology in her paper, "The Expansive Nature of Interdisciplinary Language Teacher Education," and argues for an interdisciplinary curriculum. The next two papers deal with the variety of sources of knowledge that teachers draw on and their interdependence. Eva Ponte's paper, "A Study of the Role of Teachers' Beliefs and Knowledge about Assessment and Instruction," shows how one particular teacher's beliefs about assessment changed through the implementation of portfolio assessment, and how those changes affected his practice. In "The

Interaction between Students' Beliefs and Teacher's Beliefs and Dilemmas," Ana Maria Barcelos discusses the dilemmas that arise from the influence on the teacher's own beliefs of students' beliefs about student and teacher roles. The last paper shows the need for different kinds of knowledge in different contexts. Kim Potowski, in "Educating Foreign Language Teachers to Work with Heritage Spanish Speakers," shows the need for knowledge of language varieties among foreign language teachers who teach native speakers, and outlines a response to that need.

Processes of Language Teacher Education

A second strand of empirical and theoretical research in language teacher education has comprised an examination of the actual business of conducting pre-service and in-service teacher education. As views about teaching and learning have changed during the past two decades, the processes of teacher education have also changed. In 1990, Richards and Nunan spoke of a movement underway at that time from "approaches that view teacher preparation as familiarizing student teachers with techniques and skills to apply in the classroom," to "approaches that involve teachers in developing theories of teaching, understanding the nature of teacher decision making, and strategies for critical self-awareness and self-evaluation" (p. xi). More recently, this movement from a transmission of knowledge framework to a view of teaching and learning as reciprocal interaction around knowledge has been further extended in teacher education to view learning as the creation of knowledge. Freeman (1998) presents a call for the formation of a new discipline of teacher-research as a way to facilitate teachers' investigations.

Much of the early writing about language teacher education dealt with the area of processes, and many of the categories used by Bernhardt and Hammadou in 1987 remain of interest to researchers and theorizers in the field. However, the focus of the earlier categories has changed, in many cases due to influence from work done in other areas of teacher education. Program descriptions often incorporate sociocultural and political aspects as they relate how programs are developed or change in response to particular contexts (e.g., Hudelson & Faltis, 1993). Studies of teacher behaviors have become more qualitative in an effort to understand not only what occurs in the act of teaching, but also why it occurs; much of this work is based on recent changes in our understanding of the knowledge base of language teacher education (Gebhard, 1990; Johnson, 1996; and others). Studies of observation and supervision are investigating new models that move away from transmission of information about "good" or "bad" teaching (e.g., Fanselow, 1988). Conceptualizations of inservice opportunities have been enriched by the work done around reflective teaching and action research (Edge, 2001; Edge & Richards, 1993; Kamhi-Stein & Galván, 1997; and others). There is also a growing group of studies in which teacher educators

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further their own professional development, as well as knowledge about the processes of teacher education, through reflective studies and action research (Mercado, 1996; Bailey, et al., 1998; Irujo, 2000; Johnston, 2000; and others).

There is much that we still don't know about the processes of language teacher education. As we develop programs that bridge the gap between theory and practice in language teaching and learning, we need to understand what difference this makes in teachers' understandings of teaching. As we implement innovations in our own programs, courses, and teaching strategies, we need to find out how teacher learners respond to these innovations, and how they affect teachers' practices. As we look at programs that are developed or changed in response to particular contexts, we need information about what effect these adaptations have. As we look at teachers' reflections, actions, and research, we need to think about how these processes interact, and how, singly or in combination, they can help teachers implement their own innovations. We have moved away from studies that tell "This is what we do," to studies that also tell "This is why we do it." Now we need studies that will tell "This is what happens when we do it."

In these proceedings, five papers address some of these issues. We begin with a theoretical perspective. In "Three Major Processes of Teacher Development and the Appropriate Design Criteria for Developing and Using Them," Dick Allwright examines contemplation and action, reasons for engaging in them, and the results of various combinations of contemplation and/or action for understanding and/or change. The next two papers begin to make the connection between what we do in teacher education programs and what effect these processes might have. Michael Legutke and Marita Schocker-v. Ditfurth discuss "Redesigning FL Teacher Development: A European Perspective"; they describe a seminar that uses both face-to-face and computer communication between pre-service and in-service teachers to bridge the theory-practice gap. Leslie Poynor, in "A Drop of Color: What's the Point of ESL/Bilingual Language Arts Teacher Education?" looks at the effect of a language arts methodology course on the ideologies of two pre-service teachers. The last two papers provide two very different examples of how a course or a program can be adapted to respond to the needs of a specific context. Shelley Wong, Yuh-Yun Yen, Francis Bangou, and Carmen Chacon describe in their paper, "Collaborative Research on Using Electronic Mail To Facilitate Student Voices in a Second Language Acquisition Course," how electronic communication was used in the course to encourage the participation of non-native speakers. In "Revising a TESOL Program to Better Prepare Second Language Teachers for Low Incidence Situations," Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir describes the changes that were made to a fairly traditional MATESOL program in order to better serve the specific population of the program.

Sociocultural and Political Contexts of Language Teacher Education

Another area in which a growing literature has emerged is that of the sociocultural and political contexts in which teacher education, teacher development, and teacher learning take place. This literature has run the gamut from broad descriptions at the national level to the study of teachers' lives and identities, and comprises both straightforward descriptions and theoretically sophisticated analyses.

Of course, just as good teacher education takes into account the sociopolitical context in which it is situated (Dubin and Wong, 1990; Lewis, 2000), so any good study takes into consideration features of the social, cultural, and political context when examining aspects of teacher education and teacher development. The importance of using these issues as a framework for examining other aspects of language teacher education is emphasized in studies such as Freeman and Johnson's (1998) reconceptualization of the knowledge base, and Tedick and Walker's (Tedick et al., 1993; Tedick & Walker, 1994) analysis of what must be done to ensure the success of second language education for both majority and minority students.

Sociocultural and sociopolitical issues have been placed center stage in various areas of research. A small body of research has looked at broad questions of language teacher education policy response to education reform in particular contexts (Samuel, 1998; Claire & Adger, 2000; and others). We have also seen a series of descriptions of various national contexts and the programs that operate within them. Examples of this type of study include Lopriore's (1998) study of a systematic in-service intervention for teachers of French, German, Spanish, and English in Italy; and Guefrachi and Troudi's (2000) description of a course for school English language supervisors in the United Arab Emirates. There is also a growing literature that focuses at the institutional level, looking at programs or components of them such as single courses (Mercado, 1996 on dialogue as critical reflection; Crookes & Lehner, 1998 on critical pedagogy in teacher education; and others).

The standing of language teaching as a profession has also been a subject of several studies and position pieces. A distinct line of inquiry within this general field has addressed the question of whether teachers can be said to have careers (e.g., Johnston's 1997 study of Polish and expatriate teachers working in Poland). Related to the recurring notion of marginalization that runs through much of this literature is the issue of teacher empowerment in language teaching and language teacher education (e.g., Ullman, 1999).

Finally, the teacher as individual has also been a subject of research, especially as it relates to the issue of language teacher identity (Moran, 1996; Johnston, 1999; and others). One central

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concern relating to language teacher identity is the status and role of non-native speakers of the language they teach (e.g., Braine, 1999).

Thus, using a range of analytical focuses from national programs and reforms through programs and courses to individual teachers, we have moved towards an appreciation of the complex social, cultural, and political forces at play in the field of language teacher education. Here too, however, there is still much to learn. Above all, given the undeniable influence of context on both knowledge and processes, detailed analyses of specific teaching and teacher education contexts are needed both to help understand the contexts themselves and to give us a richer sense of the field. At the same time, the process of reexamining key constructs from professional discourse (such as "profession," "career," or "non-native speaker teacher"), which has proved so fruitful, ought to continue. Finally, it is important that researchers in language teacher education continue to explore new theoretical ways of conceptualizing the relationship between the processes of teacher education and teacher learning and the sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts in which these processes take place.

The five papers from this area of inquiry that are included here begin to address the unanswered questions in different ways. In the first paper, "Professional Development as a Site for the Conceptualization and Negotiation of Bilingual Teacher Identities," Manka Varghese provides a detailed analysis of a summer in-service institute and the sociocultural context in which it occurred; she examines the different interpretive frameworks of presenters and participants in the institute and discusses how they affect the teaching/learning process. The next three papers examine the key constructs of "professional" and "non-native speaker teacher." In "Perceptions of Professionalism among Elementary School ESL Teachers," Tina Scott Edstam examines beliefs held by a group of elementary ESL teachers around issues of collaboration, marginalization, and devaluation of their roles. Linda von Hoene and Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl look at the construct of professional from the perspective of college foreign language lecturers; in "Creating a Framework for the Professional Development of Lecturers: The Berkeley Model," they describe the evolution of a professional development program that changed the concept of "professionalization" from one of top-down, summative assessments to an opportunity for collaborative reflection and formative development. Mae Lombos Wlazlinski looks at "A Non-Native English Teacher Educator's Response To Prevailing Sociocultural Conditions," describing how course materials and instructional criteria were changed because of the ethnic homogeneity of the students in the program. The last paper in this section examines the conceptualization of language learning and language teaching as a "foreign/native" dichotomy, and the detrimental effects of this dichotomy on language education;

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Anna Hahn, in "The 'Foreign' in Foreign Language Education," argues for the need to rethink the constructs of foreign and native.

Conclusion

As this brief literature review demonstrates, the field of language teacher education has come a long way since Bernhardt and Hammadou's (1987) overview. There is a great deal more empirically based research which draws on an ever wider repertoire of methodological techniques, theoretical orientations, and substantive concerns. The practice of language teacher education has also grown, offering innovative approaches in everything from program design and course content to classroom interactions and evaluation techniques. In short, the field has become much richer and more sophisticated in terms of both research and practice. The papers in this collection emerge from the intellectual and practical contexts we have described; each, in its own way, pushes our thinking about research and practice forward in important ways.

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How Can SLA Theories and SLA Researchers Contribute to Teachers' Practices?

Julie Kerekes

How Can SLA Theories and SLA Researchers Contribute to Teachers' Practices?

Before I signed a contract to teach an intensive course entitled "Second Language Acquisition" to a group of K-12 public school teachers in an urban school district in the San Francisco Bay Area, I was warned by numerous sources that I was in for a miserable summer. None of those teachers would be sitting in my class voluntarily; were it not for a recently instigated state law that required them to obtain "CLAD certification" (Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development) they could be enjoying their summer vacation rather than taking one in a series of five semester-long courses. Completion of these courses would qualify them to teach "Limited English Proficient" (LEP) students but, more importantly, would enable them to keep their jobs. My employer told me that the teachers (my students) would really have to be pushed; they would have just turned in final grades and completed their grueling academic year. The school district administrator who served as a liaison between the teachers and myself suggested I keep the work load to a minimum, and that the teachers would be very unhappy if the class were too theoretical. My friend who is an elementary school teacher (in another district) sat me down for a heart-to-heart, admonishing the nerve some "experts" have, to go waltzing into teachers' classrooms with their Ph.D.s, having never been public school teachers themselves, and tell these seasoned professionals (many with more than two decades of teaching experience) what they should do in their classes. She predicted that my students would have no interest in learning what the research says, or what the theories explain, unless they could be translated into practical problems and solutions for the classroom.

This scenario is a familiar one. We have all heard anecdotes indicating that teachers and researchers speak different languages, see the world differently, have different interests, and – most significantly – relate differently to "theory"; word has it that teachers want practical information, not theory. In addition to the substantial anecdotal data, empirical evidence also indicates that teachers want practical, applicable lessons that will directly help them to improve their teaching (Crandall, 1999; Johnson, 1996, 1997). But the question remains, do teachers (or does anyone, for that matter) *want* what they *need* in order to become more knowledgeable, prepared, and, in

effect, better, teachers for their particular students? What *do* K-12 teachers need in way of professional development that will prepare them to teach in the classroom of the 21st century?

Today's public school teachers (in the United States of America), most of whom did not choose their careers with the intention of becoming ESL teachers or teachers of LEP students, are keenly aware of their changing school environments and populations, encompassing facts such as the following: Approximately 14 percent of school-aged children (i.e., over 6 million children) in the U.S. are nonnative speakers of English, and nearly half of them are designated as LEP when they enter public schools. About 75% of these children grow up in families speaking Spanish, the remaining 25% representing hundreds of other native language backgrounds (Hakuta, 1998). The numbers of nonnative-speaking children, as well as those students designated as LEP, are increasing by the day. Such developments have been the impetus for California's recently-instigated requirement that K-12 public school teachers obtain CLAD certification, in order to meet the needs of the growing numbers of LEP students. The curriculum for CLAD certification includes courses in introductory linguistics, cross-cultural communication, bilingual education, and second language acquisition. The facts that CLAD certification is a state-mandated requirement and that the curriculum for such certification includes theories in SLA indicate the policy-makers' assumption that if teachers learn about SLA, their teaching abilities and effectiveness with California's LEP students will improve. Teachers, however, question the usefulness of the SLA literature, often feeling that theory is not what they need to improve their teaching (Crandall, 1999; Johnson, 1997). Some researchers, too, have begun to look critically at such course offerings in order to make them more useful, i.e., more applicable (Crandall, 1999; Nunan, 1990).

But how can SLA research and the theories it encompasses bridge the purported gap between teachers' and researchers' ways of thinking? One way is to encourage teachers to become action researchers (Ellis, 1997b; Nunan, 1997), so that they themselves can ask some of the important questions, seek relevant answers, and apply their findings accordingly. Ellis (1997a) suggests empowering teachers by having them connect research to practice (as equals). Schlessman (1997) warns that such empowerment comes only when accompanied by an ability to "become reflective and critical thinkers" (Schlessman, 1997, p. 777). Freeman and Freeman (1994) encourage teachers to become what they call "explorer teachers," describing one of their model explorer teachers as someone who "works to ensure that her practice fits the theory of learning that she holds" (p. 43). Allwright (1997), in agreement with Crookes (1993, 1997), advocates "exploratory practice," such that "local understandings" be sought "rather than…universalistic theory" (Allwright, 1997, p. 369). Both Freeman & Freeman's and Allwright's approaches attempt

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to integrate research and pedagogy. Successful integration, encompassing the perspectives of both teachers and researchers, requires that both participate in bridging the research/pedagogy gap.

What Teachers Can Do According to Researchers

Crookes (1993) describes two types of action research, equating the more conservative of the two with what has traditionally been called "teacher research": teachers address immediate problems in their own classrooms, typically in a rather isolated or individualist fashion, and often lacking a critical perspective. In the more radical type of action research, the idea is to do more than simply identify and solve a problem, but actually to instigate and perpetuate a reflective and collaborative community of action researchers working to reform education. The more radical type of action research is described as "educational research which is committed to emancipating individuals from the domination of unexamined assumptions embodied in the status quo" (Crookes, 1993, p. 131).

One reason to encourage teachers to carry out action research is that, often, they develop their teaching strategies from self-reflection. In their qualitative study of ESL teachers' approaches in an intensive English program, Crookes & Arakaki (1999) found that the primary source of teachers' ideas was their own teaching experiences. Many of the teachers they interviewed also rely on consultations they hold with their colleagues, books and other publications they read, and pre-service or in-service training workshops. But their own experiences remain their most common resource for considering what works and what does not in their classes; teachers construct their knowledge of teaching in part through the context of their classrooms and personal experiences in those classrooms (Golombek, 1998). Thus, one can argue, they ought to make the best use of such experiences by learning to reflect on them constructively and critically, such that their experience can positively affect the evolution of their teaching strategies and outcomes for their students' L2 learning. Burton (1998) makes the argument that teachers who carry out their own research are more likely to act on research findings in their classroom, that is, to apply research findings to their teaching practices. Teachers can carry out research on their own classrooms, students, and teaching, to try to answer the questions they really want answered (including those they may feel SLA research has not yet addressed).

But just who are the teachers for whom action research is being suggested? ESL/FL teachers and teachers of Limited English Proficient students represent an enormously diverse population, ranging from inner-city K-12 teachers (such as those who took my summer SLA course) to professors at well-funded private universities, from instructors of adult education and "survival ESL" to teachers of foreign engineers improving their technical writing skills, and from teachers who

have received training through certification and/or M.A. programs to those who, without any teacher training, satisfy requirements for employment – through "emergency credentials" – in an age of great teacher shortages. In other words, teachers are (at least) as diverse as their students. The literature to date, which discusses the merits of action research for teacher education and for advancing the field of SLA, seldom, if ever, considers this diversity, and the corresponding diverse needs of teachers involved in second/foreign language education. This is relevant not only to how and whether action research is useful, but also to what the curriculum of an SLA course should consist of. Students in an SLA class as part of an M.A. or Ph.D. program, for example, may be planning a career in research, while in-service teachers in an SLA course – often the very same course – take such a class for its applications to their teaching. These students of SLA (the teachers) want – and need – to know how to apply their SLA lessons to their teaching practices (Crandall, 1999; Johnson, 1996).

Thus far we have examined partial solutions to bridging the teacher-researcher gap through SLA courses and action research. But these solutions seem to require an awful lot from teachers – who already have challenging teaching assignments and work conditions – and very little from researchers. What can researchers do to make current SLA courses more useful to the teachers (and future teachers) who take them?

What Researchers Can Do From Teachers' Perspective

Three researchers who have summarized SLA findings specifically for L2 teachers are Lightbown and Spada (1993) and Pica (1994). In addressing common beliefs and questions teachers have, most of the conclusions they draw are inconclusive, as research is prone to be; this may be one reason that teachers do not always seek out research to answer their questions. Findings of SLA research are often not concretely helpful to practitioners in their current form (Crookes, 1993; Ellis, 1998; Johnson, 1996). Crookes (1998) advocates that there be more qualitative SLA research in general, which tends to provide more straight-forward reading than some quantitative studies (although this is not always the case, he warns), and better meets the needs of teachers who need local solutions to their immediate teaching needs rather than generalizable theories (Crookes, 1993; Crookes, 1997).

In order to meet the SLA-related needs of K-12 teachers (and, thereby, their students), we must be familiar with the worlds of these teachers. It is possible to become acquainted with the K-12 teaching environment through classroom observations, interviews with teachers and students, documents detailing school and district policies, samples of teachers' lesson plans and materials, and examinations of students' performance, to name just a few helpful sources. Such projects enable

researchers not only to address the needs of teachers taking an SLA class, but also to direct their future research toward issues that will be helpful to teachers.

The Study

The following empirical study attempts to begin bridging the researcher-teacher gap. In it, I investigate the group of teachers in my summer SLA course, who were exposed to SLA theories and research by carrying out action research. The study aims to show how their thinking about teaching evolved as a result of taking the class and investigating empirical questions about their own students' second language acquisition. It examines how these teachers perceive the relevance of SLA theory to their work; how they integrate SLA theory into their teaching strategies; what aspects of SLA are most useful to them; and what discourse they use to discuss and process SLA concepts.

Participants

The participants in this study are a group of 22 experienced K-12 teachers. When data collection commenced, they were preparing to start the last semester of a five-semester in-service CLAD certification program[1]. Data collection concluded five months after they finished the SLA course. Twenty-one of the teachers teach grades K-7, and one teaches high school students at a continuation school. Five of them are teachers of students with special needs, resource specialists, or teachers of severely handicapped students. The length of time they have been teaching ranges from 2 to 35 years, with a mean of 11.2 years. Six of the 22 have had at least some previous research training as graduate students, and of these, four have completed M.A. degrees in fields related to education.

Data

The main sources of data for this study are: a) fieldnotes from a series of observations of the teachers' (K-12) classes and discussions with six of the teachers prior to their taking the SLA course; b) three sets of questionnaires the teachers completed (see Appendix); and c) the assignments they carried out for the class, which were designed for both pedagogical purposes and for the purpose of assessing the impact of SLA theories on their practices.

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[1] For a few of the teachers, this was only their third or fourth class in the series, and they would not yet receive CLAD certification at the conclusion of the course.

<u>Participant observation</u>

Prior to teaching the SLA course, I was a participant-observer in the classes of six of the teachers who participated in this study. I observed their students' L1 and L2 use and development and the teachers' approaches. I conversed with individual students in the classes to assess their L2 ability, as requested by their teachers. Subsequently, in unstructured interviews, I talked with the teachers about their students, their teaching strategies, and why they felt or did not feel that SLA theory and research might aid them in their professions. The teachers showed me some of their teaching materials, samples of standardized tests, recent test scores of their students, and sample student work. They described to me their work conditions and what they perceived to be an impossible task of raising their LEP students' test scores to meet the standards required of them. The questions and topics these teachers posed to me helped form a framework for my lesson plans and the class discussions which ensued throughout their SLA course.

<u>Questionnaires</u>

Open-ended questionnaires were administered to the teachers at three different times: first, approximately one month before their SLA course, as a preparatory pre-assignment (pre-questions); second, immediately after they completed the class (post-questions); and third, about five months later (follow-up questions). The questionnaires were designed to look at the teachers' attitudes toward SLA research and its potential relevance to their work, and how/whether their beliefs changed in the course of learning about SLA and applying what they learned to their classrooms through action research and other classroom activities. They were also asked to respond to a list of commonly held beliefs about language learning, taken from Lightbown and Spada (1993). For each of these beliefs, the teachers rated a statement on a scale from 1 to 5, for the degree to which they agreed or disagreed, and they substantiated their ratings with a written explanation. These twelve statements were identical in the three administrations of the questionnaires. The other questions in the questionnaires were modified according to whether they were pre-, post-, or follow-up questions (Appendix).

<u>Assignments</u>

For their assignments, the teachers carried out action research as a means of applying theories and research introduced in the class. While reading Lightbown and Spada's (1993) textbook as well as chapters from Freeman and Freeman's (1994) text and supplementary articles (written in academese), the teachers were concomitantly studying their own students' work (both written and oral production) in the context of the readings and class discussions. The teachers each carried out case studies of two of their LEP students with contrasting needs or backgrounds. They

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were also required to answer a question selected from Pica's (1994) ten most commonly-asked questions, by using empirical evidence from their classrooms. They analyzed samples of their students' language production and comprehension. In addition, they carried out observational tasks, such as observing the L1 development of a child between the ages of 2 and 5, and observing an ESL class; self-reflection tasks, such as thinking back to their own language-learning experiences, and describing the makeup of the classes they currently teach; and written responses to questions about their readings. The assignments and, especially, in-class discussions and tasks, were designed in part as a response to findings from the initial participant-observation data.

Analysis

A qualitative analysis of the teachers' written answers to the questionnaires was carried out in order to discern patterns in teachers' thinking about their teaching and in strategies they developed for dealing with language issues in the classroom. The common themes discussed by the participants were broken into 1) how their thinking about language and L2 development evolved; and 2) what they said they wanted to learn from SLA, in terms of knowledge or strategies for improving their teaching and their students' learning.

The exercise on commonly held beliefs (Appendix) was used to get a general idea of how the teachers' thinking changed over the course of learning about SLA. The numerical ratings they supplied were used to supplement their written explanations and provide a way of visually depicting some patterns of change. Beyond that, though, the numbers were not used for inferential statistics. Also, due to stylistic differences in participants' ratings (i.e., it cannot be determined that one participant's "2" is equivalent to another one's "2" even though they chose the same rating), as well as the small number of participants in this study, I found it more meaningful to look at how individuals' pre- and post-ratings differed than to compare the ratings across participants.

Results

Emergent Patterns

The most salient trend from pre-to post-SLA class is that the teachers became more skeptical of the "commonly held beliefs," as depicted in Table 1 and Figure 1. For eleven of the twelve beliefs they rated, the degree to which the teachers agreed with these beliefs decreased from pre- to post-questionnaire.

Six of the participants also completed follow-up questionnaires five months after they had completed the course. Of these, two patterns were found: Two of the teachers exhibited significant reversion to initial beliefs held before they took the SLA course, while four exhibited more stability

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in their beliefs. In order to understand these patterns and their possible causes, we will look at two cases, one representing each pattern.

Table 1: Pre & Post Means, in Order from Greatest to Smallest Difference

Item	Belief	Pre	Post	Diff
1	Languages are learned mainly through imitation.	3.4	1.6	1.8
6	Most of the mistakes which second language learners make are due to interference from their first language.	3.3	2.1	1.2
2	Parents usually correct young children when they make grammatical errors.	2.7	1.6	1.1
9	Learners' errors should be corrected as soon as they are made in order to prevent the formation of bad habits.	2.9	2.1	0.8
4	The most important factor in second language acquisition success is motivation.	4.4	3.7	0.7
8	Teachers should teach simple language structures before complex ones.	3.5	2.9	0.6
12	Students learn what they are taught.	2.3	1.91	0.4
11	When learners are allowed to interact freely (for example in group or pair activities), they learn each others' mistakes.	2.6	2.2	0.4
10	Teachers should use materials that expose students only to those language structures which they have already been taught.	1.7	1.3	0.4
5	The earlier a second language is introduced in school programs, the greater the likelihood of success in learning.	4.6	4.5	0.1
3	People with high IQs are good language learners.	2.8	2.7	0.1
7	Teachers should present grammatical rules one at a time, and learners should practice examples of each one before going on to another.	1.8	2.1	-0.3

Figure 1: Pre & Post Means

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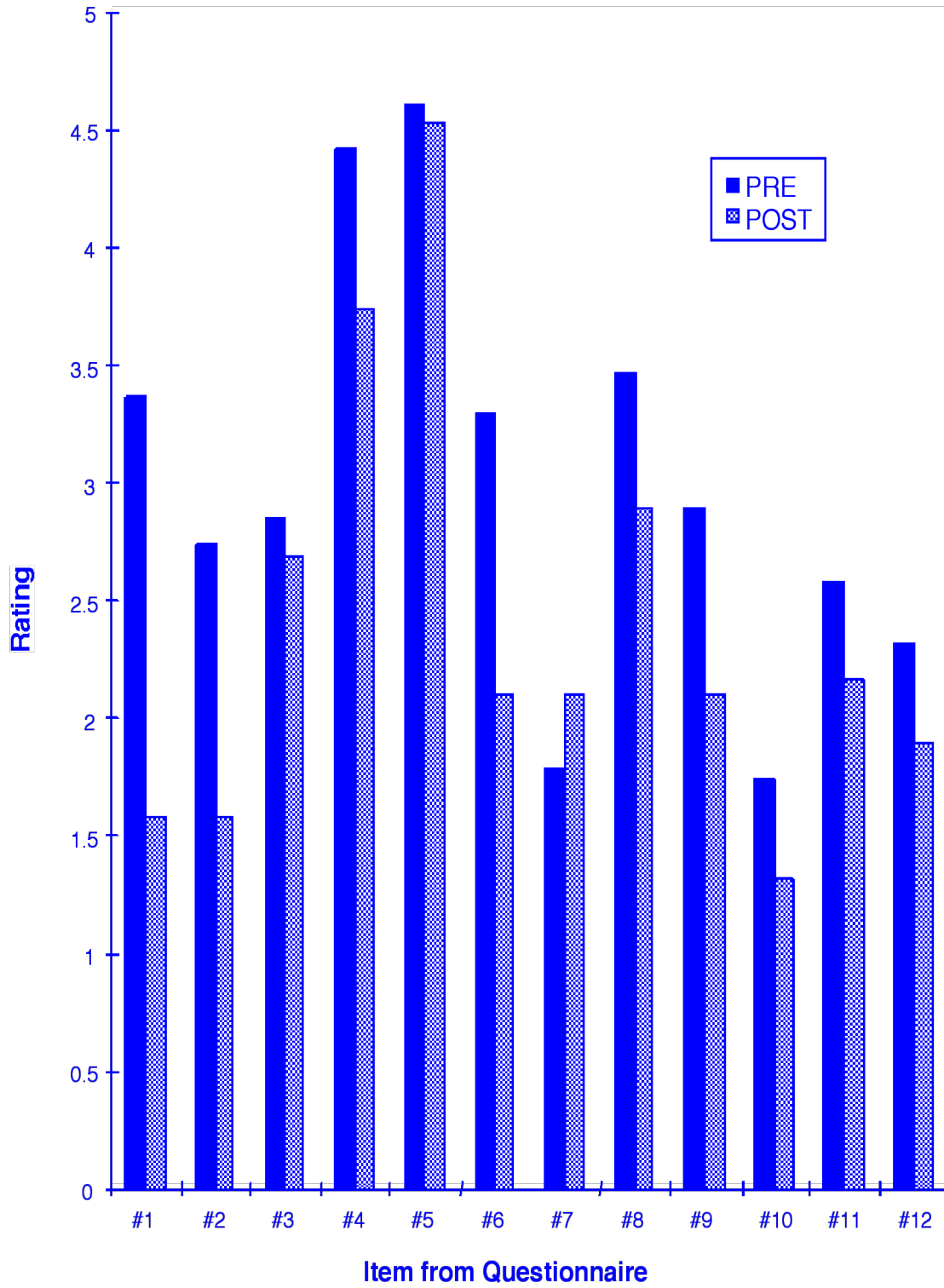
Figure 2: Melissa's Pre, Post, & Follow-up Ratings
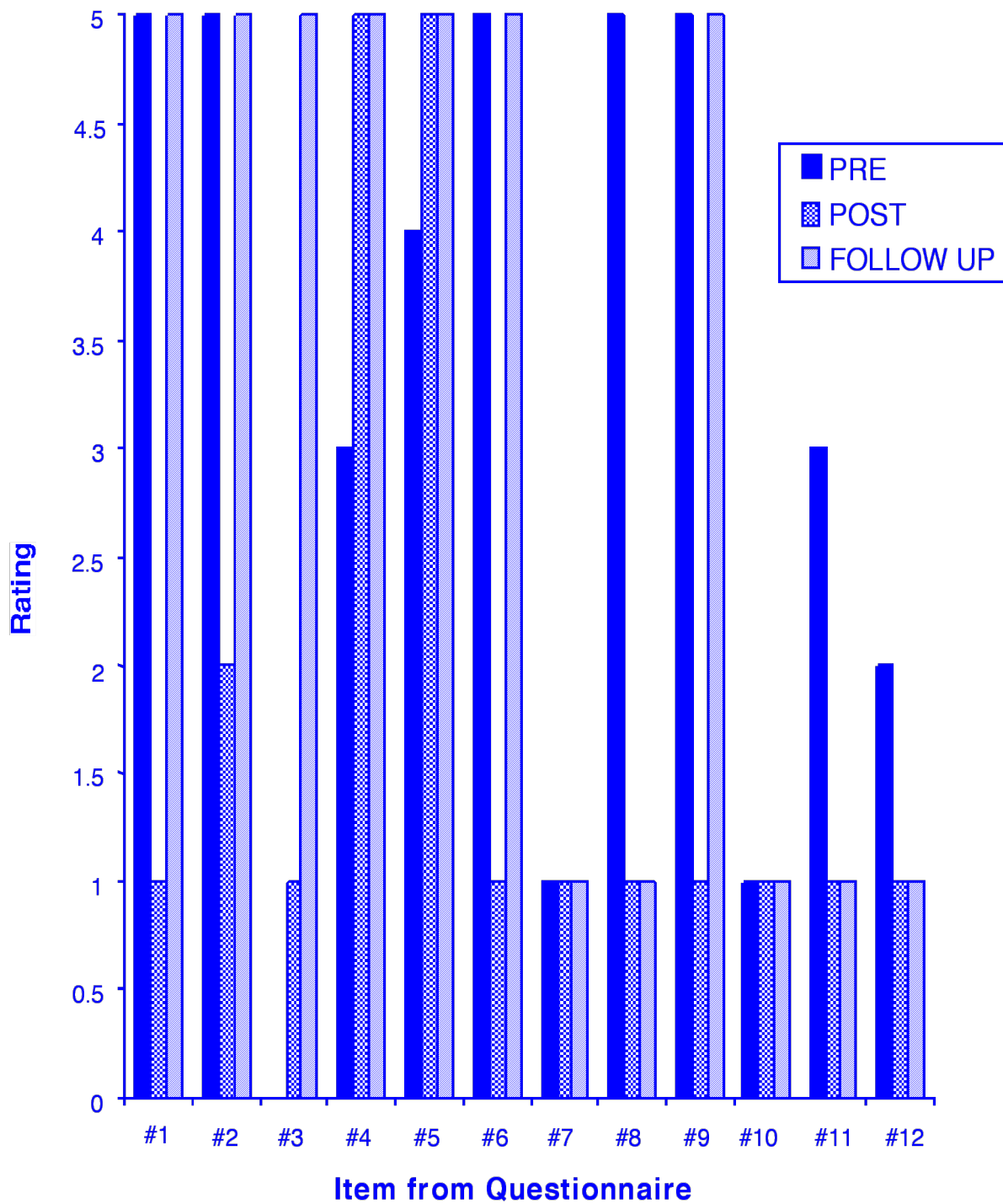
Figure 3: Kate's Pre, Post, & Follow-up Ratings
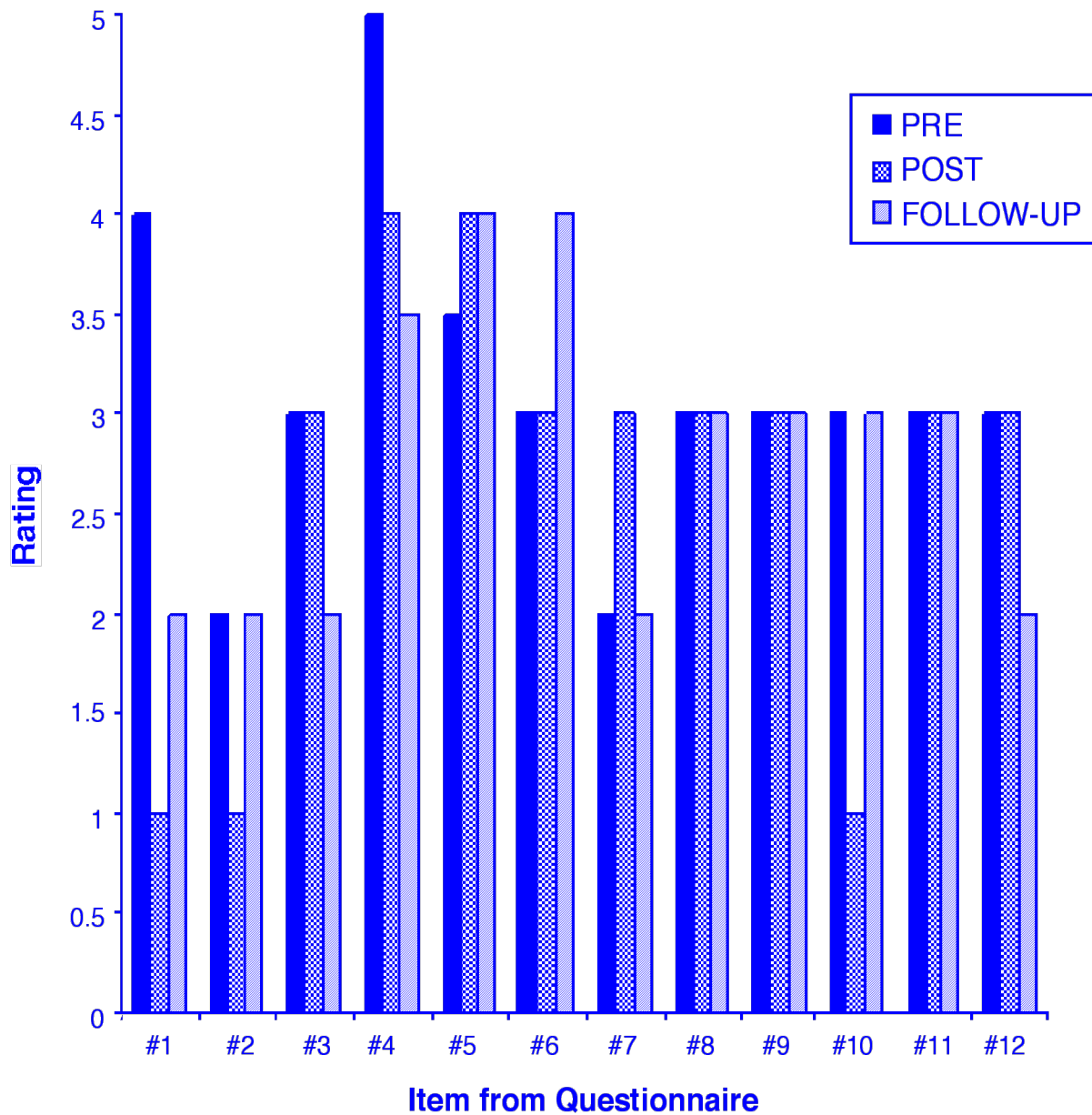
Equivocal judgments

Melissa demonstrates the first pattern: While she showed a marked decrease in the degree to which she agreed with several of the statements at the end of the course – going from rating several items 5 at the start of the class, for "strongly agree," to 1 or 2 after the class, for "strongly disagree" or "disagree" – she reverted to 5 in the follow-up questionnaire five months later (Items 1, 2, 6, and

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9, shown in Figure 2). She did not, however, revert to her "old" ways of thinking with regard to all aspects of SLA about which she had learned. Five months after the class, Melissa maintained her decreased level of agreement with respect to the beliefs stated in Items 8, 11, and 12.

A closer examination of the beliefs about which Melissa maintained her decreased level of agreement reveals that these items pertain to issues endemic in everyday classroom activities, and/or the role of the teacher in the classroom. That is, for questions about whether teachers should teach simple language structures before complex ones, whether learners will learn one another's mistakes if they interact freely in group or pair activities, and whether students "learn what they are taught," Melissa lowered the degree to which she agreed with these statements over the course of taking the SLA class, and maintained her level of disagreement with these statements five months later. What these three questions have in common is that they pertain directly to the impact Melissa as a teacher might have on her students' L2 development. Melissa had been teaching fourth and sixth grade for seven years previous to taking the SLA class, and had already taken several other CLAD classes. Thus, she had extensive experience and numerous pre-conceived notions about her students' language development before she took the SLA class. The facts that she not only changed her mind about the degree to which she agreed with these particular statements after taking the class, but that after being back in the classroom for five months she still felt that way about these aspects of L2 acquisition, indicate that her thinking on these issues remained changed, perhaps was even supported by what she observed in her classes, through the lenses of someone whose consciousness about SLA had been raised. She acknowledged, in answer to her follow-up questionnaire, that she was making more frequent use of cooperative learning activities, as a result of what she had learned in her SLA class. In contrast, the beliefs about which Melissa reverted to her old level of agreement were those for which she had less immediate opportunity for substantiation in her classroom, and, therefore – without reinforcement – more likelihood of reverting to her original, deep-seated "common beliefs."

<u>Stable beliefs</u>

In contrast to Melissa, Kate represents those (four) teachers whose beliefs did not revert, five months later, to their pre-SLA course beliefs. This second pattern demonstrates a lack of malleability. Kate's beliefs were much less effected than Melissa's by what she learned in the SLA class, and more stable in that they changed very little even five months later. Her agreement generally either stayed the same (Items 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12) or decreased (Item 1, 2, 4, 10) from pre- to post-questionnaire, and her follow-up answers usually did not differ from her pre- and post-answers by more than 1 point (Figure 3).

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Kate and Melissa had substantially different backgrounds and orientations before they participated in the CLAD certification program. The fact that Kate's opinions changed less than Melissa's may be due in part to her higher level of exposure to a theoretical and research-oriented way of thinking and discourse system previous to participating in the CLAD program. She had received a master's degree in elementary teaching three years earlier, for which, she wrote,

> I had to do a great deal of research…[and] collaborated with 5 other colleagues in my program to develop case studies for children with special needs. We were required to have research to back up our suggestions which included written, as well as, [sic] personal accounts from teachers in the field.

While her ideas did not change drastically, and she exhibited a relatively high level of sophistication at the onset of the SLA class, Kate expressed her ideas using a different vocabulary after the class, as compared to before the class. In stating how much she agreed or disagreed with the statement that most of the mistakes made by second language learners are due to interference from their first language, for example, she gave the statement a noncommittal "3" both pre- and post-SLA class. Her discourse, however, is dramatically different. In the pre-questionnaire, her explanation is that "it can be a mixture of what they know from their first language & what they think they know from their second language." Her post-questionnaire explanation states, "overgeneralization versus transfer of valuable language development." Similarly, Kate's answer to Item 10, "Teachers should use materials that expose students only to those language structures which they have already been taught," is expressed thus before the class: "Teachers need to build on previous knowledge and use it as a springboard to develop & introduce new curriculum to the students." In contrast, after the class, she states simply, "i + 1 theory" in answer to the same question. Her discourse in the post-questionnaire displays many other instances of acquired jargon. In fact, many of the teachers manifested their evolution in their discourse similarly: They provided lengthier, vaguer explanations in the pre-questionnaire, and shorter answers, filled with jargon, in the post-questionnaire.[2]

Themes the Teachers Discussed

<u>Language awareness</u>

With this in mind, then, we turn to the words teachers used when describing their knowledge base, to see how their perspectives on second language development evolved. They expressed varying levels of awareness of language use and development before beginning the SLA

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2 E.g., critical period hypothesis, input, output, communicative skills, i + 1 hypothesis, affective filter, natural order, explorer teacher.

class. Several had given little thought to language development previous to enrolling in the CLAD courses, nor had their original teacher education programs addressed issues of linguistic diversity and L2 learning. Many of them stated that they could not recall any mention of language issues in their pre-service training. Another said that language development was "never discussed in depth on its own." For some teachers, however, the nature of their classes, students, and curricula necessitated their already being aware of language issues. One states,

> Working with first graders gives me an amazing awareness of language development. The year is spent transforming their knowledge of language into the written form, both in reading and writing. Over time, I can see areas where all my students get confused and begin to see patterns that they fall into.

The CLAD classes then helped them to further this awareness, as the same teacher goes on to state:

> Through the CLAD courses I am now more aware of why and where those patterns of language development occur and what I can do to help the students in their efforts.

The CLAD program resulted in an increased awareness of language issues among all of the teachers, whether or not they had previously considered the role that language, especially limited proficiency in language, plays in a child's school and learning experience.

Stages of L2 development

One topic mentioned numerous times by the teachers was their new appreciation for stages in language development, as the following statements (each from a different teacher) demonstrate:

> CLAD courses help me with the different levels of acquiring language.

> It helps to know there are different stages an ELL [English Language Learner] student moves through before they're proficient and how important it is for them to keep their first language and be proficient in it as they learn their second language.

> I have a better understanding of different cultures (family values) and the different levels students are at while they're acquiring their L2. I didn't realize the importance of students keeping their L1 to help them acquire their L2 language.

> I'm more aware of students [sic] acquisition of their language so I can know where they are at.

> Language is acquired in stages and knowing this my teaching (input) has to be adjusted to fit students' L2 acquisition stages.

The significant amount of attention teachers paid this particular concept suggests an explanation for why Item 7 (Table 1) was the only common belief about which the teachers did not decrease their level of agreement from pre- to post-questionnaire. The topic of when and how

teachers should present grammatical rules to students was cause for heated discussion among the teachers, as it pertained directly to what they could do for their students in the classroom. The teachers agreed that presenting rules sequentially, with time for practice examples after each rule, seemed an unmanageable task in a content-based classroom such as their own. They were very much taken by the concept of L2 acquisitional stages, however. It would appear, from the data, that they transferred their understanding of "stages of L2 acquisition" to be equated with introducing particular grammar rules one at a time, without regard for the degree to which communicative effectiveness might thus be hampered.

New tools for the classroom

A favorite topic frequently addressed by the teachers encompassed the tricks and tools they learned about and could now utilize in their classrooms. What is interesting to note is how concretely they interpreted the question of what tools or teaching strategies they had acquired through the course, and whether their teaching practice had changed as a result (the latter of which was answered by those teachers who completed the follow-up questionnaire five months after taking the SLA class). Some wrote about general strategies and philosophies of teaching, as in the following:

Recognizing developmental stages to language acquisition

and

learning about developmental stages that the children need to go through

and

I'll look more at my teaching as a "plant," "builder," and "explorer." I'll strive for my lessons to be "explorer" room[s] for my students.[3]

But far more comments referred to various tricks teachers had demonstrated for each other in small presentations they did during the class. For example, handing a child a microphone when speaking in class in order to command the attention of the other children in the class; having the children use different color pens for coding purposes; using puppets, karaoke machines, popsicle sticks and other such props; and changing the classroom seating periodically.

In the follow-up questionnaires five months later, teachers continued to be influenced by some of the ideas they had learned in the class: One wrote about "incorporating more interaction language activities to allow everyone to speak and move around the classroom." And a special education teacher stated:

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[3] These were terms for various teaching approaches they had learned in Freeman and Freeman's (1994) textbook.

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I am more keenly aware of the need for demonstration with all my lessons. Now I become involved in the assignment and the children learn from my modeling. This has helped in story telling and story writing. The students don't feel left on their own when I'm working with them.

But one teacher felt that what she had learned about SLA was not particularly applicable to her own teaching practices:

In many ways I have not been able to use many of the language strategies I learned because as a roving math teacher many of the techniques do not apply. However, I have found myself more aware of second language learners and have tried to accommodate them as best I can.

The majority of the teachers appeared convinced that learning about SLA would be useful to them as teachers, but those who taught subjects requiring less traditional teacher-student talk (e.g., music, math) sometimes failed to draw conclusions from the readings and class discussions general enough that they might take with them ideas they could use in *their* classrooms, too.

Focus on students' emotions

Another common theme, both in class discussions and in the written data, was teachers' concern with giving emotional support to their students, recognizing the emotional and psychological challenges their students, especially their LEP students, face, and wanting to help them *feel* successful in their learning experience, almost regardless of how successful the students actually were. The teachers talked about cross-cultural issues in classroom behavior and expectations, and they discussed ways to lower the students' affective filters and focus on their level of comfort in the classroom. For example, one teacher, in describing to what degree she agreed with the statement that when learners are allowed to interact freely, they learn each other's mistakes, wrote:

They learn mistakes, as well as, [sic] correct grammar. In addition it helps students feel comfortable enough to want to share and participate in their learning.

And another stated,

I've learned through classes and experiences in the classroom many strategies to help ELL learners feel successful.

Corroborating the above statements, class discussions demonstrated the teachers' genuine desire for their students to feel confident and successful. They generally viewed LEP students as disadvantaged children who had a hard life – this came through in their case studies as well as in the class discussions – and wanted to boost the children's confidence to a level where they would feel successful in the classroom.

What Teachers Want

In addition to investigating how teachers' thinking about SLA evolved through exposure to SLA theories and research, this study looked at what the teachers think they need to learn about in order to improve their practices, or what they *want* to learn about. First and foremost, teachers want practical applications for what they learn. They demonstrate this both directly, when they state that practical tips are important; and also indirectly, in describing which aspects of the SLA class were the most meaningful to them:

> I think it's helpful when you have a specific purpose or goal in mind. As we know in our own classroom if we don't make the work relevant to the students they lose interest. It can be helpful when it relates to my teaching in a practical way.

> I would like some practical ways to improve my teaching rather than merely theories that will not directly affect the children in my class.

> What I respond to best is practicality. It is frustrating as a teacher today to be required to take classes that have little to do with actual teaching and application in the classroom…I want to know what can be done for [my students] once the understanding and awareness of the language needs are in place. These classes have helped me improve my teaching – making it more accessible to the students and helping me understand their level and where they are coming from. I am much more sensitive to the needs of my ESL students.

The teachers' desire for practicality pertains to the research they read about, too. One teacher said she wanted more conclusive research, and articles "written so I can understand them." Another wrote:

> Research more conclusive, say what you mean (simply) and mean what you say.

And about the research they read in the SLA class, another stated simply, "Too contradictory – none gave a clear point of view."

The teachers were skeptical about what they could use from the professional researchers' findings, but were more convinced that their own work as explorer teachers, or action researchers, could benefit them and their students:

> I think I realized that as teachers we are the important researchers. We need to take the research – all of it – with a 'grain of salt.'

> Yes, I've learned that research is conflicting and that I need to value my own 'research' in working with my students.

> Teachers can be used as valuable researchers…I enjoyed sharing personal experiences to better understand the theories.

> …through those case studies we have learned valuable information about our children and we can…hopefully improve our teaching.

> We can adjust our teaching, now, knowing how to do case studies and knowing what to look at when assessing an L2 learner's language use.

There is evidence that those teachers who completed the follow-up questionnaire continued to think about and/or work as action researchers of sorts:

> I'm becoming an explorer teacher. I use demonstration and learning through doing.
>
> I view my ESL kids a bit differently in that I am more observant and aware of how each of them learn [sic], unfortunately I haven't had the time to do a complete case study.

In fact, several of the teachers acknowledged both the utility of carrying out further case studies, and the unlikelihood that they would have the opportunity to do so despite their genuine interest in doing so, given the demands of their teaching requirements. We must recall that, no matter how useful action research might be to them, it is not something for which time or other resources are set aside in the environment of K-12 public school teaching.

Conclusion

Given the limitations of current work conditions in public schools, where do we go from here? Even if there is consensus that action research benefits teachers, their students, and those researchers who generate theories of SLA, how realistic is it to advocate that teachers be assigned yet another responsibility – to carry out research in addition to fulfilling their teaching requirements? If, indeed, action-research-based SLA classes begin to bridge the gap between the technical knowledge of traditional researchers and the practical knowledge of teachers, then perhaps more collaboration between "researchers" and "teacher researchers" is in order. As a means to understanding SLA, we must also ask, how do the parties involved benefit from learning about SLA?

The summer SLA course I taught helped me begin to answer these questions, and also helped the teachers to address questions related to their own students and classrooms, in a critical and collaborative manner. Findings from this study indicate that what is to be gained through educating teachers in SLA theory is two-fold. First, critical, empirical research aids teachers most not in the actual findings, but in providing teachers with a means of critically investigating their own teaching and students, and a language with which to engage in dialogues with one another about their students' language acquisition. These dialogues may take the form of class discussions, as in the case of the SLA class these teachers took, but it may also occur in journals of interest to teachers, forums they hold, debates in which they engage, and conferences they attend. As teachers expand their discourse, they become empowered to participate in the field of SLA, and to direct it

toward answering questions useful to their practices. This will likely include a significant amount of attention to practical, as well as theoretical, matters of the classroom.

Secondly, rather than bemoaning the purported irreconcilable differences in teachers' and researchers' ways of thinking, ways of seeing the world, and ways of sharing their findings, researchers (especially those who teach SLA) have the opportunity to learn from teachers' discourse and action research what might benefit the teachers (and their students) most effectively, in way of further SLA research. The future work of SLA researchers – the same people who teach SLA to teachers – should become more informed by teachers' discourse and action research and a gained knowledge of what goes on in these teachers' classrooms (through, for example, observations); applied SLA researchers' work should then be pointed in a direction most useful to teachers and their students. Researchers have the opportunity to collaborate with their colleagues in the public schools, toward this end.

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Appendix: Questionnaires

PRE-QUESTIONS

1. Have you ever found it useful to read about educational (or related) research to aid you in your profession? If so, what have you found most helpful, and why?

2. What was your awareness of language development before you began teaching? Try to remember back – what, if any, issues (related to language) were directly addressed in your pre-service teacher training?

3. How did your awareness of language development change through your teaching? and through the CLAD courses?

4. What topics did you learn about in your previous CLAD courses?

5. Have the CLAD courses you have taken so far influenced your teaching practice? If so, how? If not, why not?

6. Do you think that SLA theory can inform your teaching practice? If yes, how? If no, why not?

7. If it is possible for SLA theory to inform your teaching (and even if it is not), what questions would you like answered, and/or what would you like to explore in this course, regarding students' language development and teachers' roles?

POST-QUESTIONS

8. Name, if you can, one or more tools or teaching strategies you have acquired through this course, that you expect to use in your classroom (and that you didn't previously use).

9. Do you feel that reading/learning about educational research, such as the articles we've read in class, can aid you in your profession? If so, how? If not, why not?

10. Do you feel that being a teacher-researcher (explorer teacher) can help you as a teacher? If so, how? If not, why not?

11. Now that this class is coming to an end, are there questions you would still like answered, and/or what would you like to explore in your future classes (the ones you teach as well as the ones you take), regarding students' language development and teachers' roles?

12. What do you think SLA theory is? Can it inform your teaching? If so, how? If not, why not?

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

13. Now that you have had time to digest the materials from your SLA/CLAD course, as well as the opportunity to apply what you learned to your current teaching practice, do you feel your teaching practice or teaching strategies have changed as a result? If so, how?

14. Have you read any educational journals or other articles/books since taking the SLA/CLAD course? If so, which ones? How useful were they?

15. Have you found the opportunity to use any of the materials you worked on in the SLA/CLAD course as resources for current teaching issues?

16. At this point, would you describe your role as that of an explorer teacher? If so, what activities or strategies have you carried out that are characteristic of an explorer teacher?

17. Are there questions you would still like answered, and/or what would you like to explore in your future classes (the ones you teach as well as the ones you take), regarding students' language development and teachers' roles?

"POPULAR VIEWS" (from Lightbown & Spada, 1993, p. xv).
Write a short phrase or statement describing the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (taken from Lightbown & Spada, 1993, p. xv). You can use a scale from 1 to 5, 1 for "strongly disagree" and 5 for "strongly agree."

strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   strongly agree

_____ 1. Languages are learned mainly through imitation.

_____ 2. Parents usually correct young children when they make grammatical errors.

_____ 3. People with high IQs are good language learners.

_____ 4. The most important factor in second language acquisition success is motivation.

_____ 5. The earlier a second language is introduced in school programs, the greater the likelihood of success in learning.

_____ 6. Most of the mistakes which second language learners make are due to interference from their first language.

_____ 7. Teachers should present grammatical rules one at a time, and learners should practice examples of each one before going on to another.

_____ 8. Teachers should teach simple language structures before complex ones.

_____ 9. Learners' errors should be corrected as soon as they are made in order to prevent the formation of bad habits.

_____ 10. Teachers should use materials that expose students only to those language structures which they have already been taught.

_____ 11. When learners are allowed to interact freely (for example in group or pair activities), they learn each others' mistakes.

_____ 12. Students learn what they are taught.

The Expansive Nature of Interdisciplinary Language Teacher Education

Jean Marie Schultz

In the Fall 1998 issue of the ADFL Bulletin (p. 25), Jean-Jacques Thomas raises the question as to whether there is a place in the foreign language curriculum for specialists in theoretical linguistics. Although Thomas has in mind a section of the foreign language and literature department devoted to the study of phonology, morphology, and syntax, more importantly, he sees the theoretical linguist as participating actively in the pedagogical choices of the language program, collaborating directly with, if not even possibly replacing, the director of the language teaching segment of the department. Thomas writes his article in reaction to his impression that all is not functioning well in language teaching and he traces this dysfunction directly to weaknesses he sees within the current practices of language teacher education.

According to Thomas, there has been a steady decline in excellence within the language teaching profession, a decline he blames on shifts in the nature of foreign language teaching programs. Since the 1980s, departments of language and literature have been increasingly hiring language program directors with doctorates in education. These degrees, in Thomas' opinion, concentrate primarily on teaching techniques and pedagogical methodologies, but provide little training in theoretical issues. As the situation currently stands, there is little overlap between linguistic theory and language teacher education; and, in fact, there even exists a philosophical hostility between them. "Worse yet," claims Thomas, "training in schools of education has taught these new coordinators of language programs that a department of foreign languages and literatures has long been the worst place to learn a foreign language and that the culprit is too great a reliance, pedagogically speaking, on the formal training provided by linguistics, which emphasizes the elements of the language system itself" (p. 27). Moreover, according to Thomas, shifting language teacher education out of language departments has resulted in a relegation of the study of literature, the traditional curricular cornerstone of a degree in foreign language, to the vague domain of "cultural studies." Literature, if it is studied at all, is rapidly becoming marginalized and is often seen as nothing more than a cultural artifact (p. 28).

Within the context of the fairly recent and meteoric rise of Second Language Acquisition and Applied Linguistics as distinct fields that aim to further our knowledge of how languages are learned and how best to teach them, Thomas' criticisms may strike language professionals as problematic and as originating perhaps from a misunderstanding of language teacher education.

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Although the complex issues of which specific degree may be most appropriate to the director of a language program and where professional training should take place are not within the purview of this article, Thomas' criticism of the current methodologically-oriented syllabus and its consequent emphasis on narrowly-defined, practically-based language performance or on fulfilling a specific language function, does raise troubling issues regarding language teacher education.

The primary drawback to a pedagogical emphasis on methodology and techniques is that it falls short in regard to the teaching of critical thinking skills through language education. Language educators hear increasingly from those who will deal with their students beyond the classroom that the language skills to be encouraged should not stop with an ability to fill in the blank on a test or to receive a certain rating on an Oral Proficiency Interview. Rather, language students must be encouraged to go beyond the parameters of grammar and vocabulary to think critically in and through their new language skills, and to express complex thought both orally and in writing. Thomas' concerns regarding language teacher education and its effects on curricula are, in fact, echoed by several researchers directly involved in the field of language education, who recognize the drawbacks of the majority of contemporary approaches to language teaching and emphasize that students must be provided with a language education that enables them to go beyond functional and transactional uses of their skills and to engage in challenging endeavors, calling upon higher-level critical thinking skills through language. According to Elizabeth Bernhardt (1997), "for language teaching […] keeping undergraduate courses oriented toward popular culture and little more denigrates the intellectual mission and ultimately will continue to marginalize exactly what we have tried to protect" (p. 19). Heidi Byrnes (1997) maintains that:

> students need to be led in a well-motivated fashion […] away from the highly contingent language use in largely interactional oral communication of meanings that has in recent years become the momentum driving their language acquisition; faculty members must introduce students to the linguistically considerably more elaborated environments of written language and particularly to literary texts. In other words, language instruction must attend to the formal appropriateness, accuracy, and complexity of students' interlanguage and must assume that students' language use reflects the ways in which highly differentiated meanings are constructed in extended discourse and texts. (p. 9)

Finally, Janet Swaffar emphasizes that the encouragement of critical thinking skills in a variety of contexts requires precisely cross-disciplinary approaches to language learning and teaching (1998, p. 35).

In order to impart dynamic, critical thinking skills to their students, teachers themselves must understand the complex issues behind learning a new language. They cannot teach well by relying on a repertoire of prescriptive solutions to a given language skill, namely by merely

applying techniques. They need a grounding in the theory behind the techniques; hence the need for a more expansive language teacher education syllabus. Moreover, given that many graduate students in foreign language and literature departments will most likely find themselves teaching both language and literature, as Thomas, among others, points out, a solid educational grounding in the theories and methods of language teaching is now becoming a crucial component to their graduate program. In order to have relevance, however, the new syllabus must go beyond the current offerings which tend to feature a text that presents and critiques a variety of methodological approaches to language teaching and/or a text outlining some basic principles of language acquisition. Most current introductory course language teacher syllabi include at least one, if not a combination, of Cook (1996), Omaggio (1993), Brown (1994), Lightbown and Spada (1999), and Larsen-Freeman (1986). As crucial as these texts are, a syllabus structured exclusively according to methods and techniques can quickly lose relevance to new teachers, particularly if the approach used in a given program does not correspond to the various methodologies described in the core texts. New teachers, and especially graduate student instructors, may well wonder why they should learn about the variety of techniques available if they are not being used in their own language program. Moreover, and perhaps more seriously, the current most popular texts for the basic language teaching syllabus no longer reflect accurately studies in the field, which, as we shall see, increasingly draw from such diverse areas as philosophy, critical theory, sociology, and psychology, not to mention Thomas' favorite, theoretical linguistics. In order to be current and to promote self-understanding on the part of language teachers, an understanding crucial to their professional development, Mark Webber (1995) suggests the redesign of "'teaching methods' courses […] as interdisciplinary seminars" (p. 32).

In the rest of this article, I am going to examine a number of theoretical texts drawn from the above-mentioned fields that contribute directly to our knowledge of language acquisition and that are also germane to other areas of study. For the most part, I will organize the discussion according to speaking, listening, and reading skills, framing them within the additional "skill" of cultural competence, in order to provide a more concrete view of what a revised, interdisciplinary language teacher education syllabus might look like.[1]

Speaking and Listening Skills

[1] In this article I will not be addressing foreign language writing, a traditional fourth language skill area. This is not due to oversight, but rather to a conscious choice based on the complexity, breadth, and controversial nature of the research devoted to writing skills development, which in some institutions of higher learning is a field unto itself. As with reading, speaking, and listening skills, however, writing, too, crosses disciplinary lines and draws on work in cognitive science, psychology, literary criticism, and philosophy.

In response to the relatively passive grammar-translation method, which can produce students capable of reading and translating texts but incapable of expressing themselves orally in the target language, research in language education has focussed for at least the past twenty years on the verbal communicative skills of speaking and listening. Under the influence of the oral proficiency movement, communicative approaches to language teaching became and continue to be among the most popular. This emphasis on listening and speaking has led to experimentation with and the creation of numerous techniques for encouraging our students to use actively their newly emerging oral skills. Now, however, we need to go beyond the techniques themselves and examine what takes place within the realm of communication.

A pivotal figure for understanding what is at stake in oral communication is Roman Jakobson, whose work in theoretical linguistics, semiotics, and literary theory clearly crosses disciplinary lines. In his essay "Linguistics and Poetics" (1963), Jakobson provides us with significant insight into the mechanisms involved in the negotiation and creation of meaning in oral language. He defines the roles of the speaker and listener in terms of a decoding of utterances that is not without relevance for what language learners must do when they engage in conversation. This decoding process, which takes place within native language communication, is doubly embedded within the foreign language, since the message must be rapidly and analytically assessed along both syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. Whereas in the native language there is no conscious analysis of the message along these axes, in a foreign language analysis is brought to the forefront. In fact, the message takes the form of a code that can be analyzed as such, precisely because it is one step removed from and overlaid on the native language[2].

The implications of this double decoding process are multiple in language education. It explains the difficulties that some learners can experience if they feel the need to align the message in the foreign language exactly with the code of the native language. The fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence can prove disorienting to a learner who wants to rely on the exactness of translation. Understanding what is involved in conversation also bolsters strategies for providing students with specific gambits for negotiating discussion. Jakobson himself suggests metalinguistic glosses such as, "I don't follow you" and "What do you mean?" in order to verify the decoding process. His work in this area bolsters, then, the work in strategy training and the teaching of conversational gambits, which figures into many language education syllabi (see Kramsch, 1989; Siskin & Spinelli, 1987). Finally, his discussion of poetry, where the goal of communication is

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[2]Interestingly, parts of Jakobson's work complement that of Jack Richard in regard to the analysis of foreign language listening skills. Richards (1990) defines listening skills in terms of a top-down/bottom up and interactional/transactional matrix, which comes very close to Jakobson's two-dimensional representations.

subordinated to the message and where word choice fuses with syntax ("The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection onto the axis of combination" (Jakobson, 1963, p. 220)), provides us with insights into the creative potential open to our students who, within the language classroom, might be invited to play with their new expressive possibilities, experimenting with syntax and word choice (see Kramsch, 1994; Schultz, 1996; Broner & Tarone, 1999).

Bakhtin's work on language and the novel also provides us with insights into issues concerning the interlocutor and the nature of language learning. Bakhtin moves beyond Jakobson's formalist and somewhat mechanistic leanings, however, and emphasizes the dynamic, living quality of language, thus mitigating the risk of a stagnant automaticity of response that can plague a purely functional approach to language learning. In *Discourse in the Novel* (1981), Bakhtin goes beyond Jakobson's view of communication as a process of decoding moving back and forth along a bi-directional axis between speaker and interlocutor. For Bakhtin, not only do understanding and response inextricably mesh together to create discourse, but they figure into a multidimensional construct of social systems and conceptual horizons.

> an active understanding, one that assimilates the word under consideration into a new conceptual system, that of the one striving to understand, establishes a series of complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements. It is precisely such an understanding that the speaker counts on. Therefore his orientation toward the listener is an orientation toward a specific conceptual horizon, toward the specific world of the listener; it introduces totally new elements into his discourse; it is in this way, after all, that various different points of view, conceptual horizons, systems of providing expressive accents, various social "languages" come to interact with one another. The speaker strives to get a reading on his own word, and on his own conceptual system that determines this word, within the alien conceptual system of the understanding receiver; he enters into dialogical relationships with certain aspects of this system. The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener's apperceptive background. (p. 282)

Bakhtin's focus on the dialogic nature of discourse as constantly defining and redefining itself in relation to speaker and interlocutor and the various conceptual systems of which they are a part provides us with a deeper understanding of what it means to engage in learning a foreign language, where the cultural horizons are often radically different from those informing the student's native language. Language learners are consciously plunged into the experience of

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heteroglossia,[3] requiring them to appropriate words not their own and to make them such. According to Bakhtin,

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language…, but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. (pp. 293-4)

Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism articulate well with the direction that applied linguistic theory is currently taking in terms of research into the development of cultural competence and evolving notions of social identity (see Kramsch, 1993). Whereas the language classroom has too often been the locus of sometimes contrived and practically based communicative activities generated through various goal-centered techniques, such as buying a train ticket, and to which Thomas objects, teaching infused with a theoretical grounding can potentially go beyond the utilitarian to create a dynamic atmosphere for cultural and self exploration through language learning. Language learners are overtly encouraged in their endeavors to reflect on a different culture and even to try on a new cultural identity, experimenting with an expanded notion of self-definition. In Kristevian terms, the language learner is consciously, and often uneasily, placed in a position to become the self-in-process defined in *The Revolution of Poetic Language* (1974).

For Kristeva, who is both a psychoanalyst and literary critic, any modifications in the use of language entail modifications in the status of the subject in his or her relationship to the self and to others (p. 13). Language learners, who can no longer express their ideas automatically and without regard to language itself, can experience through their struggle for expression a distancing from the self that they do not experience in the comfortable and unconscious use of their native language. As difficult as their struggle with their new language might be, language acquisition can prove an exciting process for new self-definition and experimentation. According to Kristeva,

> when the speaking subject is no longer this transcendental phenomenological ego nor the Cartesian ego but a *subject in process*, as it is in the practice of the *text* [and I would add language learning], the deep structure or at least the rules of

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[3] In their discussion of Bakhtin's work, Morson and Emerson (1994) define the concept of heteroglossia as a multi-lingual experience derived from the various "languages" used to describe experience. "Language is said to be composed of countless *languages*, each the product of a particular kind of experience [...] and each with its own way of understanding and evaluating the world. [...] We all participate in numerous 'languages of heteroglossia,' each of which claims a privileged view of a certain aspect of experience. But we all also experience the competition of these languages. We come to view one aspect of experience, which we are accustomed to treat in one 'language,' through the 'eyes' of another." (p. 66)

transformation are disturbed and, with them, the possibility of interpretation. (p. 37)[4]

Although Kristeva's theories are very elaborate, they have a clear application to the language classroom, one that can be witnessed by teachers themselves in observing their own students. I will cite only one such real life example of a young man who, toward the middle of a second semester French class, began participating actively in discussions and activities, literally creating a new and lively persona for himself in the language classroom. It was obvious from his participation that he was feeling increasingly at ease in his new linguistic identity; but the extent of his self-definition did not hit home until another student, who was in other discussion-based classes with him, mentioned to me that in those classes he was very shy and reserved, and rarely participated. The friend herself noted that a whole new side to the student's personality was emerging within the context of the language classroom. Alice Kaplan in *French Lessons* (1993) addresses precisely this phenomenon, speaking of the impact that learning a second language had on her own identity.

> Learning French did me some harm by giving me a place to hide. It's not as if there's a straightforward American self lurking under a devious French one, waiting to come out and be authentic. That's nostalgia – or fiction. French isn't just a metaphor, either – it's a skill. […] I'm grateful to French […] for teaching me that there is more than one way to speak, for giving me a role, for being the home I've made from my own will and my own imagination. (p. 216)

Claire Kramsch emphasizes the cultural awareness that learning a foreign language brings, an awareness that goes beyond the ACTFL definitions of cultural competence as knowing how to conduct oneself and what constitutes acceptable behavior within a given culture, as important as this practical knowledge is. For Kramsch, the language classroom is not simply the place where communicative activities happen and practical knowledge of the culture is transmitted from teacher to student, but a "privileged site of cross-cultural fieldwork, in which the participants are both informants and ethnographers" (1993, p. 29).

The discussion so far has focussed primarily on communicative skills and the redefinitions of self and the cultural understanding that they entail. I have drawn on a variety of fields to bolster the traditional language teacher education syllabus, fields that include theoretical and applied linguistics, semiotics, philosophy, psychology, and literary criticism. I would like to turn now more overtly to reading, particularly the reading of literature in the language classroom, which is

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[4] All translations from the French are my own.

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currently drawing a great deal of attention from language specialists and which Thomas mentions specifically in his criticism of language teacher education.

Reading for Interpretation

There are many prominent applied linguists working in the field of foreign language reading. Of particular interest to this discussion is the work of Janet Swaffar, precisely because it combines research in language acquisition with critical theory in literary studies. In her article *Readers, Texts, and Second Languages: The Interactive Processes* (1988), Swaffar draws on the reader response theories of Wolfgang Iser in her discussion of schema theory and the second language learner, emphasizing that language learners must go through a complex process of interpreting and reinterpreting textual signs. Learners' interpretative abilities are further complicated by their own personal schemata, which can either help them to read more accurately, if the reader's schemata correspond more or less to those of the text, or can impede accurate reading, if learners overlay their personal schemata onto the text and incorrectly factor textual signs into their schemata. Swaffar's work, as well as that of other language acquisition specialists, can prove extremely helpful in teacher education, enabling new teachers to understand better what is at stake in learning to read a foreign language text.

Expanding the syllabus further in the direction of theory can bolster this articulation of fields. Iser's work, as we have seen, can clearly figure into the teacher education syllabus. His notion of aesthetic reading, which he defines as the reader's individualized realization of the artistic text, is particularly useful in understanding interpretative reading processes and their impact on the reader. According to Iser (1981), "As the reader passes through the various perspectives offered by the text and relates the different views and patterns to one another, he sets the work in motion, and so sets himself in motion, too" (p. 21). The emphasis on the self in motion articulates well with what we have discussed earlier in terms of oral communication and dialogism. But other theorists, too, contribute significantly to our understanding in this area.

Louise Rosenblatt in *The Reader, the Text, the Poem* (1978), Michael Riffaterre in *The Production of the Text* (1979), and Jurii Lotman in *The Structure of the Artistic Text* (1973) all show similarities to Iser in their insistence on the participation of the reader in the dynamics of text comprehension. Rosenblatt, like Iser, also uses the term "aesthetic reading," but she defines her terminology somewhat differently, insisting primarily on the *interpretative* nature of aesthetic reading or what she calls *transactional reading* as opposed to *efferent* reading, which is reading strictly for information. Efferent reading, then, would correspond more or less to the *skimming/scanning, decoding*, and *comprehension* stages of reading defined by language acquisition

specialists (see Phillips, 1984, p. 289), but there would be no real effort to integrate the information into an evolving self or developing notion of cultural otherness. Transactional reading takes this process a step further; for in transactional reading interpretation, particularly in regard to the text's impact on emotions, ranks high. Rosenblatt emphasizes that the reader "must bring a whole body of cultural assumptions, practical knowledge, awareness of literary conventions, readiness to think and feel" to the text (p. 88). Interestingly, Rosenblatt's work intersects with that of Claire Kramsch (1994) in dealing with literature in the language classroom, particularly with poetry.

> …within the limits of the foreign language classroom genre, such is the power of language that the smallest line of poetry can potentially change one's inner timing, cause the sightings to become singings, and reveal in those singings some unknown self waiting to be born. Literature, at the intersection of spacing and voicing, can open up alternative worlds in which learners can improvise in the interstices. (p.14)

The semiotician Jurii Lotman emphasizes, moreover, that literature provides the reader with a safe means for experimenting with new identities and relates one of the functions of adult reading to that of play for the child. According to Lotman, "By creating for man a conventional possibility for speaking to himself in different languages, by coding differently his own 'self,' art helps man resolve one of the most important psychological questions: the determination of his own being" (p. 108)[5].

All of the above-mentioned researchers intersect on certain points regarding the interplay between text and reader. Whether they are theoretical or applied linguists, semioticians, psychologists, literary critics from different traditions, or philosophers, all emphasize the dynamic nature of the reader's direct participation in the construction of the text. Adding theoretical perspectives from diverse fields to the traditional, pedagogically-oriented language teacher education syllabus thus potentially fleshes out what could be a dry discussion of reading processes. In the traditional syllabus, there is a presentation of reading processes – top-down, bottom-up, schema theory, decoding, skimming, etc. – with suggestions of useful techniques to encourage better skill development. Once situated within a larger theoretical context, however, the teaching of foreign language reading takes on new implications. No longer can learning to read in a foreign language be seen purely as a type of translation activity, where accuracy, that is, understanding all the words and summarizing precisely the plot, is the final goal. Instead, reading becomes a dynamic process of interpretation and critical thinking, one that can potentially have a significant impact on language learners as they participate in the textual dynamics, both on the level of

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[5] Interestingly, the concept of linguistic play in foreign language learning, particularly in terms of oral production, is becoming an area of considerable investigation. (see G. Cook (forthcoming) and Broner & Tarone, (1999)).

individual self-definition and cultural comprehension. Bolstering the language teacher education syllabus along theoretical lines from diverse fields thus addresses some of Thomas' concerns regarding the lack of literature in the classroom. The encouragement of interpretative reading skills early on in the language program – Thomas insists that literature needs to be integrated no later than second year – thus finds a basis in interdisciplinary theory. This grounding can lead to the development of pedagogical methods for the successful teaching of texts to language learners that go beyond mechanistic translation, plot summary, or comprehension check levels. Moreover, when many of our teachers are graduate student instructors in other fields, incorporating theory from their primary areas of research casts their teaching endeavors in an entirely new light, articulating teaching more closely with their advanced studies.

Language in Its Social Contexts

Couching the language-learning experience within a sociological framework lends further perspective to the enterprise. In *Language and Symbolic Power* (1982), the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu uses an economic metaphor of language as currency in discussing his ideas concerning register and the persuasive power at the disposal of the individual who increases his or her linguistic capital. Bourdieu emphasizes that the register individuals use marks them in terms of education, class, and often economics. The more educated an individual's speech, the more registers he or she possesses, and consequently the more sociological flexibility and opportunities. According to Bourdieu,

> linguistic exchange is also an economic exchange, which establishes itself in a certain relationship of symbolic forces between the producer, provided with a certain linguistic capital, and the consumer […], and which is appropriate to procure a certain material or symbolic profit. In other words, discourses are not not only signs destined to be understood and decoded; they are also *signs of wealth* destined to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, destined to be believed and obeyed. […] linguistic force is not determined solely by the linguistic forces present, but rather the entire social structure is present in each interaction through the spoken languages, the speakers who speak them, and the groups defined by the possession of the corresponding linguistic competence. (pp. 59-61)

The individual rich in linguistic capital can lower the register when appropriate to his or her audience; the reverse is not true, however. Bourdieu's work, bolstered by that of linguist Norman Fairclough (1998), who deals with prejudicial issues of language and power, can provide language teachers with important insights into what registers they may want to incorporate into the classroom and what forms of writing should be encouraged. Should certain types of slang or pronunciations be taught in the foreign language classroom, for instance? What types of writing

should be targeted? In the standard lower division language sequence these issues can have far-reaching consequences. If students are not taught how to read texts critically, to write convincingly and according to the genre requirements of advanced work, and to use oral language appropriate to discussions held in upper division courses, they may very well become linguistically impoverished, to use Bourdieu's terminology, becoming handicapped, and even prevented from continuing on in their language studies. It is not surprising, then, that the questions of *what intellectual content* and *what register* of language are taught are precisely among the hottest issues facing language teachers today, issues that serve partially as the impetus behind Thomas' article and as the impetus for much current research in language teacher education. Bourdieu's ideas thus raise questions crucial to the direction foreign language education must take. Those students who have elected to study a foreign language already have decided to expand their communicative potential. Those who must take language classes to fulfill a university requirement should be made aware of the sociological and cultural implications involved in learning another language and encouraged to participate fully in the experience. Teachers, by becoming aware of the sociology and potential power of language, can help their students, no matter what their motivation for language study, to maximize their linguistic experience.

Conclusion

In this article a great deal of material has been covered, inevitably in far too cursory a fashion. Its very eclecticism and expansive nature demonstrate, however, the potential contribution of a wide spectrum of diverse specialties to the field of language teacher education. I began by citing Thomas' article because it spoke directly to me concerning serious language teaching issues with which many colleges and universities are currently grappling. As Thomas' criticisms so clearly reveal, a narrow approach to language teacher education contributes to a problematic perception of the field as limited and essentially focussed on pedagogical techniques divorced from theoretical content. This unfortunate view of language teaching is generally held, moreover, by those not directly involved in the profession itself. In an address to language teachers, for example, one of the deans at my institution condescendingly expressed his gratitude that language teachers would work at a level that required the teaching of only lower-level cognitive skills. Professors directly involved with the profession bemoan the sparse enrollment figures, particularly by graduate students in language departments, in the basic language teacher education courses, which use as core texts those cited earlier as most commonly used in such courses across the country. That is, unless absolutely required to take a course in language pedagogy, where the focus is on methods and language issues not directly relevant to their teaching responsibilities, graduate student instructors

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will opt not to do so. Only recently a colleague in another language department, who had incorporated one of the standard texts into his pedagogical seminar in an effort to bolster the theoretical component, complained that his own graduate students did not want to do any language acquisition theory, seeing it as uninteresting and irrelevant both to their immediate needs of teaching their classes efficiently and, more importantly, to their ultimate career goals as teachers of literature.

All of this is troubling precisely because the trend will only perpetuate the problems and misconceptions that Thomas outlines, with the language-teaching profession seen as a collection of techniques functionally determined to accomplish "X". Moreover, a shortsighted and mechanistic view of language teaching will continue to produce the same kinds of language teacher education courses, which in turn will produce teachers *unaware* of the potential of their field and who will risk shortchanging their students in precisely the ways Thomas outlines, by marshalling a set of techniques but without a deeper theoretical grounding behind them. Expanding the language teacher education syllabus to include research from diverse fields provides us with a profound understanding of what it means to learn a language and helps to establish interconnections with those fields. For language teachers, as well as for graduate student instructors, an interdisciplinary language teacher education can suddenly become directly relevant to their studies and an exciting nexus of intertwining ideas. My own graduate students, who see themselves primarily as teachers of literature, have, in fact, combined work by Rumelhart and Swaffar (neither of whom would normally be read by students of literature) with that of Bakhtin in their own literary research projects, thus clearly demonstrating the integration that is possible in these two fields.

The interdisciplinary syllabus effectively counters mistaken beliefs that language teaching focuses on lower-level thinking skills. And in the process of grappling with various ideas about language and of learning more about what Stephen Pinker (1994) calls "the ineffable essence of human uniqueness" (p. 19), we will learn a great deal more about the profound nature of this profession. Claire Kramsch puts it very well when she discusses her own concept of a dialogic pedagogy. She says,

> A dialogic pedagogy is unlike traditional pedagogy. Not only can it not be pre-programmed, but it is likely to question the traditional social and political tenets of foreign language education. Furthermore, it sets new goals for language teachers – poetic, psychological, political goals that are not measurable on proficiency tests and do not constitute any easy-to-follow method. For all these reasons, such a pedagogy should better be described, not as a blueprint for how to *teach* foreign languages, but as another way of *being* a language teacher. (1993, p. 31)

The expansive, interdisciplinary syllabus contributes to this way of being.

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A Study of the Role of Teachers' Beliefs and Knowledge about Assessment and Instruction

Eva Ponte

This paper aims to contribute to an emergent literature on how language teachers learn about foreign language teaching. Specifically, it illustrates how a teacher's notions of instructional assessment were reshaped through his experience of collaboratively designing and implementing portfolio assessment in one of his Spanish classes.

Several researchers have focused on the study of how the interaction of teachers' backgrounds and teacher education programs foster teachers' knowledge and learning about teaching (Goodman, 1984; Gutiérrez Almarza, 1996; Johnson, 1996; Kamhi-Stein, & Galván, 1997; Knezevic & Scholl, 1996; Richards, Ho, & Gilbin, 1996). These researchers have recognized the importance of teachers' previous educational experiences in creating implicit teaching models and have also suggested that teacher education programs should provide student teachers with supportive environments for revealing, examining, and fine-tuning their views about teaching. That is, these authors claim that helping student teachers review their teaching models is essential to instruct them in the process of reflection, which they consider a critical tool for their training.

Because teaching is a highly complex activity, teacher education programs cannot tackle all its complexities within the duration of the training program. Consequently, teachers' ability to reflect on their teaching experiences is considered an optimal means for them to continue to look into, and ultimately improve, their own practices after their participation in teacher education programs ends (Schön, 1987; Shulman, 1988). Several in-service professional development initiatives rely on teachers' acquisition of reflection skills during their pre-service programs to help them foster their knowledge about teaching and student learning. For example, some in-service programs aim to create a context in which teachers can come together to reflect upon and discuss with each other their teaching practices[1]. In this paper I examine the potential of a teacher's participation in the design and implementation of portfolio assessment as a fruitful ground for this teacher's reflection on his teaching practices, especially in relation to instructional assessment issues.

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[1] Several educational organizations have organized forums in which teachers are supported to engage in reflection about teaching in general and particularly about their own teaching practices. For instance, the Coalition of Essential Schools created the Critical Friends Groups, where teachers met regularly to discuss students' work and its relation to their teaching practices (CES, 1996; CES, 1998). Another educational group, Harvard Project Zero, implemented the ROUNDS project, whose aim was to give teachers an opportunity to engage in reflective conversations about teaching and learning (Seidel, 1998).

Educational researchers have found the use of alternative forms of assessment to be a valuable professional development experience for teachers. For instance, advocates of portfolio assessment (PA) indicate that it frequently provides teachers with detailed information about how teachers' instructional practices are addressing students' needs (Moss et al., 1992; Resnick & Resnick, 1992; Wolf, 1989; Wolf, et al., 1991). For example, the content of students' portfolios, especially the reflection component, provides information to teachers that may help them make more appropriate decisions about how to organize the curriculum to foster students' learning.

In addition, teachers' participation in the design and implementation of portfolio assessment involves teachers in activities and conversations that have been found to foster teachers' understanding and knowledge about instruction, assessment, and students' learning. For example, Darling-Hammond, Ancess, and Falk (1995) carried out a study in which teachers worked with colleagues to construct assessments for use at their school. These authors found that assessment was a tool to enhance teachers' reflection on their instructional practices; that is, the participating teachers gained a better understanding about what students' work reveals about their learning and abilities. In another study, Borko, Mayfield, Marion, Flexer and Cumbo (1997) showed how elementary math teachers who participated in the design and implementation of classroom-based performance assessments made significant changes in their understanding and knowledge about assessment and instruction. For instance, teachers incorporated problem-solving activities and student explanations as more central components of their programs, and they developed scoring rubrics for assessing students' performance on open-ended mathematics tasks. Both of these changes, the authors notice, were compatible with current models of mathematics teaching and learning.

This study focuses on the potential of portfolio assessment to promote teacher reflection and changes in teachers' views of learning and assessment, and to encourage teachers to use assessment to inform their instructional practices. I will describe how a portfolio assessment was constructed and implemented in a Spanish classroom, and how Sam, the high school teacher participating in this study, learned about assessment and dealt with implementation challenges. To this end, I used records of our portfolio assessment design meetings, classroom observations, portfolio assessment grading sessions, and interviews with the teacher. Assertions based on these records will be presented following a brief description of the portfolio assessment project framing this study.

Guiding Expectations

It is postulated here that a teacher's involvement in the design & implementation of portfolio assessment may lead to: a) the teacher's increased knowledge and understanding about assessment, b) the teacher's reflection on what students' performance demonstrates about students' understanding and learning and the nature of classroom work, and c) the teacher's modification of the classroom environment to improve students' opportunities to learn and show evidence of their learning.

Background

Site and Participants

The study was conducted in two 11th grade classrooms in an urban high school. The school has a diverse student body, with nearly 3,000 students enrolled in the 1997-98 academic year. The participants in this study are the teacher, the students, and myself, the researcher.

Teacher

Sam, the participating teacher, engaged in this project because he felt the assessment techniques he was using in the classroom were not giving him the information he wanted to obtain about his students' learning and competencies. Sam is a fluent speaker of Spanish, in his third year of his teaching career, who is trying to keep away from a skills-and-drill approach and aiming to address instruction from a communicative perspective. He is highly regarded by his colleagues and students.

Students

There were approximately sixty students, thirty students in each "Spanish V" class: one class in which PA was used, and one in which Sam did not implement PA. Spanish V is a class intended to be for 11th graders (third year of high school), but several students had taken two years of Spanish in middle school, and took this class during their high school freshman year. Thus, there was a considerable age and language competence variability among the students.

Researcher

Several years ago, I participated as a graduate student researcher in a portfolio assessment project analyzing and refining the rubrics of a large-scale portfolio assessment program in Spanish. My participation in that project gave me the opportunity to interact with curriculum designers and teachers who were using portfolio assessment in their classrooms. Those interactions fostered my

recognition of how teachers' knowledge of assessment contributes to the ways they use them to learn more about their own practices and improve students' learning.

Additional insights emerged when I conducted a pilot study of the implementation of the above-mentioned portfolio assessment program in one classroom. During my fieldwork, which involved both informal interviews with the participants and classroom observations, I noticed a tension between the claims of the designers and the emerging work that was taking place in the classroom. That tension, in my view, was born of a dissonance between participants' and designers' assumptions and expectations about the assessment tool.

I thus became interested in studying the social interactions surrounding the enactment of a portfolio assessment in the classroom, and how such processes may shape the design, implementation, and impact of the portfolio assessment in the classroom. Especially, I sought to learn more about participants' views and perceptions about teaching, learning, and assessment; and how those views affected and were affected by the portfolio implementation. In this paper, I focus on how the teachers' participation in the design and implementation of portfolio assessment influenced his views about teaching, learning, and especially assessment.

Researcher's role

I originally envisioned having a collaborating role during the PA design and a supporting role for its implementation – one that would enable me to observe the implementation without further involvement. However, constructing and implementing the PA appeared to be a very challenging task, and thus the teacher-researcher relationship turned into an ongoing collaboration. Over the course of the semester, our collaborative activities included discussing Sam's instructional practices (including assessment) after class, and meeting every week to develop and refine PA activities. While in the classroom, I aimed to have mainly an observer's role that would later allow me to construct rich descriptions of the classroom. Students knew I could be of help, and did occasionally request my help, but they gradually came to understand that my main goal was to record the dynamics of the classroom.

Description of Classroom

Syllabus

Sam organized his syllabus along four dimensions: 1) functional competence (e.g., talking about one's routine, discussing vacation plans, health issues); 2) context/vocabulary (e.g., magazines with entertainment, writing journals), 3) accuracy/grammar (e.g., reflexive-non

reflexive verbs, imperative, direct-indirect pronouns, and imperfect and preterite tense), and 4) enrichment (e.g., readings, cultural celebrations, movies, proverbs).

Activities

Classroom activities were organized around the syllabus. Sam usually started his class with a "cafecito" (a small cup of coffee), a small classroom activity to start the day (an analogy to the way many people start their days – drinking coffee), dealing with instructional topics to be covered that day. Occasionally he felt students had had a hard time with it or if students mentioned any difficulty, he proceeded to review the homework. Then he usually embarked on explanations of grammar, discussions of proverbs or current events in the Latin world, or classroom exercises (e.g., skits, creating story-boards, surveys, debates, reading-writing activities). Whenever he administered a test or quiz, he had a "cafezote" (a large cup of coffee) the day before, which was an exercise with the same format and content as the test, but shorter in length.

Assessment tasks

During the semester, Sam administered about 4 quizzes and 4 tests in both classrooms, and in one of the classrooms students also turned portfolios in (two entries). Classroom grades were based on participation, homework, projects, tests and quizzes (and portfolios in the PA classroom).

Portfolio Assessment Model

Entries

The PA model underwent several revisions. Due to various factors, the portfolio was implemented in the classroom later than expected, and thus there were only two entries instead of the three planned. For each entry we intended to have both mandatory and selected samples, but the choice was scarcer than planned. Students were asked to enter samples of reading, writing, and oral activities. For the first entry, the oral activity consisted of a brief one-to-one interview, and for the second entry students were asked to listen to a tape several times and answer questions about the tape.

Reflection sheets

For both entries, students were asked to answer questions that we believed would guide their reflection about their work. These questions were divided across dimensions (e.g., writing, reading, speaking, etc.) and asked students to select their best piece of work, identify its strengths and weaknesses, and describe the strategies/processes they followed to do it. The reflection forms also included a question about what they thought Sam, their teacher, could do to help them

improve their learning. The second entry had a similar format and also asked students to compare and reflect on their development over time.

<u>Portfolio assessment rubrics</u>

The rubrics were designed during the summer, following the ACTFL framework and definitions of proficiency levels. We designed an analytic rubric with four levels, from beginning to advanced (e.g., one criterion in the beginning reading level reads "doesn't provide evidence of understanding main idea" and in the advanced level indicates "shows understanding of main and secondary ideas"). There were five dimensions: 1) reading comprehension (e.g., understanding main and secondary ideas, ability to analyze the text), 2) listening comprehension (e.g., understanding main idea), 3) written expression (e.g., exposition, organizational and grammatical errors, word-choice), 4) oral expression (e.g., fluency, vocabulary, pronunciation, interference of native language), and 5) critical thinking (including cultural awareness and reflection about one's own learning).

Data

Data for this study come from a larger data set. In this study I will analyze: 1) audio-tapes of teacher-researcher PA design meetings, 2) fieldnotes of daily classroom observations, 3) researcher notes of informal teacher-researcher meetings held during the semester, 4) researcher notes of PA grading meetings, and 5) transcripts of audio-tapes of an in-depth semi-structured interview carried out at the end of the school term (named end-of-project or EOP interview hereinafter). Figure 1 depicts the data used in this study together with the time-line in which data were collected.

Figure 1: Data Sources

Initial contact	PA Design	PA Implementation + Informal meetings + PA reading (1st entry)	PA Grading (both entries)	Final Interview
Pre-summer	Summer	Academic Semester	End of grading period	End of Project (EOP) Interview

As I indicated previously, Sam speaks Spanish fluently, and I am a native Spanish speaker. In our meetings we constantly switched between languages, and he also switched between English and Spanish while teaching; therefore, excerpts from transcripts and fieldnotes include both languages to preserve the taste of the real instances in which this communication took place (a translation will be included).

In this paper, I will use the following transcription notation:

()   Words within parenthesis were used when the words were not completely clear from the recording.

(?)   When something was incomprehensible I indicated so with a question mark.

/   Indicates self-interruption or an apparent discourse change.

[ ]   Were used to indicate Observer Comments (OC).

(( ))   Provide contextual information, gestures, laughs, etc.

[…]   Ellipsis points within brackets indicate omitted material (whole sentences).

…   Ellipsis points indicate omitted material (words).

Findings

This section follows the sequence suggested by the guiding expectations presented earlier in this paper. First, I will explain how the teacher gained a better understanding and increased his knowledge about assessment. Second, I will illustrate how the teacher improved his skills to analyze students' work. Finally, I will show how this learning about assessment issues affected his understanding of the link between assessment and instruction.

Teacher's knowledge and understanding about assessment

<u>Moving away from a focus on students' reflection towards students' performance in Spanish</u>

Through his participation in this project, Sam changed from conceiving of portfolio assessment mainly as a tool for reflection to viewing reflection as just one component of portfolio assessment, and recognizing the need to assess other components of students' learning. By reflection I refer here to students' inquiry into their own learning experiences – what students were having difficulties with, how to overcome it, and what students' strengths were.

Data from the PA design meetings and classroom observations serve as a baseline to describe the teacher's initial understanding of PA. I will then discuss the teacher's views about PA at the end of the project (PA grading and EOP).

During the design meetings, the teacher mainly focused on the "reflection" dimension of the scale (i.e., students' examination of their own learning based on PA activities). He wanted to have

four different dimensions, one for reflection in each kind of skill he wanted to measure (writing, reading, listening, and speaking). After intense negotiation, we created four dimensions to assess each skill, and one dimension called "critical thinking," which included cultural awareness and reflection. This reflection dimension was by far the largest of all rubric dimensions (i.e., the one with the most criteria about how to assess reflection).

The teacher's tendency to define PA as a reflection tool was also evident in his instructional practices. During one class activity in which students were listening to a tape, Sam said:

> S: ¿qué les pareció más fácil (levanten la mano), más difícil, o igual? [What did you find easier (raise your hand), harder, or the same?] Sería interesante que escriban qué les parece esta actividad. [It will be interesting for you to write down your thoughts about this activity.] It will be useful as a preparation for the portfolio. It's a potential activity for listening comprehension. In the margin, just make notes for yourself. (researcher fieldnotes, 11/16/98)

However, during the reading of the portfolio the teacher realized that in general we did not have enough evidence to provide an accurate profile of the students' learning; and consequently, he realized it was necessary to gather evidence of students' abilities beyond reflection (e.g., students' oral skills) to be able to make a fair judgment about students' learning and competence.

The "end of the project" interview revealed that indeed Sam was thinking initially of portfolio assessment as a reflective tool, as he himself indicated: "somehow I envisioned a process that required [lots of] reflection, and you know, I wasn't really clear on that concept."

Moreover, he recognized he had focused too much on the reflection aspect of the portfolio, and thus had not given as much attention as he felt necessary to other dimensions of students' learning of Spanish. Sam indicated one strategy that he thought might help him to do so:

> S: [having a clear idea of what topics and kinds of activities one is going to do in the class] could be a really helpful way…to help me focus on a different component, and making sure that I will be getting in the writing, and the reading, and the comprehension, and the verbal…because I doubt many of us are totally balanced. (EOP interview, 2/1/99)

Moving away from a focus on PA as instructional activities toward PA having an assessment component

Initially, Sam regarded portfolio activities mostly as instructional activities, without fully understanding the demands an activity has to comply with in order to be a useful assessment task. For example, at the beginning (as illustrated by fieldnotes of classroom observations) he did not grasp the importance of nor pay attention to ownership issues (Gearhart & Herman, 1998), but once he turned to grading the portfolios he realized the importance of this issue. By ownership

Gearhart and Herman refer to the challenging task of determining whose work is being judged when students work collaboratively with peers, teachers, or parents.

There was a classroom activity that was designed to be a portfolio listening comprehension activity. Sam was to ask students to write their names on a piece of paper, give them a set of questions about the conversation they were about to hear, play the tape three times, and collect students' answers. After playing the tape, the teacher gave the students a couple of minutes to work independently. Then, instead of collecting students' answers, he started a whole-class discussion about each question and its answer. Only after the discussion, and once several students had changed their answers, did he collect students' work.

Right after the class, I pointed out to him that it was going to be difficult for us to assess students' listening skills using this activity, given that all answers were shared. Sam told me he thought his students were honest and did not consider his actions a threat to the assessment, although he was aware of my concern. I do believe his students were honest, but he never told them not to change their answers.

Reading the portfolios, it became evident both that the students were honest and that the activity did not fulfill its mission. In their reflection sheets, several students mentioned that they wrote the right answers to the activity but had had a hard time understanding the tape. A few students even said that though they had the right answer to the last question, they had not understood the tape, and thus they did not consider their answer an accurate indicator of their competence.

Reading students' answers to the reflection sheets and trying to grade the portfolios, the teacher became aware of the difficulties created by his actions regarding this particular PA activity. He mentioned this incident during the interview, saying he had made a mistake by sharing the answers, and realized the negative effect it had had regarding the quality of the evidence included in the portfolios about students' listening competence. The quotation below depicts this assertion.

> S: No, that [the listening activity] could have worked more hadn't I, you know,
> gone over the answers ((laughs)), you know, afterwards ((laughs)) you know, that
> could have helped out [to assess students' oral skills]. (EOP interview, 2/1/99)

<u>Moving away from defining rubrics as abstract and un-aligned with the curriculum toward concrete and curriculum-aligned rubrics</u>

Sam seemed to initially conceive of rubrics as abstract things that could be taken from any sources outside his classroom. During the design of the portfolio, we spent a great deal of time designing the portfolio rubrics, and the teacher repeatedly said: "I can't believe no one has done this before, I'm sure that we are re-inventing the wheel." While constructing the rubrics, we discussed

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the relation of the rubrics to the assessment matrix, but it was difficult for the teacher to discern concrete links between his class goals and the PA rubrics.

During the portfolio grading session, he realized the need for rubrics to be concrete and aligned with course goals in order to be relevant and useful. The rubrics we constructed were too abstract, their language was too vague; and therefore it was hard to use them as a guide to assess and grade student portfolios.

Sam confirmed he had a hard time visualizing the rubrics at the beginning of the project, and he said it was difficult for him to use the rubrics to assess students' work.

> S: Yeah, the idea of rubrics, you know, try to get the rubrics down it was ((laughs)), you know, I just didn't have any experience doing that, and I wasn't very sure about / how to go about it. […] Hum, I think it was pretty abstract, it didn't really / I don't think it helped that much [in assessing students' work]. I mean, I think we spoke in really general terms, you know, I remember that, yeah I don't feel like that was really helpful. (EOP interview, 2/1/99)

Nonetheless, he said that after having concrete experience with portfolios and using rubrics to grade portfolios he felt he would be better prepared to try it again and be more successful.

> S: But that's something I could do next time, like having had the experience that I've had I could do more planning out [about how to make the rubrics more useful]. (EOP interview, 2/1/99)

Teacher's reflection on what students' performance demonstrates about students' learning and instruction

<u>Moving away from judging students' learning and competence without having concrete evidence toward searching for evidence to properly assess students' learning</u>

Once we collected the first portfolio entry, the teacher and I met to discuss how the rubrics could be used to assess students' portfolios. We were reading the portfolios and considering the usefulness of the rubrics to assess students' work, and we had the following conversation:

> Sam dijo: "veamos el de Juana [refiriéndose a su "portafolio"], ella es una estudiante estupenda". [<u>Sam said: "Let's see Juana's [portfolio], she is an excellent student."</u>]

> Lo lee por encima y dice: ¡una A! [<u>He skims over it and says: an A!</u>]

> "No, vamos", le digo yo… "no es justo, ya tienes la nota en la cabeza antes de leerla". [<u>"Oh, come on," I tell him, "that's not fair, you already have the grade in your head."</u>]

> Sam says: "what can I do, they live up to my expectations!". (Researcher notes, 11/1/99)

During the end-of-project interview, we talked about a classroom activity in which students discussed the characteristics that made a composition a "low, medium, or good" one. I mentioned

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that one student had said this activity had been very helpful for her, because sometimes she did not know which criteria Sam used to grade Spanish compositions. During the end-of-project interview, Sam indicated that he himself had been pleasantly surprised by students' engagement in this activity (Sam: "That [the exemplars discussion] felt pretty good, I mean I could sense that they were engaged, I thought something was happening there"). Moreover, Sam said he realized it was important for him to be clear about his standards; not only to be fair to students, but also to be able to share his standards with them and help them to learn what a good composition looks like.

> S: Yeah, I mean, when they identified certain aspects of the composition that made the top one, it sort of reaffirmed the [importance of having clear criteria] […] I should have a rubric when I grade compositions, or at least I should have it in my mind, and I don't think I [have one], you know, I sort of scan it, and I look for certain things and I don't identify the things that I look for. It's just a general feel that you have; which is not a very objective way [of assessing students' work]. […] So I've gotta work on that too. (EOP interview 2/1/99)

<u>Moving away from assessment being disconnected from instruction to assessment being integrated with instruction</u>

PA is seen by some of its advocates as a tool to integrate assessment and instruction. For instance, Gitomer and Duschl (1995) indicate that PA aims to: a) give feedback to students about their knowledge of what is being assessed, rather than simply marking responses as incorrect or correct; and b) provide explicit information about where students are succeeding and where they are having difficulty, rather than giving information about how their performance compares to that of other students.

The teacher agreed with this vision of PA, but then, mainly due to time constraints, he did not give any feedback to students about their portfolios. During the semester, several students complained because they were not clear about how they were going to be assessed in their portfolios and they inquired about their grades. As a response, Sam gave to the students some notes I had written for him, but these notes were not intended to be given to students, and students reported not finding the notes useful at all.

However, by participating in this project, the teacher seemed to recognize the need to give feedback to students. During the end-of-project interview, the teacher said that if he was to try portfolio assessment again he should be clear from the beginning about how portfolios were going to be graded, and he should be more structured in terms of feedback. (We did not discuss the specifics of how this could be done.)

> E: If you were to do the portfolio again, what would you do differently?

S: Hum, a little bit more prepared, we (jumped?) into it; and you know, being able to lay it all out the first day of class. […] Time and effort, yeah, and I guess we hadn't really planned out [the feedback] as…part of it, and we should have, because that was an important part, it's a very important part, and I think that would have made a world of difference to [the students], had they got more feedback. (EOP interview 2/1/99)

Teacher's reexamination of strategies to improve students' opportunities to learn and show evidence of their learning

<u>Acknowledging the need to provide students with opportunities to engage in activities similar/relevant to assessment tasks</u>

When the teacher agreed to participate in this project, he said he wanted to make the curriculum he was using more meaningful to students. In his opinion, one way to do that was to encourage the learning of oral skills; that is, students' ability to communicate in Spanish.

During the design of the rubrics, we discussed the necessity of providing students with opportunities to engage in activities that would have a substantial influence on students' performance on the assessment tasks. In sum, we discussed the importance of providing students with opportunities to learn the material on which they would be assessed. The teacher agreed with this point of view. He was very successful in terms of speaking in Spanish to students in the classroom, but the classroom environment he created was not equally successful in terms of encouraging students to speak in Spanish. This assertion, based on classroom observations, was confirmed by students in their reflection sheets. Most students mentioned how listening to Spanish regularly helped them to gain competence in this terrain, and that at the beginning they were also optimistic about their learning to speak Spanish. By the second entry, parallel to my observations, they felt their speaking competence had not progressed as well as expected.

In fact, when we were constructing the second portfolio entry, Sam realized that we could not assess students' oral skills because during the semester he had not required students to use Spanish frequently enough. He recognized the need to provide students with more opportunities to speak Spanish and to create a structured plan that would allow an appropriate assessment of such skills. For example, he mentioned that he could have used tapes to assess students' oral skills, but should have had started doing that from the beginning of the semester. He added that next year he would start with tapes right from the beginning.

This rationale was also apparent in the end of the project interview. We discussed the difficulty of assessing oral skills, not only conceptually (e.g., what is the best way to assess oral skills: interviews, skits, tapes, a combination of these activities) but also logistically (e.g., if we allow students to record their tapes at home, how should we deal with ownership issues? or if one

decides to use skits in the classroom to assess students' oral skills, how can one ensure that the student is not so anxious that their performance is not authentic?). We also discussed some alternatives to be used in the future, such as the use of tapes so that students can record their answers to short questions, the use of an index-card system to structure classroom participation and assess students in situ, and the use of rehearsed and improvised skits to assess students speaking individually and in groups.

<u>Becoming aware of the need to train students to keep their work and to include all portfolio entries in a folder, to be able to do a fair assessment of their learning</u>

During the design of the portfolio we discussed logistical issues, and I suggested the creation of a system to store student work in the classroom and encourage students to keep their own work. Sam did not agree with this suggestion, and allowed students to take their portfolio folders in and out of the classroom. However, during the portfolio grading, we discovered that several students included the second entry but did not include the first one. The teacher was then aware this meant a lack of evidence of students' learning, and therefore a truthful assessment could not be made (especially if one plans to have an outside person to read and grade the portfolios).

Conclusions

This study indicates that a) teachers' participation in the design and implementation of portfolio assessment holds promise as a tool to help teachers reflect on their own practices, and b) portfolio assessment has the potential to provide students with learning environments aligned with current reform efforts of language education (e.g., portfolios may be a vehicle to promote a communicative approach to language teaching).

However, portfolio assessment poses several challenges. PA is a complex assessment system difficult to design and to integrate with classroom activities. Teachers need support when trying out these new forms of assessment, and they need to be given several opportunities to try it out, since the use of PA seems to afford teachers extraordinary insights into assessment issues that may better inform their subsequent use.

Implications

Although this project's portfolio was useful to measure writing ability (and to some extent reading), it was not so successful in assessing students' oral skills. However, students' opportunities to reflect on their learning and the teacher's instructional practices, allowed this teacher, Sam, to recognize the need to design instructional oral activities that could be followed up with meaningful

oral assessment tasks. Additionally, students' involvement in the PA helped the teacher to recognize the importance of clearly planning from the outset of the course when and how to give feedback to students.

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The Interaction Between Students' Beliefs and Teacher's Beliefs and Dilemmas

Ana Maria F. Barcelos

Teaching has been characterized as a contradictory activity, full of tensions and dilemmas (Brookfield, 1995; Lampert, 1985; Newman, 1998). In daily practice, teachers are faced (and sometimes torn) with problems that cannot be solved easily. Although there are no single answers or methods that can provide the best solution for the dilemmas we face in everyday practice, teachers' self-knowledge may be one of the keys to dealing with dilemmas, for when we know ourselves better we can become empowered to solve our problems.

This study is based on four assumptions. First, "teaching is deeply personal and rooted in an individual's identity and sense of meaning" (Carter & Doyle, 1996, p. 134). Thus, in order to understand teaching we have to make sense of our own knowledge and beliefs and how they influence our practice. Second, learning to understand our beliefs and dilemmas is part of the process of becoming a critically reflective teacher (Brookfield, 1995). According to Brookfield, if we seek to instill in our students the attitude of examining their own beliefs, we have to model it and show that, as teachers, we are also struggling for insight, critical clarity, and openness. Third, by listening to our students' voices we initiate a dialogue with them that can help us "unlearn" many of our common assumptions about learning and teaching (Wink, 1997). This is part of the dialogic process of education. Thus, "if the teacher isn't learning anything, chances are students aren't either" (Tanaka Akay, cited in Murphey, 1998, p. i). Finally, our personal histories as language teachers can be integrated into research. As Montero-Sieburth (1997) explained, good teachers are good researchers and our 'selves' are present in both teaching and research.

The data for this paper emerged from the findings of a larger ethnographic study about my students' beliefs about language learning in Brazil (Barcelos, 1995). Through the investigation of students' beliefs in my own classroom and through the analysis of the diary I kept during data collection, I became aware of how different our beliefs about the teacher role were. Many of the entries in my diary dealt with my surprise at my students' beliefs while other entries showed I was experiencing a dilemma due to our different beliefs. As the focus of my 1995 study was not my dilemmas, I did not investigate it further. However, after finishing that study, I became acquainted with the literature about dilemmas (especially Lampert, 1985), which I did not have access before. The insights generated by the literature helped me see my previous findings from a new perspective, and I decided to write this paper. Thus, this paper is an autobiographical attempt to

come to terms with my own identity as a language teacher and to become more aware of my beliefs about my role as a teacher of English in Brazil. More specifically, I try to understand how a mismatch between my students' beliefs about the teacher role created a dilemma for me and affected my perception of myself as a teacher.

I first review studies about the culture of the classroom, the complexities and dilemmas of teaching, and teachers' and learners' roles. I then give details about the methodology of the study and discuss one episode to describe my students' expectations about my role and the type of dilemma I faced. Finally, I interpret some episodes from Barcelos (1995) in light of the literature reviewed in this paper and draw implications for language teacher education.

Classroom Culture and Roles

Although quite a few studies have investigated teachers' and students' belief mismatches (Block, 1990, 1992; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998; Luppescu & Day, 1990; Lutz, 1990; McCargar, 1993; Schulz, 1996), in this paper, I do not review these studies[1] because my focus here is on how students' beliefs about the teacher role can bring dilemmas to teachers. This topic has not been explored to date in language education, although one of the earliest studies on dilemmas in education dates back to Lampert (1985). Thus, the literature concentrates on studies about the classroom culture, concept and types of dilemmas, and the kinds of roles that teachers and students can play in the language classroom.

The Social Nature of Classrooms

The language classroom has been characterized as a culture in itself with special routines and social and cultural scripts (Breen, 1985; Prabhu, 1992). The language lesson is also a "routinised social event" with "roles and role relationships established by tradition and custom to teachers and learners in the classroom" (Prabhu, 1992, p. 228). In this social setting, there may be unspoken rules about the teacher's authority and learner's rights, their duties and obligations, codes about appropriate times to speak, procedures for punishment and reward, and accepted forms of behavior.

To Prabhu (1992) the lesson is "an arena of human interaction" where the teacher tries to handle several people in a way that "maximally protects or projects, and minimally hurts or diminishes, one's own self-image as a teacher" (p. 229). Prabhu explained that because so much is at stake, it is hard to imagine such a place as devoid of conflicts and dilemmas. Thus, teachers and learners are likely to choose options that will help them safeguard their self-esteem and play their

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[1] See Barcelos (2000) for a review of studies on mismatches between teachers' and students' beliefs.

roles as teachers or learners as safely as possible. Teachers and learners alike will try to protect their image and status in each other's eyes, as well as in the eyes of fellow teachers and superiors.

Breen (1985) characterized the language classroom as "coral gardens" where subjective views of language, diverse learning purposes, and different beliefs about learning emerge. Like Prabhu, he also believed this is a potential situation for "disagreement, frustrated expectations and conflict" (Breen, p. 144). Breen explained that the maintenance of a fine balance between teachers and learners' subjective realities and external pressures is one of the greatest problems teachers and learners have to face. That is why learners and teachers negotiate each other's identities.

The Cultures of Teaching and the Dilemmas of Teachers

In their classic paper about the cultures of teaching, Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) attempted to make explicit the implicit world of teachers and the kinds of dilemmas, rules, and conflicts they experience. They defined the cultures of teaching as teachers' subjective worlds in terms of what is salient to them, their ways of perceiving themselves and the meaning that they attribute to their work. The cultures of teaching also refer to teachers' shared knowledge comprised of beliefs about appropriate ways of working that vary according to different individuals, schools, and time.

What are dilemmas and what sorts of dilemmas do teachers experience? Lampert (1985) defined dilemmas as "an argument between opposing tendencies within oneself in which neither side can come out the winner" (p. 182). In investigating her own dilemmas in practice, she portrayed the teacher as tormented by other people's expectations and contradictory external pressures.

Although there have not been many empirical studies on teaching dilemmas, the types of dilemmas teachers constantly face have been mentioned by several researchers (Clarke & Silberstein, 1988; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Kagan, 1992; Kramsch, 1993; Lortie, 1975; Woods, 1996). Lortie (1975), for instance, devoted one chapter of his book to the "endemic uncertainties" of teaching. Some of these uncertainties refer to catering for group or individual needs, having a strict vs. a relaxed environment, and establishing order in the classroom vs. treating students unequally. Kagan (1992) pointed out that teachers usually have to establish standardized routines that can be altered at a second's notice. Clarke & Silberstein (1988) explained that teachers are faced with the paradox of obtaining new ideas from experts, while being skeptical of those ideas. Kramsch (1993) mentioned the "paradox of education" where teachers have to impart knowledge or have learners discover it for themselves. More recently, in language teaching, teachers have been required to 'convince' students that they should be autonomous or more

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responsible for their learning. Yet, students appear content to let the teacher exercise control (Clarke & Silberstein, 1988; Woods, 1996). Some of these dilemmas are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: A select summary of types of teaching dilemmas

Studies	Types of dilemmas	Explanation
Lortie, 1975	Authority vs. bonding	Keep distance from students and maintain discipline vs. form personal bonds with students to motivate them.
Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986	Distance vs. involvement	Keep students' attention and control them (distance) vs. provide openness to motivate them to learn (involvement).
Lortie, 1975	Classroom order vs. inequality	Reprimanding certain students to reestablish order in the classroom vs. being accused by those particular students of giving them unequal treatment.
	Group vs. individual needs	Catering for the needs of a group vs. the needs of individual students.
	Strict vs. relaxed environment	Using strict requirements vs. having students take advantage of a more relaxed instructional situation.
Kramsch, 1993	'Paradox of education': Transmission of knowledge vs. discovery of knowledge.	Teachers have to impart knowledge vs. learners have to discover it for themselves.
Kagan, 1992	'Schizophrenic tasks'	Need to individualize instruction vs. retaining control over the entire class.
		Establish highly standardized routines that can be altered at a second's notice.
		Obtain new ideas and materials while distrusting external sources of information (p. 79).
Woods, 1996	Autonomy dilemma	"Students have to be 'pushed' by the teacher in order to grudgingly accept that they are responsible for their learning" (p. 241).

Of specific interest to this study is the dilemma about authority versus bonding, a dilemma that was mentioned by Clarke and Silberstein (1988), Lampert (1985), Lortie (1975) and Senior (1997). On the one hand, teachers have to keep distance from students and to maintain discipline in order "to demonstrate to those outside the classroom that students respect them" (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986, p. 508). On the other hand, teachers are required to "form personal bonds with students in order to motivate them to learn" (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, p. 508). Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) remarked that this tension creates an ambiguity in teachers' role and remains a central issue for beginning as well as experienced teachers. The dilemma is partially created by the fact that students do not come to school voluntarily. Thus, teachers have the dual responsibility of keeping their attention and controlling them while providing enough openness to motivate them to learn.

How do teachers deal with these dilemmas? Should dilemmas be eliminated? Lortie (1975) argued that teachers need to be aware of these issues and learn to understand their own personalities and limitations. Lampert (1985), like Lortie, also saw these uncertainties and dilemmas as essential parts not only of the teachers' job, but also of our lives. As human beings, coping with or managing our problems requires admitting our limitations as human beings and understanding them as part of life. Lampert asserted that as teachers, we have to learn how to see dilemmas as a useful tool in our work and manage them so that we can keep them from erupting into more problematic situations. She pointed out that dilemmas have not been significantly discussed in scholarly and professional conversations because solving problems and finding solutions is a more highly valued endeavor in society. Thus, seeing conflicts as part of our jobs may seem "like an admission of weakness" because it goes "against our deep-seated hopes for making progress by gaining control over our interactions with one another" (Lampert, 1985, p. 193).

Teachers' and Learners' Roles

So far, I have described the sorts of dilemmas teachers experience. However, since this paper is about students' and teachers' beliefs about the teacher's role, it is important to understand the kinds of roles that teachers and learners can adopt in the classroom. Several studies have addressed the variety of roles language teachers and learners can play (Harmer, 1995; Wright, 1987; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). One basic common assumption in these studies is that the teacher's role varies within a continuum from a more directive to a more facilitative role. By the same token, students' roles vary a lot depending on the teacher philosophical orientation (Oxford et al., 1998), different teaching methodologies, and students' beliefs and expectations about teachers' and their own roles.

Role can be defined as "a complex grouping of factors which combine to produce certain types of social behaviors" (Wright, 1987, p. 7). Some of these factors are beliefs, attitudes, task-related behaviors, interpersonal relationships, and communication content and style. Beliefs are part of teaching and learning as a social process where "relationships are established, maintained, and evaluated through communication" (Wright, 1987, p. 10). How teachers and learners act and what they say in the classroom gives clues about the kinds of beliefs they have.

Richards and Lockhart (1994) emphasize how the contexts in which teachers work and their beliefs about their role can influence their approach to work and the strategies they employ to achieve their goals. Teachers may select roles for themselves as planners, managers, quality controllers, group organizers, motivators, empowerers, and team members. However, according to Richards and Lockhart, these roles often overlap. Teachers cannot be all things to all people, and

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their role may change during the lesson. Among the aspects that can influence the kinds of role teachers may adopt, they cite three. First, how teachers interpret their roles will lead to "different patterns of classroom behavior and classroom interaction" (p. 106). Second, the different phases of a lesson also influence the role that teachers play. This means that the teacher can exert a more controlling role when conducting a drill, or adopt a more facilitative role during an open discussion. Finally, teachers as well as learners, can interpret their roles according to a) different teaching settings and teaching methods employed, b) individual personalities and teachers' personal interpretation of problems, and c) cultural assumptions about teachers' responsibility, concept of learning and teaching, and learners' roles and duties in the classroom.

What are some of the roles that learners play? Some studies have pointed out how learners have their own ways of participating and even resisting the culture of the classroom and the role that sometimes teachers and researchers assign to them (Breen, 1998; Allwright, 1984, 1996; Woods, 1997). Some of these ways relate to learners' consent to be taught and learners' resistance to teaching.

Allwright (1984) offered a different view from the long-held belief that teachers control the classroom interaction. He explained that teachers teach only by consent, and that learners contribute to the management of their own learning. This management may involve trying to "socialise their teachers into being the sorts of teachers they themselves want" (Allwright, 1996, p. 227).

Learners also carry out implicit compensatory learning when their expectations are discrepant with the teachers' expectations or actions. Kramsch (1993) described ways in which learners actively cope with the complexities of classroom life. She argued that learners use the educational system to "promote their own local and personal meanings and pleasure" (p. 23). To Kramsch, learners manage their learning by constantly challenging the supposedly "socially controlled context" of the classroom for their own learning purposes (p. 93).

Summary

The few studies about dilemmas have suggested the types of teaching dilemmas that can occur in the classroom. They highlight that a) dilemmas are more common in the classroom than we imagined, b) dilemmas happen due to the social nature of the classroom and to participants' attempts to protect their own self-images and play their roles as safely as possible, and c) the dilemma of authority versus bonding seems to be one of the most common teaching dilemmas. These are important points that will be useful in analyzing the findings reported in this study.

The literature review has also shown that no studies have explored how students' beliefs may contribute to teachers' dilemmas about their own role. There is also a lack of autobiographical studies (except for Lampert, 1985) where the teacher himself or herself explores how students' beliefs helped him or her to become more aware of the sorts of dilemmas that can happen in the language classroom. Thus, in taking another look at one of the findings from an earlier study, I want to answer the following research questions: What sort of teaching dilemma was created by my awareness of my students' beliefs about the teacher role? How did I manage the dilemma created?

Methodology

This study is part of a larger ethnographic investigation of my students' beliefs about language learning at a federal university in southeast Brazil (Barcelos, 1995). I had been teaching this group of students for one year and a half by the time the study was conducted.

The purpose of that study was to characterize the culture of learning languages of a group of senior English-major students at that university in Brazil. In that study I was interested in knowing a) what students believed about language learning, b) what they said they should do to learn a language, and c) the actions they took to learn a language.

In order to answer questions a) and b) the primary data were open-ended questionnaires, interviews, and classroom observation notes and tapes. To answer question c), I looked primarily at the interviews, audio and video recording of classes, and field notes. However, as I mentioned earlier, the purpose of this paper is to take a second look at one finding from the study, namely, students' beliefs and my own beliefs about the teacher role. Thus, in this paper, I use mainly students' interview excerpts, classroom observation notes, transcripts of class recording, and entries from my diary.

Participants

Students

This group comprised 14 English-major students enrolled in an upper intermediate-level course. Students' ages ranged from 20 to 27 years old. Eleven of the 14 students had already studied in private English schools before entering the university, and one student had learned English in the U.S.A. All of them had studied English as a required subject in secondary school.

This was the last English course these students were taking at the university. The textbook was a fairly recent communicative British English book. However, I did not follow the book because in previous semesters students had expressed their frustration with the textbook in course evaluation questionnaires. Their main criticisms referred to the repetitive material, and to very few

and uninteresting texts. Their suggestions served as the basis for the syllabus that I submitted for their approval on the first day of class of the semester in which the study was conducted. The revised syllabus incorporated more texts about cross-cultural experiences, cultural aspects of the U.S.A. and Britain, and aspects of the English language from different sources in order to make content more relevant to students.

<u>The teacher</u>

My academic background comprised an undergraduate major in English as a Foreign Language from the same university where the study was conducted. I had been teaching at that university for 2 years. I considered myself to have a good rapport and close relationship with students. In class, I strove to provide opportunities for students to express themselves. I saw myself as a facilitator and close, friendly guide for students. In class I avoided overcorrection and forceful leadership and gave students freedom to express themselves, to make jokes, to say unexpected things. The classes had a very informal and relaxed atmosphere.

At the time I was conducting the study, I had just finished the course work in my Master's in applied linguistics. In those courses, I started reading about current theories in the field, about language teaching methods, and the communicative approach. The discussions with colleagues in my Master's made me see the courses I was teaching at my university from a different perspective and made me want to teach in a more communicative way. My personal philosophy of teaching included insights and interpretations from the literature and from my own previous learning experiences as a learner of English in Brazil. I wanted to give students more freedom to choose their own material. I tried to provide a relaxing and non-threatening atmosphere and adopted a more non-judgmental teacher role. I also believed that teachers should be closer to students and care about them.

I was the youngest teacher at the university where I taught and I looked a lot younger than I actually was. More than once, students mistook me for a student. My age and my young appearance, and the fact that I had once been a student at that university made me feel insecure about my authority as a teacher. This aspect is probably common to many new teachers in their work places. Nevertheless, I felt it was especially true for myself, first, because of the age difference between the other teachers and I, as I already mentioned, and second, because I was the only teacher who did not have a Master's yet. These two aspects probably made me more self-conscious of my authority as a teacher in class and perhaps more susceptible to students' comments and criticisms.

Data Collection

An ethnographic approach seemed suitable because ethnography offers a dynamic perspective through the analysis of the interactions in a teaching context with richness of details. Ethnography also helps teachers to understand their students' expectations about classroom life and appropriate interaction styles (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). The following research instruments were used:

- Questionnaires: A five-part open-ended questionnaire was given to students to be completed at home. The questions were based on the research questions and on readings about learners' beliefs about language learning. The first part dealt with questions about students' age, courses they were taking, and reasons for taking English. The second and third parts aimed at getting information on students' expectations and perceptions about their previous language learning experience in order to understand students' ways of studying, favorite activities, and study habits. Part four investigated students' perceptions about their course (major) at the university, use of L1 in class, students' role, and characteristics of the good learner. The last part investigated their beliefs about the best ways of learning English. The questions in all questionnaires were in Portuguese so that students could express themselves more freely.

- Semi-structured interviews as follow-up and based on the questionnaire. They were recorded with the students' permission and varied from 30 to 60 minutes. Interviews were conducted in Portuguese.

- Class recording in audio (17 classes) and video (5 classes).

- Teacher/researcher diaries and field notes, reflecting on students' actions in class that could reveal their beliefs and suggest discrepancies with the views presented in the interviews and questionnaire.

Data Analysis

The questionnaires were analyzed and students' responses were carefully read several times. The units that emerged from their answers were grouped into similar categories. Their questionnaire answers, besides providing invaluable information on their previous language learning experiences, indicated the sorts of beliefs they had, which were then compared to their interview answers and to my classroom observation notes and diary entries. All student interviews and classroom audio recordings were transcribed and analyzed according to principles of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Significant units of meaning related to expressed beliefs about language learning were written on cards, and then grouped according to emergent themes and categories. These categories were then checked for consistency and cross-checked with my diaries and field notes about the class. Triangulation was ensured by the use of different sources of data and prolonged stay in the field.

Findings

The results of the analysis indicated that students believed that the teacher is responsible for the students' learning. According to one student, the teacher should "motivate, make the student interested in the subject and make the student love it" (Student 5 questionnaire, p. 3). The students' role was to respond to that. Students seemed to believe that the teacher has to keep an eye on the students, otherwise they will not learn, as the following interview[2] excerpt shows:

> T: Do you think that if the teacher gives an assignment without attributing grades, that students will not do it?
> S4: I think it's difficult for them to do it.

This student seems to hint that the teacher should use the grade as a way of "motivating" students and making sure they do their tasks. This, in students' views, will "force" them to do their job, as the next interview quotation shows:

> S14: Sometimes the teacher asks students to write an essay for homework. The student won't do it if the teacher doesn't control it, if the teacher thinks we will do it. We don't have time. Now if [the] teacher forces us we find a way and time to do it anyway. If the teacher demands, we will find a way.

This quote suggests that for this student, the teacher should have a controlling role. If the teacher does not force students to do things, in their eyes, it appears as if the teacher is not a competent teacher. The students' role is to obey. In fact, this belief was confirmed in the definition of the good student provided by most of the students in their questionnaires. Most of them stated that the good student is the one who obeys the teacher in the first place.

One student, in talking about her previous experience in public school, said that students "only valued the study of English when they started failing English" (Student 12, interview, p. 5). In another comment, she admitted having "taken advantage" of the "nice teachers" who did not demand as much as the strict ones. These comments seemed to be the reason for one comment one student made in the first class of the semester. This student blamed me for the fact that they did not speak enough English in class. According to her, students took advantage of my way of being (friendly, not strict) to speak Portuguese in class, while with other stricter teachers, the students did what they were supposed to do and spoke English "all the time." To what extent students did speak English all the time in the class she was referring to, I do not know. Some students in class did not agree with her. Nevertheless, the student's comment is an indication of the strength of the belief that the teacher is responsible for students' learning. This belief may have influenced her perception that students spoke more English with other teachers.

Students also made other comments in class about the teacher's role. Some students criticized me for being too nice with students. On the last day of class, when I asked them to evaluate the course orally, a student said that I should have been stricter and more demanding and should have imposed more discipline. Another student commented: "You can't be like that with students (do whatever they want) because they will take advantage of the situation" (Student 7, interview, p. 10).

At first I interpreted these students' comments as their way of showing their concern about how I was (or could be) perceived by students. I did not feel the students who made these comments were highly critical or that my behavior bothered them too much. It seemed they were telling me that certain students are not very comfortable when teachers delegate control to them, and they may perceive this as the teacher's incompetence. Their insight was important to me because they pointed out things that I perhaps couldn't see.

However, I was also frustrated by their comments and I started blaming myself for not being a different teacher. Although I saw my class as a relaxed and friendly environment, I was afraid that this would make them perceive my class as not "serious." I was afraid of being criticized and of being labeled "the goody teacher" (*a boazinha*). This term in Brazil almost always means teachers who are too "nice" and close to students, a sort of a counselor, in a negative way. Some students believe that these teachers are not very good because they do not "make" students learn. I began to doubt my teaching ability as this excerpt from my journal shows:

> Sometimes I doubt the quality of my teaching and I think I should be different.
> More energetic, more demanding more like other teachers are with whom my
> students do not feel as much freedom. But in fact this is not exactly what I feel. This
> is a myth – The myth that when it's pleasant and nice the student does not learn
> and we feel as if we were not doing anything.

Sometimes I was happy being the teacher I was. I could see that students liked me and I could see many were learning and had improved their English during the course. Other times, my world would come apart when I heard their positive comments about more challenging tasks that they were doing for other teachers. I also compared myself to the image of a 'dynamic' teacher that students had in mind, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a student interview:

> S12: It's one o' clock in the afternoon and everybody is kind of lazy. She goes:
> repeat after me. She is like a crazy woman in the classroom but nobody sleeps.
> Everybody learns, do you understand? It's a time where everybody is kind of sleepy
> and everybody learns. To me that's what a dynamic teacher is. That person who
> catches your attention and does not let anybody escape because right after she is

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[2] The excerpts were originally in Portuguese and were translated into English by the author.

asking questions to me. But my answer may be the question to my colleague. She's great! To be dynamic is not to let students stop. It's everybody paying attention.

Thus, a dynamic teacher is one who catches students' attention, makes them learn, and acts as a sort of 'entertainer' or 'cheerleader' (see Oxford et al., 1998, for a discussion of teacher metaphors). Although the student was not referring to me, her image of an ideal teacher made me think about my own role. At times I wanted to be like that, perhaps to be approved by my students. Listening to my students' comments about my teaching made me realize the mismatch between their expectations about my role and my own perceptions of my role. This triggered my inner struggle to establish my own identity as a beginning and competent college English teacher not only in my students' eyes but also in the eyes of my colleagues.

A complicating aspect for my identity related to the fact that I became a teacher in the same institution where I once was a student. I became a colleague of my own ex-teachers. As I mentioned earlier, being the youngest teacher at that institution and fearing not having status as a competent teacher among students and my colleagues influenced the creation of a dilemma for me. On the one hand, I wanted to be different from the other teachers in that institution in terms of being closer to students. On the other hand, I also wanted to be perceived like them – efficient and competent in students' eyes. The following excerpt from my diary illustrates this point:

> At times I ask myself – if I were a strict teacher, "bad to give grades" as they say, wouldn't they apply themselves more? I see how they act in other subjects-preparing themselves weeks ahead of time to a test or to a paper. But am I not letting myself be contaminated by the stereotype of learning that exists? How much is this contaminating me? Can't they learn with me? Yes, they can. But they do seem to be better students with other teachers.

Once again I blamed myself for not fulfilling my students' expectations of a teacher's role. Although I knew students valued the teachers who were closer to them, I also believed they respected more the stricter teachers. I expressed the same kind of belief my students had – that their interests and efforts were a result of a teacher's demands. Yet, I doubted this is what I should do. It did not seem to be an option to me since it was contradictory to my personal teaching philosophy and with the kinds of reading I had been doing in the language teaching field. The dilemma was created: should I follow my students' beliefs about the role of the teacher as a controller or follow my philosophy of teaching in which the role of the teacher is that of a facilitator? I could not find a place in the middle where I could stand. I saw myself between two forces: my culture of teaching and my students' culture of learning, i.e., their beliefs about language learning.

Discussion

The dilemma I faced when I became aware of my students' beliefs and expectations about my role is a common dilemma in teaching. As I have shown in the literature review, the dilemma of authority versus closeness is considered to be one of the principal dilemmas in the teaching profession. According to Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986), "expectations for distance and closeness create a fundamental ambiguity in the teacher's role" (p. 508).

This ambiguity was manifested in the conflict I experienced in my teaching situation. I was trying to establish a close relationship with students and an affective positive language learning environment. However, my students expected me to play a different role and exercise more control. If I chose to continue to be who I was, students might have perceived me as an incompetent teacher. However, neither did I want to adopt a role that was not part of my philosophy. Either option would bring me a problem.

As mentioned earlier, in the culture of the classroom students and teachers adopt customary roles and get used to routines that are very much influenced by their previous experiences. Any deviations from this pattern may be considered a threat to all participants. By behaving in a different way than what students were used to, I may have broken some cultural implicit norms of interaction between students and teachers. My students and I were both constructing and shaping the culture of the classroom by interpreting or reinterpreting our roles and identities. How we decided to do that reveals interesting aspects of each one's culture intertwined with the culture of the classroom.

The students' culture of learning, shaped over many, many years, influenced their perceptions of the teacher's role and how they reacted to what I thought was my non-traditional approach. In this sense, their previous and present learning experiences significantly influenced how they decided to react to a language lesson that may have violated some of their previous conceptions about learners' and teachers' roles.

Students' accounts of their previous language learning experiences, as revealed in the questionnaires and interviews, indicated that their former teachers exerted control by giving a lot of repetitious grammar exercises and emphasizing memorization for tests. The grade was a very important aspect in their learning. Thus, students may feel lost when teachers are not constantly reminding them of the grade or do not always award grades to small assignments. As one student commented in class, "the grade is the student's salary" and it can serve as students' extrinsic motivation to study.

In trying to interpret this episode it is important to point out that, although it might have created a dilemma for me, the fact that students were able to express their opinions to me about

my teaching is a positive aspect of the relationship I had built with them. This may also have been an aspect of the closeness of age. But more importantly, the fact that students were open about their views reveals the interactive and negotiated nature of the culture of the classroom. It also shows students' possible attempt to socialize me into being the kind of teacher they wanted, as suggested by Allwright (1996).

Another possible interpretation is that by telling me that I should not trust students too much, they could probably be trying to protect their self-image. In other words, if I behaved according to their expectations, they would be able to behave as students, according to the "traditional script" – students obeying the teacher. If I behaved differently, I could have problems such as students not doing their jobs or taking advantage of my teaching style.

Control has many aspects in the culture of teaching. Although I have used the word control, I do not believe my students wanted me to control them. Some of my choices for exerting more control apparently were not the same as my students' interpretation of control. I believe they meant control in terms of the learning environment. Having had classes in which the social distance was larger, these students might have felt threatened by less social distance and more student responsibility, which I was not spelling out for them. I wanted to exert control in my classroom but I was not willing to do so by prescribing roles, dominating learners, or setting routine tasks. The option I took was the one which was apparently against my students' expectations of a teacher's role: reducing social distance without offering clear alternatives. It might have been the case that somehow I failed to adopt more controlling roles when they most needed it. As Wright (1987) pointed out, teachers' attitude of handing control over to learners may bring problems to teachers who "may then be accused of failing to carry out their professional duties and fulfilling their obligations to the learners" (Wright, 1987, p. 57).

A primary aspect that may have contributed to my dilemma is related to the fact that I was a teacher who had recently started teaching at that university. This was a crucial factor in how I felt when listening to my students' evaluation. Furthermore, I had been a student in that institution and now was a colleague of my former teachers. As a new and young teacher, I was almost the same age as my students, unlike the other teachers in the institution. This might have contributed to how I perceived and interpreted my students' beliefs or criticisms regarding my role, which affected my struggle to establish myself as a competent teacher not only in my students' eyes, but also in the view of my colleagues in that institution.

I am aware that my discussion about this episode in this paper has been based on dichotomies such as friendly vs. authoritarian or teacher-centered vs. student-centered as if things were only black and white. It is a paradox that sometimes we have to resort to such language in

order to characterize the dilemmas or paradoxes we live. It is important though to be conscious that some dichotomies may be imposed on teachers and affect how and what they teach and how they talk about teaching. As Lampert (1984) pointed out "we have placed teachers in theoretically derived trait categories like 'warm' and 'friendly' or 'authoritarian'" (p. 16), but we forget that these accounts cannot explain the dynamic nature of teachers' identity. In reality, as Lampert explained, what teachers are and do is shaped by their interactions in contexts. Teachers are the ones who decide what sort of behavior is appropriate or not in their classrooms in different moments of the class. Thus, the teacher may decide that is useful to be warm and friendly or authoritarian in different moments of the classroom. According to Lampert, "the teacher, while affected by the environment is not driven by it" (p. 36).

Implications and Suggestions for Research

In this paper I have attempted to portray my own dilemma in teaching. Telling my story has helped me to become more aware of my role and self-identity as a teacher and of the different roles we play in a classroom and even within a single lesson. I have come to understand that the role of the teacher involves, to a certain extent, a kind of performance and the adoption of several roles, not just one. Becoming a good teacher involves knowing which roles are more appropriate and effective for different moments in the language lesson in response to different student and curricular needs.

This study raises two important questions that can be addressed by future studies. First, what role do different methods and current approaches in language teaching have in creating dilemmas for language teachers? How do teachers deal with those dilemmas and what sort of strategies do they adopt in different contexts and with different methodologies? Second, what sort of dilemmas do language teachers have? This is still an unexplored territory in language teacher education. Understanding the sorts of dilemmas language teachers have and the consequences these dilemmas have in the choices they make will help us understand teachers' reasoning in action (Freeman & Johnson, 1998).

What implications can be drawn from this study? How can teachers be better prepared to deal with and manage dilemmas like this? First, we need to tune into our students' voices and embrace any opportunity to learn more about their assumptions and beliefs. By saying that, I do not mean we should accept everything students say, for that would be as bad as not listening to them. Yet, listening to our students can help us to be more reflective teachers and understand the contradictory nature of teaching.

Second, it is imperative that teachers start recognizing the dilemmas of teaching early in their careers. Language teacher education courses could include more studies about teachers' dilemmas, conflicts, and the cultures of teaching for student-teachers to discuss. Language teacher educators should encourage and provide the necessary environment for inservice and preservice teachers to share their fears, anxieties, and problems in teaching.

Third, more research studies need to take into account how students' and teachers' beliefs influence teachers' practices. Most importantly, it is necessary to investigate what happens with beliefs in context, how students' beliefs influence teachers' practices, and how teachers' beliefs influence students' beliefs and learning. Social and cultural aspects of the classroom could be included in the investigation of language learning beliefs and language teachers' dilemmas in future studies.

Finally, more stories about dilemmas could be told. As the telling of my story has helped me to become more aware of my beliefs, my students' beliefs, and common dilemmas in teaching, I believe other teachers could also benefit from autobiographical studies like this. The telling of a story might help others to tell their stories and to cope with their own dilemmas by asking questions such as: do I have dilemmas like that? How have I dealt with them? Am I willing to investigate my students' beliefs and my own, even though I know they can bring dilemmas and conflicts to the surface? What's the role that theory can play in the resolution or management of my dilemmas?

By portraying my dilemma I hope other teachers have been able to recognize themselves in this report and that it has helped them not to feel inadequate or odd in their constant struggle to adjust. As for me, it has helped me become more knowledgeable about my own identity as a teacher and to accept myself as imperfect, as "a teacher in progress" – in progress in my language proficiency, in my philosophy of teaching, and in my practice. Dilemmas can bring a lot of frustration, but they can also help us to become stronger if we learn how to consider our students' beliefs not as erroneous but as starting points for analysis of our own teaching.

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Educating University Foreign Language Teachers to Work with Heritage Spanish Speakers

Kim Potowski

Introduction

The number of Spanish speakers in the United States has been increasing, and many colleges and universities have responded by adding heritage[1] language courses to their Spanish language curriculum. The need and rationale for such programs have been discussed at length in the Spanish for native speakers literature (e.g. Valdés, Lozano & García-Moya, 1981; Merino, Trueba & Samaniego, 1993; Colombi & Alarcón, 1997). However, approximately 68% of US postsecondary institutions do not offer heritage language courses (González Pino & Pino, 2000) and at those that do, bilingual students may still enroll in language courses designed for learners of Spanish as a foreign language (SFL). They may also enroll in advanced content courses taught in Spanish, such as grammar or composition, which often do not separate bilingual and SFL students by language background.

The experiences of heritage speakers in FL courses are likely to be colored both by their attitudes toward their own Spanish varieties as well as by their instructors' attitudes toward these varieties. An exploratory study (Potowski, forthcoming) sought to understand the experiences of 25 bilingual students in university FL courses through focus group interviews with students and individual interviews with seven Spanish instructors. The study focused on how students' and instructors' attitudes towards heritage Spanish varieties affected the students' FL classroom experiences. The findings of this study led to the development of a teacher training session for new teaching assistants (TAs), which will be presented after a brief description of the context.

Context

Of the approximately 27,500 undergraduates at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), around 5% are Hispanic. According to a university report (Stevens & Gonzo, 1998), fifty-five percent of these 1,500 Hispanic students come from the Chicago area[2] and two-thirds of them speak Spanish at home. Only about 50% of the surveyed Spanish-speaking students

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[1] The terms "native Spanish-speaking", "bilingual", and "heritage" will be used interchangeably to refer to students raised in the United States with Spanish as a home language. These individuals can show a wide range of Spanish language abilities (Valdés, 1997).

[2] Chicago has the third largest Hispanic population of United States cities (Census, 1990).

intended to use high school courses to fulfill their foreign language requirement, while 5% intended to take a proficiency exam to do so. This means that approximately 45% of the heritage Spanish students take language courses on campus, and since 70% of UIUC students fulfill their foreign language requirement with Spanish courses, many bilingual students end up taking Spanish courses to fulfill their language requirement.

UIUC offers a two-course heritage speaker series, which typically enrolls between eight and fifteen students per semester. Students who pass these two courses fulfill a four-semester foreign language requirement. If they choose to major or minor in Spanish, they enroll in advanced 200-level courses along with SFL learners. The 200-level courses, which enroll approximately 250 students per semester majoring or minoring in Spanish, are content courses that address topics such as grammar, composition, conversation, and literature. Each semester, an average of 90 students at the 200-level are heritage students. While it may be argued that since these courses focus on content, not language learning, they need not distinguish students by language background, it is reasonable to postulate that bilingual students have different needs than foreign language learners. It is worth noting that given the campus population, the majority of students who take them are SFL learners. Despite the existence of the 100-level Spanish for heritage speakers courses, an average of 30 bilingual students per semester at UIUC enroll in 100-level Spanish foreign language courses[3].

Bases for the TA training session

Heritage students at both the 100-level and 200-level participated in the exploratory study (Potowski forthcoming) that gave rise to the TA training session. Three major themes emerged from the student focus group interviews: 1) Many heritage speakers felt that their Spanish was not "good"; 2) Heritage speakers often indicated that they felt at a disadvantage compared with their SFL classmates; and 3) Their views of their instructors' roles and instructional behaviors were varied.

For example, some students felt that the feedback they received from their TAs about their Spanish varieties was sound but insensitive, while others said their TAs' feedback had been very insulting. Other TA behaviors that students cited as making them uncomfortable included holding unreasonable expectations for their knowledge of the Spanish language and expecting greater

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[3] Some campuses prohibit heritage students from taking non-heritage language courses, but UIUC does not. The reasons for which heritage speakers chose SFL courses were explored in Potowski (forthcoming).

classroom participation. Of the seven TAs interviewed, four did operate within a framework of error correction when providing linguistic feedback to their heritage students.

Since heritage students will likely continue to take courses designed for and/or mostly taken by foreign language learners in higher education settings, focus should be placed on improving what occurs in these classrooms. While it is a valid goal to expose bilingual students to more a formal variety of Spanish and expect it to be used in academic work, "correction" should not be the framework. Non-native students' Spanish is undoubtedly corrected often by TAs, but bilingual students can have strong negative reactions to such "correction" of their home language since it pertains to a personal and cultural history. Instead, Spanish departments with heritage students in FL courses need to provide all TAs with guidelines on how to respond to these students' language varieties. This suggests a need for TA training in language awareness, called for by both Roca (1997b, p. 39) and Gutiérrez (1997, p. 34). The focus of this article is the TA training session that was carried out at UIUC in the fall of 1999.

The TA Training Session

A 90-minute "Heritage language awareness" session for new TAs was carried out during the campus-wide orientation week preceding the start of fall classes. Several new TAs each year are non-native Spanish speakers from the United States and others are International Students. At this session there were eight new TAs from the United States, Spain, Mexico, Colombia, and Cameroon. It was reasonable to predict that some of them would not be familiar with the context of Spanish speakers and the Spanish language in the United States, nor with the varieties of Spanish spoken here. For this reason, a sociolinguistic focus seemed appropriate. The following discussion of the session will be divided into three categories: 1) attempts to elicit instructor knowledge and beliefs about sociolinguistics/language variation; 2) activities with authentic heritage language samples; 3) evaluation of the session, including the need for pre- and post-session activities in the future.

Instructor knowledge and beliefs

The field of teacher education has benefited from investigating how second language teachers' beliefs, knowledge theories, assumptions, and attitudes impact their teaching (Borg, 1998; Burns, 1992; Johnson, 1994; Smith, 1996). For example, language instructors typically consider one of their tasks to be the correction of students' emerging language systems. This corresponds to a view of the TA in a role as language authority, the one in the classroom who knows Spanish and

teaches it to students who do not. With heritage students, this often manifests itself as a "correction" of non-standard forms, which has been mentioned often in the SNS literature (e.g., Aparicio, 1997, p. 223; Hidalgo, 1997, p. 89; Valdés, 1981, p. 11). Assuming that teacher training can only have a lasting impact on teachers' classroom practice when it addresses their existing beliefs (Briscoe, 1991; Borg, 1998), this session attempted to elicit participants' beliefs before presenting them with sociolinguistic concepts. Parts A and B (Appendix 1) asked participants to gather in groups of five to discuss their answers to two sets of questions. Each set was followed by a group discussion lead by the session facilitator.

Question A1 was intended to encourage thought about how ways of speaking a language can differ based on geography, socioeconomic status, formality of the situation, and other sociolinguistic factors. To illustrate formality, Zentella's (1997) "beach-wedding" metaphor proved useful. As Zentella put it so well, when people go to the beach, they wear shorts, sandals, and other appropriate beach attire. When they go to a wedding, they wear suits, dresses, and other formal apparel. Wearing shorts and sandals to a wedding is very likely to be considered inappropriate, but we do not throw away those items just because we are attending a wedding, nor do we call them inherently wrong. As with language, we choose what is most appropriate for the situation. It is not the job of TAs to "fix" the Spanish of bilingual students, but rather to teach them additional, more formal speech styles (Gutiérrez 1997, p. 35).

Question A2 aimed to elicit instances of "linguistic one-upmanship" that TAs may have encountered, with the aim of discussing the feelings those kinds of judgment can cause. A very lively discussion resulted. Questions A3, A4, A5 and A6 dealt with issues of societal bilingualism. For example, we discussed how in Spain[4], minority languages such as Catalan and Basque are supported by school practices and enjoy relatively high status, which typically lead to high levels of literacy in those languages. Question A6 opened up the topic of languages in contact and phenomena such as borrowing and codeswitching. It was hoped that engaging the TAs in a discussion of these topics would prepare them for understanding more about the linguistic effects of languages in contact as well as how the United States' overall lack of support for minority language maintenance can restrict the development of heritage students' Spanish abilities.

In Part B, questions B1 and B2 were designed to underscore the fact that the United States has the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world (United Nations Population Information Network, 1996), including one of the world's largest Spanish-speaking cities, so the varieties of Spanish spoken here may not be so easily dismissed as inferior to others. Question B4

introduced the concept of a *heritage Spanish speaker* and addressed some of the factors that influence the Spanish spoken in the United States. The sociolinguistic information presented in Part A is revisited within this specific context. While discussing these concepts, the facilitator gave oral examples of codeswitching and explained that it is a valid communicative strategy. It was also mentioned that some heritage speakers may associate the Spanish language with conditions of discrimination and poverty, and that their resultant preference for English can have consequences for their Spanish use and development (Zentella, 1997).

Question B5 brought up the concept of "standard" Spanish. Quotes from Escobar (1976), Fishman (1972) and Hidalgo (1997) were displayed on an overhead projector (Appendix 2). TAs were encouraged to use the terms "variety" instead of "dialect", which despite its linguistic accuracy can often have negative connotations, as well as "formal" and "informal" instead of "standard" and "nonstandard" when providing feedback to heritage students.

Activities with authentic heritage language samples

The exploratory study (Potowski, forthcoming) indicated that some TAs engaged in a traditional form of error correction with heritage students. They circled the form or usage in question and replaced it with what they felt was correct. When in doubt as to the "acceptability" of a bilingual students' vocabulary item, these TAs referred to a dictionary or asked colleagues whether they had ever encountered the term. One TA described a dilemma of having to accept and respect all dialects while also having to discriminate whether a syntactic structure or vocabulary item was actually "incorrect".

Gutiérrez (1997, p. 35) cautioned against an overbearing concern for correctness that masks the lively processes of languages. He also stressed that any attempt to teach a standard variety of language requires an understanding of the social reasons that people speak the way that they do. Not enough is known about how to teach "standard" Spanish to bilingual speakers[5]. If one of the goals of teaching Spanish to heritage speakers is to help them acquire a formal variety and to expand their range (Valdés, 1997), what form should feedback on their linguistic production take?

Part C (displayed in Appendix 3) involved reading eight sentences written by bilingual students and discussing how to provide feedback on the variety of semantic, spelling, and verb usage issues they contained. In their groups, TAs were asked to read and respond to these sentences as if they had appeared on a student's homework assignment. The items were sentence-length

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[4] Many TAs in our department are from Spain.

because the intent was to isolate linguistic usages rather than discourse strategies, and they were written as opposed to oral for ease of presentation and discussion, but the ramifications for oral speech were discussed as well.

Although it did not seem fruitful or possible to create strict rules for TA feedback, these future 100-level TA's were presented with a guide for giving feedback – when to give it, how to give it, and when not to give it. The two main guiding principles were as follows:

1. Heritage students' Spanish is a natural, valid linguistic system like any other.
2. When deciding whether to give corrective feedback, ask yourself: Will the form the student has used mark them excessively as a user of a stigmatized variety of Spanish, or as someone who has not received formal instruction in Spanish?

The terms "excessively" and "stigmatized" are difficult to define. They can vary in meaning according to the person, the place, and the context, so these guidelines need further development. Considering examples from Part C provides a starting point for discussion. For example, the spelling errors in examples C1 "empesamos", "perdendo" and C3 "forcan", "deven" can be pointed out to the student, but TAs need to develop a sensitivity to how much feedback on spelling can be usefully incorporated by a student at a given point in time. This is true for FL learners as well. Some errors can be remedied by using a dictionary, but others like C3 "baser" require explanation.

However, should the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive in C2 be "corrected"? The mood system in United States Spanish appears to be undergoing a shift to the indicative in some contexts (Silva-Corvalán, 1995). Spanish departments may need to consider whether it is worthwhile to insist on heritage speakers' use of the subjunctive in exercises that specifically solicit it. This approach may be criticized if SFL students would lose points for not producing the subjunctive while bilingual speakers would be permitted to use the indicative, but it seems a reasonable adjustment based on the different language development tasks of each group of students. Advanced grammar courses may be a more appropriate place to present heritage students with information about the uses of the subjunctive.

Several cases of possible influence from English are presented, such as using the use of the gerund instead of the infinitive (C1 and C3 "hablando") and semantic items such as C4 "no están trabajando" for "no funcionan"; C6 "aplican" for "solicitan"; and C7 "llamar pa'tras" for "regresar una llamada". While such examples are not very clear-cut as to their acceptability in formal contexts, students should be told that they are fine but that another word might be considered more academic and perhaps be understood by more Spanish speakers in the world. TAs should be

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[5] For discussions of the concepts of standard and nonstandard Spanish and their implications for teaching, see Hidalgo (1990, 1997) and Villa (1996).

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reminded that instead of referring to language as "standard" or "nonstandard," terms such as "academic" and "colloquial" or "formal" and "informal" should be used.

In C6, some would argue that by using "haigan" and "sacastes", this student does mark herself as a speaker of a stigmatized variety of Spanish. TAs were told that they should inform the student that these forms are fine and valid, but that "hayan" and "sacaste" would represent a more academic variety of Spanish. TAs need to take the time to explain these points while affirming that they respect students' native Spanish varieties. It was proposed that points should not be taken off for the use of such forms.

In C5, the conditional was asked for, but the student answered with the present simple. In this case, the TA should explain that by working with the conditional form, the student can expand his range of expression. When using exercises that ask students to produce a given form, TAs need to be aware that many heritage speakers, who often use the forms correctly in their everyday speech, are often unaware of the linguistic terminology associated with them. TAs were instructed not to take points off "at first," but more formal guidelines need to be established based on the goals of the curriculum.

Some of the examples in Part C are instances of colloquial oral language, such as C1 "tonses" and C8 "orita" and "nomas." Students should be told that the forms are fine for speaking, but that in writing, another word would be more appropriate. One TA in the session suggested that instructors can give students an example in English of the differences between formal and informal language, such as the use of "because" versus "'cuz" in an academic paper, in order to illustrate that all languages show this kind of variation.

After completing these activities, TAs were given a short presentation on a few other points that had emerged from the exploratory study. These included the idea that not all bilingual students like to be called on in class, nor should they be expected to know all the answers. TAs were also reminded about the heritage speakers course and that they were expected to guide bilingual students there. A faculty member with knowledge of heritage speaker issues is a needed resource for instructors with questions or concerns regarding their bilingual students.

Evaluation of the session

The thirteen participants (eight new TAs and five course supervisors) rated the session on an anonymous evaluation form. Eight people indicated that most of the concepts and information

presented in the session were new to them. Eleven people wrote that as a result of the session, they felt confident in their ability to respond to heritage speakers' language in an appropriate manner[6].

As noted earlier, the field of teacher education can benefit from investigating how language teachers' beliefs, knowledge theories, assumptions, and attitudes impact their teaching. For this reason, the session was video- and audio-taped for later analysis of teacher beliefs and their interactions with the information presented in the session. Additionally, each new TA was to be interviewed two months after the session in order to assess their experiences with heritage speakers. Unfortunately, time did not permit these post-session activities, begging the question of whether the session was successful at influencing TAs' attitudes and classroom behavior. Continued interviews with heritage students in SFL classes about their experiences are also crucial in assessing the impact of such a session.

The incorporation of these topics as a unit within the required semester-long seminar on language teaching pedagogy was suggested, but the 90-minute session was granted instead. In order to present more information than the 90 minutes would allow, a pre-reading packet was designed with articles and excerpts including Roca (1997a), Hidalgo (1997), Gutiérrez (1997) and Anzaldúa (1987). It was suggested that the incoming TAs would read the material during the on-campus orientation week prior to the session and incorporate their reactions into the session discussions. A three-page post-session essay was also proposed, in which TAs would answer general questions and synthesize their opinions about what they had read and learned. This essay would be required as part of their teaching preparation, and the successful completion would be noted in each new TA's file. It was hoped that this official note would reflect the importance that the Spanish department placed on issues pertaining to bilingual speakers by making TAs more accountable for the information presented[7].

However, the department felt that the proposed reading was too burdensome for TAs busily juggling domestic and orientation schedules their first week on campus. Unfortunately, following a personnel change, the heritage language session was dropped from the new instructor orientation program. Given the increasing numbers of heritage speakers on United States campuses, Spanish departments may soon decide to focus more permanent attention on the Spanish course experiences of bilingual students and look for ways to educate both TAs and faculty members about these students and their language varieties.

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[6] The other two participants did not answer this item on the questionnaire.
[7] My thanks to Amanda Harris-Nolacea for these suggestions.

Conclusions

Valdés (1981, pp. 8-10) wrote that bilingual students do not belong in Spanish foreign language courses. Even when a heritage alternative exists, heritage speakers may still enroll in SFL courses. The experiences of the heritage Spanish speakers interviewed by Potowski (forthcoming) indicated that the classroom learning environment may benefit as a result of an instructor language sensitization session such as the one described here. Although some TA trainers who have carried out this kind of linguistic and cultural awareness-raising session found it unsuccessful in changing instructors' attitudes (María Dolores González, personal communication, 1999), the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign attempted to address these issues through such a session.

This session attempted to combine teacher education about Spanish in the United States and linguistic attitudes with concrete techniques for giving sensitive and useful feedback on bilingual students' varieties of Spanish. Clearer language development goals and feedback policies are still needed for all TAs and professors with heritage speakers in their classes. The field of SNS will benefit from research about other campuses' heritage Spanish-speaking students' course options, choices, experiences, and the training of the individuals who become their teachers.

Appendix 1

Part A: Language Variation

A1. In your country, does everyone speak the same way, all of the time? If not, give some examples.

A2. Has it ever been suggested to you or to someone you know that something you/they said in your/their native language was not very correct or appropriate?

A3. If your country is bilingual, what is the majority language? What other languages are spoken?

A4. Are the languages you mentioned in #3 treated equally in your country? Explain.

A5. Are the languages you mentioned in #3 taught in public schools in your country?

A6. Can you think of any examples of the majority language influencing the minority language?

Part B: Spanish in the World

B1. What are the five nations with the greatest number of Spanish speakers in the world?

B2. To the best of your knowledge, approximately how many Spanish speakers live in the following cities?

| Madrid | Barcelona | Los Angeles | Chicago |
| New York | Mexico City | Bogota | Buenos Aires |

B3. Is any Spanish-speaking group "famous" for the way they speak Spanish? Explain.

B4. Here at the University, we have heritage Spanish speakers from Chicago. They grew up with Spanish in the home, and their Spanish can sometimes seem different from the Spanish of other countries. Which of these factors do you think could contribute to this? Please discuss why. List any additional reasons you can think of.

____ English is the dominant language of the country. Heritage Spanish speakers are bilingual with varying degrees of competence in and need for Spanish and English.

____ Most Spanish speakers in the United States do not receive formal education in Spanish. Some college students have never read or written in Spanish.

____ Languages are constantly undergoing natural structural and functional changes.

____ Some of these students' parents were immigrants with low levels of formal education.

____ The United States has a strong monolingual ideology. Campaigns such as "English Only" and laws such as Proposition 227 in California limit linguistic rights and are often considered racist policies.

____ Spanish-speaking groups in the U.S. tend to suffer from higher levels of poverty and unemployment.

____ Some students often have little contact with educated, monolingual varieties of Spanish from other countries.

____ Most subordinate languages in contact are subject to influence from the majority language.

____ Other (please explain).

B5. What kind of Spanish do you think we should be teaching here at the University?

Appendix 2

¿Cuál es el español "estándar"?
["What is 'standard' Spanish?"]

Margarita Hidalgo (1997) nos dice que...

[Margarita Hidalgo tells us that...]

La variedad estándar se define como la norma lingüística ideal, que resulta ser más bien una abstracción o una representación promedio cuya variabilidad es incuestionable (Escobar, 1976).

[The standard variety is defined as the ideal linguistic norm, which is really an abstraction or an average representation whose variability is unquestionable.]

El español estándar es el dialecto social o regional que se elevó en prestigio por razones económicas o políticas y, por tanto, se convirtió en el instrumento de la administración central, del sistema educativo y de la literatura nacional (Fishman, 1972).

[Standard Spanish is the social or regional dialect that rose in prestige for economic or political reasons and, as a result, became the instrument of central administration, of the educational system, and of national literature.]

En los Estados Unidos, la lengua inglesa es de hecho oficial y el español no es oficial de hecho ni de derecho, ni siquiera tiene una posición de co- o semi- oficialidad. Definir entonces los criterios de corrección…resulta una tarea más compleja, puesto que…son varios los dialectos regionales que se hablan en el país (Hidalgo, 1997).

[In the United States, the English language is official in fact, and Spanish is not official either in fact nor by law; it doesn't even have a position of co- or semi-officiality. Defining correction criteria, then…ends up being a very complex job, since…there are several regional dialects spoken in the country.]

Appendix 3

Part C: Responding to Language Samples from Heritage Speakers
Note: Written accents are not a focus of 100-level language courses and were not addressed in this session. They were added to these samples for easier reading.

C1. "Hablando inglés siempre es mal por nuestra lengua, porque si empesamos a dejar nuestra lengua tonses estamos perdendo nuestra cultura."
"Speaking [*gerund instead of the infinitive "hablar"*] English is always bad for our language, because if we begin [*misspelled with "s" instead of "z"*] to abandon our language then [*misspelled, missing initial "e"*] we are losing [*misspelled "perdiendo"*] our culture."

C2. "No creo que la inmigración a los Estados Unidos es un fenómeno negativo para nuestra sociedad."
"I don't think that immigration to the United States is [*indicative instead of the subjunctive "sea"*] a negative phenomenon for our society."

C3. "Ha nadie lo forcan a vivir en los Estados Unidos y ha nadie lo deven de forcar a hablar el inglés, pero todo el mundo de ve de tratar porque hablando inglés baser la vida más fácil."
"No one [*preposition "a" misspelled with "h"*] is forced [*misspelled with c instead of z*] to live in the United States, and no one should [*misspelled with v instead of b*] be forced to speak English, but everyone should [*misspelled*] try because speaking [*used gerund instead of infinitive "hablar"*] English will make [*misspelled periphrastic future "va a ser" as "baser", a word that doesn't exist but which is phonetically identical*] life easier."

C4. "La mayoría de las máquinas no están trabajando."
"The majority of the machines are not working." [*calque/borrowing "trabajando," usually used to refer to the work a person carries out, instead of "funcionando."*]

C5. [*The exercise asks for the conditional form. The prompt read, "¿Qué harías con mil dólares?" "What would you do with a million dollars?*] "Con mil dólares yo puedo comprar mis padres algo especial."
"With a million dollars, I can buy [*present tense "can" instead of conditional "would"*] my parents something special."

C6. "Cuando los estudiantes aplican a las escuelas de medicina, es importante que haigan mantenido un promedio alto. Si no sacastes buenas notas, no te van a aceptar."
"When students apply [*calque/borrowing "aplicar" instead of "hacer una solicitud"*] to medical school, it is important that they have [*'non-standard' form of the subjunctive "haiga" instead of "haya"*] maintained a high average. If you didn't get [*'non-standard' ending –s on second person singular preterite*] good grades, they're not going to accept you."

C7. "Yo le llamé pa'tras pero no estaba en casa."
"I called him back [*calque/borrowing for "back"*] but he wasn't home."

C8. "Orita las escuelas nomas quieren enseñar el inglés, no el español."
"Right now [*informal word and spelling*] schools only [*informal word*] want to teach English, not Spanish."

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Three Major Processes of Teacher Development and the Appropriate Design Criteria for Developing and Using Them

Dick Allwright

Preamble

My thinking about this paper started from the thought that I wanted to write from practical experience, in line with a more general wish to provide a "voice from the field". I think I should say right away, however, that in an important sense my voice here is a distinctly *second-hand* one, and from a very *distant* field. It is distinctly second-hand because the ideas I want to set out here are derived from the work of other practitioners, rather than from my own direct work as a "teacher educator". It is also a voice from practitioners in a "field" that is geographically very distant from my base in Lancaster – Rio de Janeiro for the most part, with contributions from others in Brazil, and yet others I have had the pleasure to work with over the last few years in Cyprus and Turkey.

The Aims of this Paper

My first aim here is to present for your consideration a broad conceptual overview of the field of teacher development as it is currently practised and described around the world. I see this conceptual overview in terms of two pairs of key terms whose inter-relationships give us the three major macro processes that are the central concern of this paper. These processes correspond in turn to three sets of current proposals about how the practice of teacher development should be conducted. Two of these sets of proposals will no doubt be familiar already – Reflective Practice and Action Research – but I wish to add a third of my own (derived as noted above, from the work of other practitioners, so only "my own" in a very limited sense) – Exploratory Practice. Once I have set out my conceptual analysis in such terms I will then proceed to outline six "design criteria" that I think any proposal for teacher development would do well to try to meet. Finally I will draw some general implications for the field of language teacher development.

But before presenting my analysis I should perhaps stress that here in this paper I am deliberately using the term "teacher development" throughout. Personally I find it helpful to distinguish conceptually between three notions that seem often to be taken as all coming under the cover term of "education": first, there is "training", which essentially, for me, concerns the

acquisition of practical skills; second there is the term "education" itself, which I wish to restrict to the acquisition of knowledge; and then there is "development", which I would also wish to restrict, to the acquisition of understanding. (Please note that the term "acquisition" is not being used technically here, so no acquisition/learning distinction is intended.) It is crucial to my analysis (see Allwright, 1999, for further discussion) that these are seen as conceptual notions, which therefore should not be expected to correspond in any simple one-to-one fashion with real world experiences. For example, I would hope that a course named as a "training" course, and which focussed on practical skills, would nevertheless include a certain amount of knowledge, and a certain element of understanding. By the same token, it would not therefore be surprising to me to see that people engaged in "professional development" activities would, along the way, find it helpful to acquire new skills, and new knowledge, as tools to assist the development of their *understanding*.

Throughout this paper, therefore, unless otherwise stated, I will be using the term "development" as a conceptual category, to refer to the development of understanding.

Two Pairs of Key Terms

The first pair of key terms concerns the common-sense distinction between "contemplation" and "action", between *thinking* about things and *doing* something beyond thinking. I will ignore for my purposes here the possibility of someone arguing cogently that contemplation can itself be construed as a form of action. The second pair of key terms needs also to be taken in a common-sense way: "understanding" and "change". Both are potentially highly problematic terms, but to take on their full potential complexity would not serve us well here, I believe. I am using the term "understanding" in a relativistic sense, meaning something like "having an adequate sense of how things work for the purpose of making practical decisions about how to proceed". I am using the term "change" in a fairly narrow sense, to capture something different, and less cerebral, from the necessary internal mental change that any reaching of an "understanding" must bring. I am talking more of observable situational change (e.g., the establishment of different ways of working in the language classroom). This is where the notion of "change" comes close, in teacher education work, to the notion of "improvement", but I do not wish to explore that particularly problematic relationship at this point.

The Three Processes Arising From the Inter-Relationships Between the Two Pairs of Key Terms

When we try to relate the two pairs of terms I believe we can best see the possibilities by setting them out graphically, as below:

Contemplation   **Action**

Understanding   **Change**
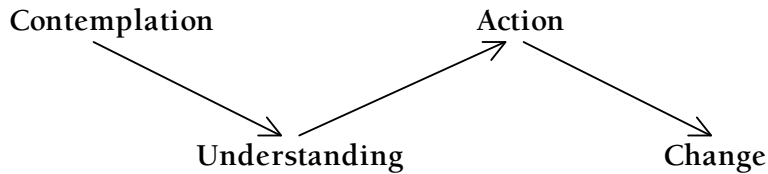
This layout, with its uni-directional arrows, is intended to carry the implication that the first pair of key terms is about "processes", and the second pair is about the potential target "products" of these processes, or alternatively (and preferably from my point of view here) about the underlying "purposes" for undertaking those processes. The omission of a fourth arrow is of course deliberate. I hope it is already clear that because of the way I have described my own intended meanings for the terms here, it would not make sense to talk about Contemplation for the sake of Change. My three arrows thus give us the following three major macro-processes.

Contemplation for Understanding

The most obvious reason for taking the trouble to *think* about an issue, instead of rushing in to *do* something about it, is that thinking may lead to an understanding which will be helpful as a guide to future action. We even have the expression: "fools rush in" to capture the stupidity of undertaking action too precipitously. Of course we may not get very far if we are alone in our thinking, and so it is likely to make sense to get together with other people to see if we can understand collectively what eludes any one of us individually. There is nothing special about this, of course. It is going on all the time. But it does give us reason to worry if teachers are kept so busy that they never have time to sit and think together about their work and their understanding of it. And unfortunately this is the picture I typically get of language teachers' lives from the practitioners I have been working with, in Brazil and elsewhere (see Appendix One for a brief description of the Brazilian context for my work in development). On the positive side we have an excellent example of such a getting together for the sake of trying to understand a complex situation in the work of the English Language Teaching Community Bangalore (South India), as reported by Naidu et al. (1992). This small group of seven or eight people got together to discuss their difficulties in dealing satisfactorily with the very large classes they faced in their college level English language work. Their first discussion session, however, led them to decide that they would

not reach an adequate understanding of their class size "problem" by discussion alone. They felt a need to visit each other's classes, to see what classroom life was like for each other. This brings me to the next of my three major macro processes: action for understanding.

Action for Understanding

The decision of Naidu and her colleagues to see what the problem of large classes looked like in each other's classrooms is for me a clear example of a group of people deciding to take "action for understanding", rather than for change. What is especially interesting in their case is that after only one such school visit they got together again and re-thought their whole approach to their difficult classroom situation. They decided that it was just not appropriate to see class size as a "problem" to be solved. What they had seen, with their single school visit, was "heterogeneity", rather than class size. And they just did not want to see the fact that learners were all different from one another as a "problem". They resolved instead to see heterogeneity as an issue to be addressed, not as a problem to be somehow done away with. Their next step would be to look for ways of managing heterogeneity, of respecting and building upon individual differences among their learners. This would necessarily involve the third of my major macro processes – action for change.

Action for Change

Most of us, if not all of us, seem to be constantly bombarded these days with the idea that we must embrace change if we are to be able to cope with what is presented to us as a necessarily, and increasingly quickly, changing world. Along with this comes the assumption, often unspoken as if too obvious to mention, that all change is naturally going to constitute an improvement over whatever went before. The notion of "action for change" is right at the centre of this sort of thinking, and therefore carries with it all the problems associated with "fools rushing in", but it can also be the logical, and professionally sensible, outcome, as we have already seen, of the previous two processes. Contemplating a situation in order to understand it better, and then perhaps doing something more concrete to further enhance that understanding, may well, but not necessarily, lead to the conclusion that change is indeed desirable, and that it is worth putting the understanding one has reached to good use in the elaboration of a possible solution to a problem that has now been properly identified. It will not necessarily lead to any such conclusion because it must remain a logical, and professional, possibility, that an understanding reached through contemplation and action for understanding will instead lead to the conclusion that taking action for change would not be warranted. I shall never forget the M.A. student representative who came

out of a student meeting to discuss a range of apparently very serious causes for dissatisfaction among the group with the disarming conclusion: "We decided we were just being silly". It must also be remembered that whatever prompted the original thinking for understanding might have been something positive in itself (surprising success with an "old-fashioned" and officially discredited method), rather than a "problem", with all the negative connotations of that term.

The Connections with Three Proposals For Teacher Education

The three processes set out in section four above correspond, very, very roughly, to what I see as the conceptual essence (although they are far from exhaustively describing the full practical substance) of three sets of current practical proposals for what teachers, and learners perhaps, can do to further their own development:

Reflective Practice, Exploratory Practice, and Action Research

Although only the middle one of these three – Exploratory Practice – is likely to be wholly unfamiliar, I should perhaps state briefly my own understanding of the other two: Reflective Practice and Action Research. For my purposes here I take the essence of Reflective Practice to reside in its central idea that teaching, like other professions, is not only a matter of acting but also, and perhaps more importantly, a matter of *thinking* (Schön, 1983). By contrast, Action Research, as its name implies, is directly concerned with taking *action*. Nunan, one of the foremost proponents of action research in the field of language teaching, sets out in his own 1989 text the "four developmental phases" of action research from Kemmis and McTaggart's influential "Action Research Planner" (1985): "Phase I – Develop a plan of action to improve what is already happening; Phase II – Act to implement the plan; Phase III – Observe the effects of action in the context in which it occurs; Phase IV – Reflect on these effects" (Nunan, 1989, p. 12). As Nunan puts it in his own words later: "The main concern is to come up with solutions to a given problem, and any given project is usually concerned with a single case in a specific situation" (1989, p. 13-14). This is in stark contrast both to Reflective Practice's focus on teacher thinking and also to the focus of standard academic research which, rather than trying to directly bring about practical and immediate change, conducts experiments in order to test hypotheses and produce significant generalisations, or investigates situations in order to better understand them. Which leaves Exploratory Practice where it belongs, right in the middle between reflection for understanding and action for change. Exploratory Practice focuses on taking action for understanding. It does not

want to leave teachers lost in thought, but neither does it want teachers to be encouraged to try to *solve* problems before they have done as much as they can to *understand* them.

Descriptions of Exploratory Practice as it has been developed (mostly in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) can be found in Allwright, Lenzuen, Mazzillo, and Miller (1994), Allwright and Lenzuen (1997), and Miller and Bannell (1998). A further brief description of the professional contexts involved is provided, as already noted, as Appendix One. Here it will have to suffice to draw attention to another of the chief distinguishing features of Exploratory Practice: the deliberate exploitation of standard classroom language learning and teaching activities as the means for collecting data on what happens in the classroom, preferably making at the same time a direct contribution to the learning, certainly without lessening in any way the value of lessons as language learning lessons, and all for the explicit purpose of developing *understanding* of what is happening in the classroom.

An accompanying flowchart (Appendix Two) sets out graphically how these three sets of practical proposals, as represented above by my conception of what is the essence of each, may be internally analysed – in terms of stages and decision-points. It also sets out how they may be seen to relate to each other in terms of a linear sequence. At this point it may be important for me to assert that from some points of view the flowchart format is obviously hopelessly inadequate to the task. It necessarily reduces everything to a linear set of binary choices, and if we know anything about how the human brain works we know that it is far more complex than that, and is capable of far more complex sorts of processing than can be represented in two dimensions on one sheet of paper. The chart is therefore hopelessly misleading, if it is read as a description of what actually happens in people's minds. It does not need to be read that way, however, and I have reproduced it here because I have found it a useful visual aid, in practice, for working with teachers and discussing their work for their own development (i.e., their own developing understanding of their professional lives, see Saylor, 1999). The chart also includes much that it would not be appropriate to dwell on here – like resorting to protest in a professionally intolerable situation.

Of particular relevance here, though, is the fact that the chart includes some long and unlabelled bracketing across the top. The shortest bracket, over Contemplation alone, is intended to show how *contemplation for understanding* may stand on its own. It may produce an adequate level of understanding to permit exiting completely from the process (satisfied, but perhaps complacently so), or to permit moving towards taking a decision about whether the understanding reached does or does not point to change being desirable, and so on through the lower portions of the chart.

The middle-sized bracketing is an attempt to make the point that taking *action for understanding* logically necessitates a prior stage of *contemplation for understanding.* Going straight into action would be another example of "fools rushing in". From this it would follow that Reflective Practice, as the real-world exemplar of contemplation for understanding, could be considered as potentially self-sufficient, but that Exploratory Practice, as the real-world exemplar of action for understanding, could not be considered self-sufficient in this way. We could thus either talk about Exploratory Practice as just one potential stage in work for understanding, or we could expand the notion of Exploratory Practice to include a necessary stage of reflection.

The middle bracket, along with the dotted wavy line that crosses the chart from top to bottom, cutting action for change off from the rest, is also an attempt to help make the point that action for understanding, properly based on contemplation for understanding, may also lead directly to an exit from the process. It will not necessarily lead to a decision that change is desirable. But if change is seen as both desirable and possible, then action for change would make sense. The point I am trying to make here is that the decision as to whether or not change is desirable and possible can only be made, logically, after a serious effort has been made to understand the situation in which change may be held to be both desirable and possible. For example, with the benefit of hindsight we can now perhaps see that the attempted widespread introduction of communicative language teaching in a whole country is unlikely to be successful unless it has been preceded by a serious attempt to understand the circumstances into which such a major methodological innovation is to be introduced. On a smaller scale, we can also see that it is surely unintelligent to try to introduce more interesting tasks for group-work, in order to solve the problem that learners do not apparently like working in groups, if you have not already established that there is at least good reason to believe that lack of "interestingness" is the reason for the dislike of group-work in the first place.

Put more crudely, just as Exploratory Practice needs Reflective Practice to make sense, so Action Research needs also to be based on work (whether contemplation or action or both) for understanding. And again we can either say that Action Research as presented here is not self-sufficient, or we can say that we should expand the notion of Action Research to include roles for contemplation and action for understanding, as suggested by the longest of the three horizontal bracketings at the top of the chart. It also follows, in accordance with my own definitions of the terms I am using here, that Action Research, in its unexpanded form, does not meet the expectations of my notion of development, namely that it should serve the purpose of developing

understanding. It may well follow the development of understanding, but of itself it is not designed to generate understandings.

Of course it could, and perhaps should, be argued against my point here that trying out changes is potentially a legitimate way of trying to reach understandings, as in the work of Fanselow (1986), for example, but the history of classroom research has taught us that we can not be sure that any changes we introduce deliberately will be the true causes of whatever other changes appear, especially if we have not attended to the problem of trying to understand the situation into which the changes are being introduced, and especially if, as can happen in Action Research projects, no control group is used in the research design. So action for change carries no guarantee of helping us develop understandings, even if work for understanding has both preceded the decision that change is both desirable and possible, and has also informed the decisions about precisely what change to try, and in precisely what way.

How we use real-world labels for real-world entities is up to us, of course, and is not likely to be determined strictly by logic. In my own experience I find that, far too often for my liking, people undertaking something they have been taught to call "action research", seem also to have learned, as an act of faith almost, that change is both desirable and possible, and that therefore all they need to do is to go straight to my Action Research "bubble" and get on with their study by deciding what change they are going to introduce, which may be no more than the latest teaching innovation that they have just been told about. Denise Özdeniz (1996) has written very interestingly about the dilemma facing people running in-service courses for teachers who seem only to want the latest ideas, without having to stop to think about their relevance, let alone their practical applicability. Her account also exemplifies a serious attempt to deal with this problem in terms of the expanded notion of Exploratory Practice, and so by insisting on work for understanding, not just action for change.

From Processes to Design Criteria For Their Development and Use

Whatever names we give to what we do in terms of teacher development, we need to bear in mind the delicacy of relationships between people. This is especially important, perhaps, when the relationships are between "academic researchers" like myself, with no direct language teaching responsibilities, and language pedagogy practitioners. This is because the history of our relationships has been so very badly blighted by academic research appearing, all too often for good reason, to be more parasitic than helpful. But there is also an issue of the relationships between teachers themselves, and especially in terms of how these can be fostered in circumstances that are

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not obviously favourable, as in the Brazil situation of my own teacher development work. Beyond that there is also the major issue of relationships between teachers and learners, and between learners and learners. In the context of such a complex web of inter-relationships, everyone needs to tread somewhat warily, and may be helped by having some guidelines to work with. In the context of my own work on Exploratory Practice I have called these "design criteria" (see Allwright, 1993), because I have been attempting to design a satisfactory way of introducing a research perspective into classroom life, and my criteria have been derived from all this work, as principles that can help inform practical decisions. Here in this paper I wish to extend the use of these design criteria to the three major macro-processes and the three practical proposals described above.

The Six Design Criteria

Work for understanding must be put before/instead of action for change

This criterion clearly follows directly from my definition of "development" in terms of "understanding". It means essentially that any proposals for action for change (e.g. Action Research projects) will need to be clearly distinguished from work for understanding, and will need to be carefully considered to ensure that they are properly grounded in prior work for understanding. If they are not so grounded, then their contribution to development, as defined here, must at the very least be highly suspect. Note that the "before/instead of" terminology is intended to carry the implication, argued in a previous subsection, that work for understanding is a pre-requisite for work for change, and therefore must come *before* such work, but also that work for understanding may well lead to the conclusion that action for change would not be appropriate.

Work done for understanding and/or change must not hinder language teaching and learning, and will seek to make a positive contribution to learning

This criterion is intended to counter the "parasitic" reputation of research interventions into language teaching and learning. It may seem obvious that "contemplation", by itself, hardly has the capacity to interfere with language learning, but even contemplation takes time and (mental) energy, and that may mean time and energy that would be otherwise devoted to lesson planning. Of course successful contemplation might lead to "better" lesson plans in future, but that means that we need to be confident that the long-term benefits will outweigh the short-term losses – the traditional let-out clause for research interventions – and we already know how difficult it is to meet that condition.

Nevertheless I should note here that contemplation for understanding is the least likely of the three processes to be a hindrance to language teaching and learning. Action for understanding, with its use of direct action to generate relevant data, seems much more likely to get in the way. This is why Exploratory Practice proposes as a first stage the use of "monitoring" activities, non-invasive procedures by which the teacher can keep a record of what goes on in his or her classroom. "Monitoring" here might be as simple a notion as note-keeping while learners are engaged in group work. But if such monitoring does not produce what seems to be an adequate level of understanding then Exploratory Practice has developed the use of familiar classroom activities as data-gathering devices. For example, if the issue requiring understanding is difficulty among learners in staying in English in group work (where English is the target language), then perhaps small-group discussion about the problem will throw light upon it, and this "light" can be gathered in for further analysis (as food for contemplation, or as input to further classroom activities) if each group is asked to produce a poster outlining the main features of their discussion. In such a way Exploratory Practice seeks to contribute positively to language teaching and learning, while simultaneously working for enhanced understanding.

Action Research can also claim to be intending to contribute directly and positively to teaching and learning, by trying out activities that are expected to enhance learning for the learners they are being tried out upon. But the investigative procedures advocated by proponents of Action Research (see, for example, Nunan, 1992) are typically more invasive than those of Exploratory Practice, since they are closer to the academic research model, and thus are more likely to take up valuable time and energy, from both teachers and learners. The danger of wasting such time and energy is also made much greater if the Action Research has not been preceded by adequate work for understanding – again reinforcing my position here that Action Research only makes sense as one possible outcome from work for understanding.

Whatever is to be the subject of work for understanding or change must be seen to be relevant by those centrally involved

This criterion also arises from bad experiences with academic classroom research, but it remains important in the new context created here. First of all it is a matter of people being in charge of their own agendas, instead of allowing themselves to be unduly influenced by the agendas of others (typically from academe) who happen to be in more powerful positions. The example of Naidu and her colleagues in India comes to mind here again. At the end of their contemplative and exploratory work they decided that they would now be willing to seek out what other people might already have written about the matters that concerned their group. They now knew what

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they wanted from such a literature survey, and could feel confident that they would not be unduly influenced by what they found, since they had already done their own thinking. It was their work, more than anything, that prompted me to coin a slogan for myself many years ago: "I want to read what I read because of what I think, not think what I think because of what I read."

Against such a background this particular criterion might now seem superfluous, but I still feel that there is cause for concern, particularly if we include, as I would wish, the learners – as people who could be "centrally involved". Although learners may be willing to play all sorts of games in the classroom, it would seem sensible, at the very least, to try to ensure that any topic they were being asked to spend classroom time on would be easily recognisable to them as relevant to their classroom lives. My personal preference would be to see the learners themselves identifying the matters that they would like to understand better. This ought to make it easier to meet this third criterion, and also the fourth, which now follows.

Whatever work is involved must be indefinitely sustainable, not conducive to early "burn-out"

Academic research, and, in practice I find, Action Research, typically works in terms of fixed-life projects, even if the benefits are intended to be indefinitely long-term. Academic research projects come and go, and so do Action Research ones. As noted earlier Nunan (1989, p. 13-14) asserts that "the main concern is to come up with solutions to a given problem, and any given research project is usually concerned with a single case in a specific situation". Such Action Research investigations typically involve highly intensive (and often highly exhilarating) work during the life-time of each project. This carries with it two potential drawbacks. The first is that such intensity and enthusiasm alter the situation in which the research is conducted, and may be significant factors in determining the outcomes of any investigation (see Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939, for the well-known "Hawthorne effect" in industrial psychology). The second drawback is that if, as suggested above, it is the classroom participants themselves, teachers and learners, who invest themselves so heavily in a classroom project, then this may well lead to early "burn-out", or, at the very least, a strong need for a long "cooling off" period before anything similar is ever attempted again. My major worry then, is that such a projectisation process may mean that the first action research project is also the last.

Exploratory Practice seeks to meet this particular criterion by thoroughly integrating the investigative work into the normal work of the classroom, so that it neither requires significant extra preparation time, nor any unsustainable changes to classroom life. The hope is that Exploratory Practice will "sit so lightly" that it will not be seen as any sort of extra burden, and will

instead be simply adopted into current teaching practices. To put it another way: Exploratory Practice (unlike Action Research) is not intended to be a way of getting research done, but a way of getting teaching done, such that it includes a strong element of work for understanding, for both teachers and learners. Since it is a way of getting teaching done, and teaching itself has to carry on indefinitely, then so must the investigative work for understanding that it now involves.

Whatever is involved must bring people together (teachers with teachers, teachers with learners, learners with learners, teachers with researchers, etc.) in a positive collegial relationship

This criterion is clearly intended to address the issue of divisiveness in our field. As such it mainly concerns the relationships between academic researchers and classroom practitioners, but not exclusively. Language teaching is an extremely complex business, as is language learning. We need the strongest possible collaborative atmosphere among all concerned to make success more likely. It follows from this, I believe, that it makes sense to start with the agenda of the people who are potentially the "weakest" in the network of relationships – the learners. (Although we perhaps should not forget that learners have a sort of "power of veto" over teachers. They can always destroy teachers' attempts to teach well, and teachers have no equivalent "power of veto" over learners to stop them behaving destructively.)

Against such a background it seems relatively easy to imagine teachers getting together, as in India, as a positive example of collegiality at work in the realm of work for understanding, work which involved both contemplation for understanding and action for understanding. Exploratory Practice goes one stage further than Reflective Practice, however, in its willingness to at least try to enhance collegiality among and with learners, by inviting them to join collectively and individually in the quest for understanding.

Action Research also looks well set to improve collegiality among participating teachers, but all too often it seems to have little to say about the role of learners in making change work (but see Auerbach & Paxton, 1997, for a strong counter-example). At its worst it seems to leave them simply as subjects of uncontrolled classroom experiments, rather than as colleagues in a collective enterprise.

Whatever is involved must promote the development (seen in terms of developing understanding) of all concerned (teachers and/or learners)

At first sight this criterion should surely be entirely redundant, since the very first of my six criteria focussed on the importance of promoting understanding, before and sometimes instead of

change. It seems to me to be appropriate to return to the issue of understanding here, though, to focus now upon the issue of whose understanding it is that we are talking about. Academic research clearly focuses on attempting to develop understandings that will be disseminated via the academic literature, and eventually, if they appear to have practical relevance, through the professional literature also. This is a notably slow process, however, and one that is usually incapable of meeting the short-term needs of the people (both teachers and learners) who participate in academic experimentation as its subjects. Both Reflective Practice and Exploratory Practice deal with this in a way that seems most likely to be satisfactory, simply because the people attempting to generate the understandings are themselves the direct beneficiaries of any understandings they do in fact develop. (Although of course, as indicated on my diagram, the outcome might be an ill-founded complacency, and we do need to try to find ways in which that possibility can be effectively minimised.)

Action Research, in the restricted sense covered by my diagram, is not concerned with understanding but only with effectively introducing change, and in this sense, if it is not properly based on prior work for understanding, it seems likely to induce complacency, again as indicated on my diagram. It will therefore not contribute to professional development, in the sense in which I am using the term here, as first and foremost a matter of understanding, and may even be detrimental to it, if it does induce complacency.

Some General Implications of the Above Analyses

Integration

I believe that one of the most important implications of the above analyses is that the three major macro processes I have identified need to be seen in relation to each other, not as alternative approaches to development, but as forming a combination which is likely to be far more productive than any of the parts taken in isolation. In real-world terms this means particularly that proponents of Action Research need both to show in practice that they are not merely concerned with finding what may be deceptively convincing solutions to classroom problems, and also to reinforce the extent to which their work is grounded in work for understanding.

Learning involvement

If the processes I have identified as work for understanding are to be fully exploited for maximum benefit, then it seems only logical to argue that learners, as well as other participants/practitioners in the language education field, could benefit from developing their own

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understandings of what is involved in classroom language learning. Such a move would not be new of course, since work for learner autonomy (see, for example, Holec, 1988), and the associated work for a negotiated syllabus (see Breen, 1984) has also used the argument, and developed practices to bring it all to practical life, that learners should and can be fully involved in their own language learning.

Summary and Conclusions

My brief was to deal with "processes of language teacher education". I chose to work initially at the conceptual level, and so to isolate three conceptually distinct processes that are not so easily separated in practical experience, but that can be seen as corresponding, conceptually, to the essence of three current models for language teacher education work: Reflective Practice, Exploratory Practice, and Action Research. Having attempted to show, in discursive and in diagrammatic form, the inter-relationships between the concepts and the models for language teacher education, I then set out six design criteria that I have developed to apply to such models, and discussed each of them in turn to show how they might be used as a check on the professional development contribution each model for language teacher education can be expected to make.

As a conclusion I can only state that I hope that my analysis, in its attempt to clarify complex issues that threaten to put us into different teacher education "camps", will serve my own fifth design criterion. That is to say that I hope it will help bring people together. That it will reinforce the view that the major conceptual processes of language teacher education, and the major models of teacher education that reflect them, are best seen not in terms of what they may have to offer individually but in terms of the potentially highly productive relationships between them, if they are taken together.

Finally, I would hope also that what we may now easily see to be likely to be beneficial for teachers we will soon see as likely to be beneficial for learners, too.

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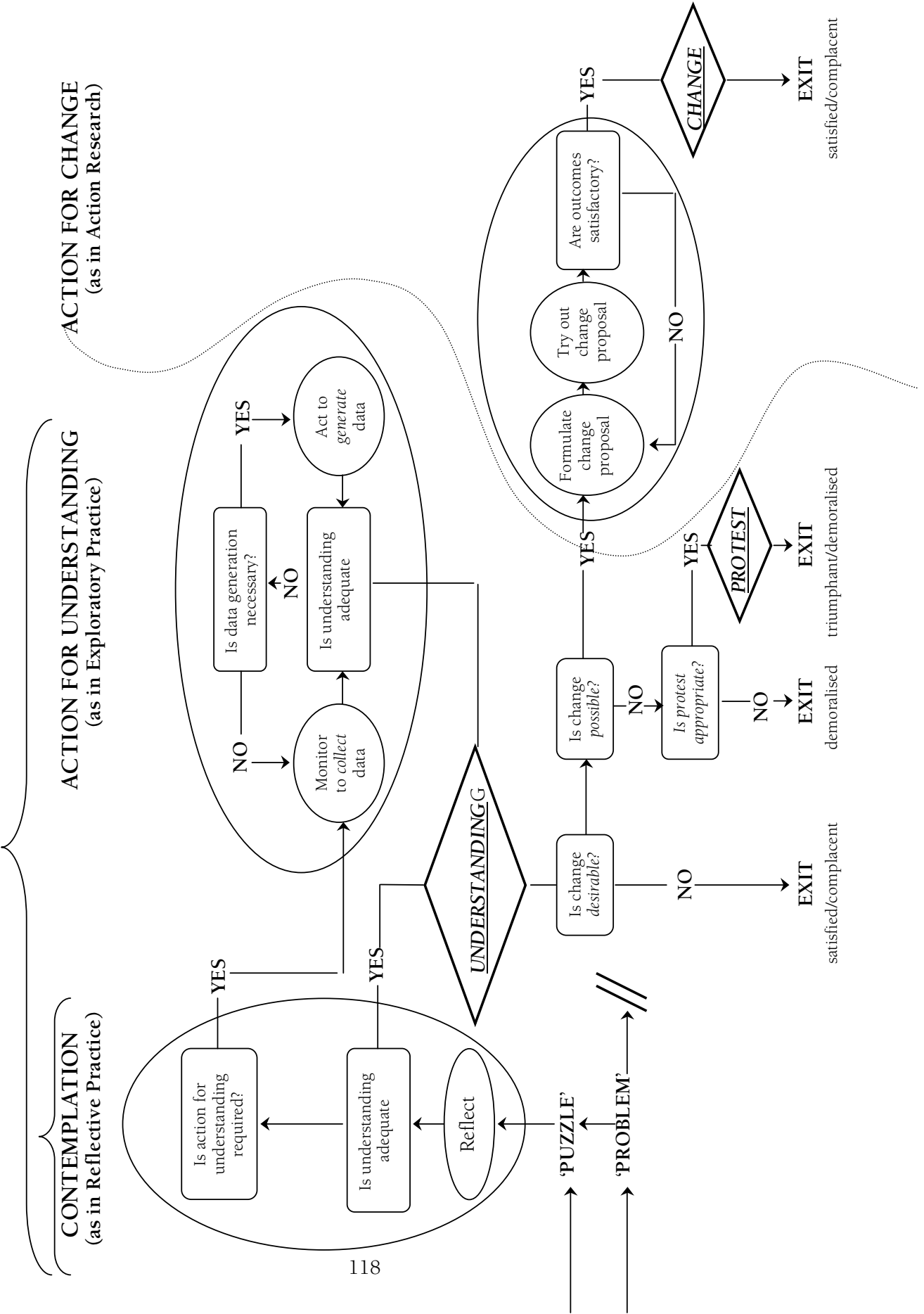Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action.* New York: Basic Books.

Appendix One

The Context of My Own Work in this Area

The work I am drawing upon here is work I have undertaken or been associated with for a decade principally (but not exclusively) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and mostly, especially in the early days in the development of Exploratory Practice, in the context of a major English language teaching institution there – the Rio Cultura Inglesa. My own connection with the Cultura in Rio has been very informal, offering me a chance to visit Brazil about once every two years. On those visits I have typically been involved in conducting courses and workshops for Cultura headquarters staff, branch managers, and teachers. This has all been part of a larger plan to explore less hierarchical ways of providing opportunities for professional development (Allwright, 1991).

"Exploratory Practice" was originally developed in response to the perceived needs of the situation in the Rio Cultura, and it drew its original principles and practices mainly from the work of teachers there. More recently, however, the ideas are being used extremely promisingly in work with and by teachers in the municipal public school system in Rio (Miller & Bannell, 1998). This teacher education venture involves academics from several Rio universities working with twenty or so Brazilian school-teachers of Portuguese and French as well as of English. They meet twice monthly throughout the school year for workshops designed to help them develop their own Exploratory Practice work in their own language classrooms. Of particular interest is the development of ways of using teachers' own narratives of their classroom experiences to help them deepen their understanding of classroom language learning and teaching processes. They regularly present their work, typically in poster form, at local, national, and international conferences (such as IATEFL and TESOL).

Appendix Two: Three Processes of Teacher Development

ACTION FOR CHANGE
(as in Action Research)

ACTION FOR UNDERSTANDING
(as in Exploratory Practice)

CONTEMPLATION
(as in Reflective Practice)

'PUZZLE'

'PROBLEM'

Reflect

Is understanding adequate

Is action for understanding required?

YES

YES

NO

NO

YES

YES

Monitor to *collect* data

Is data generation necessary?

Is understanding adequate

Act to *generate* data

UNDERSTANDINGG

Is change *desirable?*

NO → **EXIT** satisfied/complacent

Is change *possible?*

YES

NO

Is *protest appropriate?*

YES

NO → **EXIT** demoralised

PROTEST → **EXIT** triumphant/demoralised

Formulate change proposal

Try out change proposal

Are outcomes satisfactory?

NO

YES

CHANGE → **EXIT** satisfied/complacent

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Redesigning FL Teacher Development:
A European Perspective

Michael K. Legutke & Marita Schocker–v. Ditfurth

Introducing the Context

Issues related to learning to teach foreign languages have not figured highly in research in language teaching and teacher education in Europe. This may come as some surprise, since foreign language learning has been a core component in the education of most European children for almost thirty years. Within the school curriculum foreign languages claim the same status as Math, Reading, Writing and Social Studies. In Germany, for instance, all universities require two foreign languages for admittance: the first one, in most cases English, must have been studied for nine years, the second, often French, for at least five years. Accordingly, most German universities offer teacher education programs in foreign language teaching, and each German state provides a great variety of courses in in-service teacher development. However, very little systematic knowledge about the quality and impact of these programs is available, and even less is known about the relationship between different phases of professional development in this field.

In order to contextualize our specific perspective on redesigning teacher education three brief remarks seem necessary and appropriate here. The first refers to our professional backgrounds. Both of us have worked as secondary school teachers for EFL and as in-service teacher educators for an extended period of time before we changed our focus and became pre-service teacher educators and researchers. Both of us have been fortunate enough to work under conditions which have allowed us to alternate between the realms of school, INSET (in-service teacher education) and university work. Therefore the approach to our studies has been guided by the perspectives and concerns of practicing teachers and the demands of their classroom contexts. We have worked together for a number of years in developing new formats for in-service teacher education. Meanwhile our emphasis is on pre-service education of teachers of English.

The second brief remark pertains to more recent developments in Europe, particularly since the fall of the Iron Curtain, which has undoubtedly added momentum to the efforts of the European Union (EU) language policy. Large scale migration and a new freedom of movement within Europe coupled with a rapidly expanding globalization of the economy have altered the composition of European societies, which have become increasingly more multi-lingual and multi-cultural. These changes pose new challenges to the established educational systems, and, at the

same time, offer new opportunities for learning. The European Commission's White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society,* published in 1995, reacted to these developments by proposing 'a proficiency in three community languages' as one of the general objectives for all citizens of Europe. To achieve this goal in the time of mandatory schooling (until grade 10) it is suggested that language learning should start as early as possible, preferably at pre-school level. Consequently we are seeing a strong movement all over Europe to introduce foreign language education as part of the core curriculum of elementary schools. This, of course, has not only far-reaching implications for traditional foreign language programs at the secondary level, which need to be redesigned, but also for the established sequences of languages and the articulation between local and regional school systems. In addition, there is a growing demand for the introduction of languages which are less commonly taught but strongly represented in the communities, such as Turkish in many parts of Germany.

The third important note refers to the growing importance of computer technology in European education, and, in particular, in foreign language learning. Although, as will be discussed in detail later, established forms of teacher education have drawn strong criticism as to their ability to equip student teachers with the appropriate competencies to deal with the above mentioned challenges and to educate a multi-lingual citizen, no funds for educational research and innovative program developments are available. The opposite is true for research and development geared towards the promotion of the use of new technologies. The projects we will report on here use this opportunity to tackle questions of teacher development in conjunction with developing media competence of future teachers of English. For such an endeavor, where we conceive of technology as an opportunity to address questions of education in general, substantial funding could be obtained from one of the Ministries of Education.

Three Basic Concerns

Teacher education programs have come under growing criticism in recent years. It is argued that they often fail to provide the relevant knowledge base that enables student teachers, once they have left the university classroom, to cope with the complex demands of the school setting and, more importantly, to become part of the social change process (Fullan, 1993). The lack of learning-to-teach studies, particularly in foreign language teacher education, has undoubtedly aggravated the potential for failure. What Freeman and Johnson point out about the U.S. that "teacher education has been much done but relatively little studied in the field" (1998, p. 298), certainly applies to the German context. In spite of huge resources that have been mobilized

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for language teacher education, very little is known about the effectiveness of these programs when it comes to improving language education in schools. What is known, however, supports personal anecdotal observation: the dominant teaching formats at universities are transmission-oriented and therefore contradict current ideologies of student-centeredness and communicative methodology (Legutke & Thomas, 1993), the program components lack a coherent curriculum framework within which the practicum, if provided at all, often remains an alien element among university courses (Gabel, 1997), and – apart from a few individual innovative approaches at some universities (Schocker–v. Ditfurth, 1998) – hardly any efforts are made to bridge institutional divides.

It is against this background that we went about planning our research project. We started by asking three rather straightforward questions – which proved anything but straightforward when translated into practice:

- How could we offer teacher education experiences that would allow our student teachers to meet the challenges of both the student-centered language classroom and of new technology?

- How could we provide a framework that would allow us to integrate and develop the knowledge base of teacher education as currently discussed? Following Freeman and Johnson (1998) we argue that the knowledge base must focus on the activity of teaching itself, on the teacher who does it and the contexts in which it is done.

- How would we be able to establish productive collaboration between the two traditionally separate areas in which relevant knowledge is created, that is, school and university?

Structures and Principles of Two Cooperative Learning Environments

The two learning environments we have developed in order to find answers to the above concerns depart quite radically from standard practice. Both have in common that they retain university course work as their core component. This, however, is extended by up to 10 EFL classrooms a term whose teachers participate in the university work through face-to-face encounters and by e-mail. Conversely, student teachers become part of the school classroom for some time through personal participation and computer-mediated communication with the teacher and the students. Thus, groups of student teachers collaborate with one of the participating EFL teachers in a team in a classroom-based field study project.

Although computer technology is both content and vehicle of the collaborative work within both environments, the focus within each environment differs according to the purposes for which technology is made use of in each context. In Giessen (cf. Figure 1), teams of student

teachers shadow a number of teachers, whose students (grades 9 to 12) are embarking on e-mail projects with American, Australian and Canadian students of the same age jointly reading an adolescent novel. The potential of such cross-cultural reading initiatives is researched by student teachers and the results of the findings are discussed in great detail with the participating EFL teachers. In Freiburg (cf. Figure 2), teams of student teachers develop, carry out and evaluate web-based research projects for their partner teachers' classrooms. Both approaches reflect the format that e-mail or web-research projects have when actually carried out in EFL classrooms. While it is no problem to provide a clear-cut time frame with projects involving web research activities and they can therefore be easily integrated into university course work, e-mail projects tend to be less predictable and expand over a considerable period of time. Asking student teachers to actually take over responsibility for carrying out e-mail projects at schools would therefore not be compatible with the established structures at the university.

It is expected that these learning-to-teach environments will allow prospective EFL teachers to begin to develop the process competence, team skills, and media competence needed to be able to respond to the challenges of multiple roles in the pupil-oriented language classroom and to understand and learn to negotiate the dynamics of the powerful social framework the school environment provides.

The following passage discusses four of the joint principles both approaches are based on, using the Freiburg model for illustration (cf. Figure 2: S = students; ST = student teachers; T = teacher).

Principle 1: Experiential learning through a project-based mode of seminar-work

In the seminar the experiences of student teachers parallel the experiences of language learners in the classroom. Therefore the seminar experience is organized in a three-stage project format:

- Preparing the Project: Teams of student teachers collaborate with an EFL teacher and his/her class. Student teachers develop internet-research or e-mail projects by arrangement with the teacher (i.e. they get to know the school and the classroom, decide on a topic involving the class, research suitable websites, design tasks, etc.).

- Executing and evaluating the project: During the project stage, student teachers leave the university and actually go into 'their' classrooms. One student teacher is responsible for the discourse management of a group of what we believe is a manageable number of students, namely 5-7. This allows him or her to experience and become aware of the complexity of roles, competencies and skills required in a student-centered classroom. Tasks include helping with the web research, applying study skills when processing the information researched, developing criteria for successful project presentations, etc.

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- Sharing process and product experience: After the project has been completed, student teachers return to university to discuss their experience with the teams of students who have been to different classrooms, to the participating teachers, and to an interested wider audience (i.e. members of staff, student teachers interested in taking part in the following term's seminar).

Principle 2: Ethnographic approach to practice through field-study projects

We are trying to establish both a research and an action perspective on practice. The seminar structure mirrors the research process in that it provides data gathering, data processing, data interpretation, presentation and publication of insights. The action component comes into play when student teachers go through their self-directed learning experience in authentic school settings. Student teachers are asked to focus their research questions on two areas:

- In what way does technology support foreign language learning in our context? Which classroom and context variables affect its potential use?
- To what extent has the seminar experience contributed to the development of student teachers' personal practical knowledge? How did they experience their role in the learning-to-teach experience? What worked for them as prospective teachers? What did they find hard to cope with?

The research process is divided into four stages which are being continuously documented in diaries, both by student teachers and the teacher educator:

A. Data collection: Individually, student teachers are asked to identify 'critical incidents' in their project and to describe these in as much detail as possible (*What is happening?*). Then they are asked to give a personal interpretation of the incidents, including other data sources and perspectives (the form teacher's, the learners') to support their conclusions (*Why is it happening?*).

B. Comparing experiences: Within their team student teachers compare their 'critical incidents' at the end of the field experience and agree on common themes, recurring dilemmas, mutual issues. They are asked to give a tentative but nonetheless generalized answer to their research question, as their findings are regarded as being representative of this team's personal experience in a particular social context.

C. Preparing presentations: Then they have to decide on a form of presentation that allows participants to share as far as possible the authenticity of the experience, for example, by including examples from students' work or their comments, by using extracts from personal accounts from the diaries, by showing slides or a film of the process. They are also asked to find a lively and creative form of presenting their findings (this term's examples included a panel discussion, a talk show, a 'guided fantasy' including students' comments, and a running commentary to a film student teachers had produced in the classroom).

D. Sharing experiences with the other student teams, participating teachers, and a wider audience: Learning-to-teach studies suggest that student teachers tend to generalize the learning potential of foreign language classrooms as perceived during their own *apprenticeship of observation* and as experienced through the role models encountered during their teaching practica. As nothing quite compares with the powerful credibility practical knowledge exercises in forming teachers' beliefs, this approach broadens the experientially limited and highly idiosyncratic perspective on the learning potential of EFL classrooms, in that each team has to present its research findings to the other teams at the end of term. The ensuing group discussion focuses on the role of the classroom context and helps student teachers to become aware both of its limitations and its potential. This way a team's experience, which is based on what one particular classroom has offered, is seen in a wider perspective. To give an example from last term's seminar: While one team had to cope with the refusal of some of the students to use the target language during group work, they learned that the other participating teams unanimously and quite surprisingly found that a natural and relaxed use of the target language resulted from the relaxed atmosphere, from the ideal student – student-teacher ratio and the resulting support, care, and feedback an ever-present knowledgeable source could provide, and from the good rapport that student teachers managed to establish with students who generally enjoyed co-operating with teachers closer to their age.

Last but not least, student teams publish their projects on the internet to make them available for other teachers. Critical comments are encouraged by the e-mail contact that is offered, so that a much wider audience is invited to contribute to the ongoing professional discourse on the role of computer technology in FL learning.

Principle 3: Computer technology as both content and means of communication

We use computer technology to facilitate and intensify the professional exchange via e-mail on many levels, for example to provide continuous support and guidance to student teachers from our side, to establish an intensive exchange between student teachers and 'their' teachers so that a strong link between these two realms of discourse can be established, and to help student teachers organize their tasks within their teams. At the same time we let students explore the scope and limitations of computer technology for language learning and teaching. We oppose reductionist views on the role of the new media for language learning and subscribe instead to an expanded view of their role within a comprehensive and pedagogical framework (Egbert & Hanson-Smith, 1999).

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Principle 4: Foster the routine use of the target language in all realms of discourse

Student teachers are all non-native speakers of English. To provide as much exposure to the target language as possible, we foster the routine use of English as a means of communication in all realms of discourse. Therefore most of the communication happens in a language more or less foreign to teacher learners.

Informed by a variety of data sources yielded by the research component of our project, such as questionnaire surveys of student teachers, student teachers' portfolios and diaries, documented e-mail correspondences, our own field notes, individual and group interviews, and video documents from various classrooms, we have identified several issues which need to be considered when one is thinking of replicating the approach in other teacher education contexts. Two of them will be dealt with here in greater detail, whereas the others will be summarized at the end of the paper. First we will discuss how much complexity student teachers can be exposed to at this early stage of their professional development. Then we will focus on the 'exchange of services'. Here our guiding question is: In what way can the learning environment promote an exchange of services that enhances the mutual give-and-take and is perceived to be a rewarding experience by everybody involved?

Lost In Complexity? The Multitude of Different Contexts of Participation

When surveyed during course evaluation, student teachers rated their work load on a scale from 1 (= light) to 6 (= extremely heavy) with 5.75. This view is also captured in the following, representative mid-course diary entry: *The seminar is my companion and keeps nagging me both day and night.* On closer inspection, however, it became evident that it was not so much the sheer quantity of assignments that the students experienced as burdensome, but rather the demands on their ability and willingness to navigate various discourses. In contrast to conventional settings in teacher education, the students had to move between and operate on the following levels of discourse, as visualized in figure 2.

Seminar discourse required the students to interact with the teacher trainers, their fellow students and also among themselves within their team on matters of project work in EFL using web-based resources, on learning tasks and lesson planning, and, of course, on their findings from the field experiences. This interaction mostly happened in the target language and included the constant use of e-mail. It was permanently enriched by face-to-face or e-mail input from the co-operating teachers.

At the level of classroom discourse, student teachers had to interact with their partner teacher and with the group of students they were responsible for during the web-based project. What had seemed rather predictable at the level of seminar discourse, proved to be highly unpredictable and often questionable in the classroom.

Furthermore, they were observers and researchers who communicated in their groups and with the partner teacher about the processes they had participated in.

Thus, using computer technology while learning to use it, student teachers were constantly moving between teacher, learner and researcher roles. Time and again through the close link between action and reflection in various settings, they were faced with the need to review what they had taken for granted. Some of them then realized how unprepared they were when handling their groups of learners and negotiating the activities which appeared so easy to manage during the planning stage. The constant shifts between the levels of discourse and the interlocking of the different settings promoted an atmosphere of tension at times which was often aggravated by the speed of computer work. If one bears in mind that all this happened during one university course, under conditions where students have to obtain double majors to qualify as teachers, in addition to taking courses in education, sociology, and psychology, at least two conclusions need to be drawn from the experience. 1) Unless an interdisciplinary approach is developed in which other courses co-operate, it will indeed be difficult not to lose sight of the main focus in view of the multiplicity of contexts of participation and levels of discourse. 2) Until then, a reduction in the complexity would seem to be called for, together with a slower pace: Fewer sites for field projects and more time for working with the data and preparing presentations seem a possible solution.

Appreciating Achievements: The Experience of Mutual Benefits and Services

After having focused on a critical aspect of the learning-to-teach environment we offer we would now like to turn to some positive outcomes as seen from the perspectives of student teachers. We can say without being presumptuous that the seminars are a life experience for everyone involved for various reasons. Some voices:

Experiencing classroom complexity: The realness of it all

> What I consider most important about the experience is…that we did it, that we all had the chance to really do it in practice, the realness of it all. Had it been just materials development without the chance to actually make it work, give life to it, in a classroom, the most important stage would have been missing. (…) We make the most wonderful plans in our seminars, but we never learn whether they work in practice, we never learn.

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Unfortunately this has been just a singular event in my teacher education career. (Ralf, student teacher, in follow-up group discussion)

The seminar seems to provide a form of educational experience which seeks to develop an experiential and whole-person approach to learning. As Larsen-Freeman concluded in her survey of the diachronic developments in applied linguistics and how they affected definitions of language teaching: "[W]e must redirect the nature of our inquiry to search for wholeness – for more complete understanding of the many facets that comprise these basic constructs in our field. Being aware of the complexity has tremendous implications for how we train teachers" (Larsen-Freeman, 1998, p. 4).

The credibility of personal experience

> I am a product of frontal teaching, this is the first time I have experienced project work – both at the university and at school. I am impressed by the processes it has triggered in all of us the last couple of days and therefore I will definitely try and integrate project work into my own classes. To me this seems to be the most efficient way of organizing institution-based language learning. I have always thought language learning is a matter of textbook and neatly structured course, teacher-dominated course work, very much like mathematics, with a clear correct – or wrong divide. (Heike, student teacher, follow-up group discussion)

Two learning-to-teach studies in our context discovered that subject knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge do not become part of student teachers' personal practical knowledge, mainly because they lack the credibility that practical experience offers (Bosenius, 1992; Gabel, 1997). Fullan identifies as the main reason for the failure of teacher programs that they are based on extremely "vague conceptions" (Fullan, 1993, p. 109). Concepts do not trigger memories and images of "how to do it": only 1 of 25 student teachers had actually encountered project work during their own school careers. The same is true for concepts that are discussed in connection with project work, such as self-evaluation, study skills, or autonomous learning. Therefore prospective teachers are prone to fall victim to the credibility of the role-models of their past and present.

Managing discourse and social relationships within a small group

> It was good to be responsible for a small group of pupils only…this way I learned a lot about my strengths and weaknesses with regard to giving feedback and advice, guidance and support. On the other hand I learned to step back and let them get along with what they were doing…You also notice strengths and weaknesses on the pupils' side, for example, you could tell they weren't familiar with certain study skills, even though their teacher said they were. They surfed the net like maniacs, clicked on links and printed texts

endlessly, too much to cope with, really. They highlighted entire paragraphs not selecting relevant information at all…I noticed how important routines in study skills are to equip learners with the basic tools for autonomous research. (Heike, student teacher, follow-up group discussion)

Learning-to-teach studies that investigate the development of teachers' beliefs generally claim that there is a lack of knowledge about students. There is a "potential mismatch between teachers' implicit assumptions about students and the realities of their own students' abilities and interests " (Grossman, 1990, p. 142). Student teachers often do not value the potential of students' contributions to classroom discourse and they do not know how to respond to unexpected student contributions because they lack a repertoire of instructional routines to help them do so (Johnson, 1992). Therefore, "one of the many challenges for future teacher preparation programs", according to Johnson's conclusion, "is to enable pre-service ESL teachers to encourage and incorporate student initiations into their instructional activities without perceiving such initiations as a threat to instructional management" (Johnson, 1992, p. 529-530).

Learner involvement is crucial. Impact on learners is "the yardstick of any change project" (Thomas & Wright, 1996, p. 73). The learning environment discussed here provides the instruments to help student teachers find out more about their learners.

The natural and relaxed use of the target language in student groups

In our non-native context the natural use of the target language poses problems. It is a recurring theme in student teachers' feedback. Even though there is an understandable general skepticism among teachers taking part in the program that came across in the interviews,

> I can talk English with my pupils alright – but they don't talk in English to each other because there is no need. At this language learning stage it is practically impossible. (participating teacher, pre-course interview)

the experience of student teachers contradicted this view:

> Before doing this project I thought you would have to 'carry' pupils to England to make them use the target language as naturally as they did in the course of the project. What surprised me was that on the second day of the project the contributions from my group of pupils were exclusively in English. That was wonderful…On the first day hardly anybody dared speak at all, let alone in English…but the next day… everything in English. It is very encouraging to see that it takes very little time to create a supportive atmosphere in a small group where they soon become autonomous L2 users…I've never experienced anything like it before…I found this most impressive. (Ulla, student-teacher, follow-up group discussion)

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We believe that student teachers' experiences differed from the teacher's experience because the learning environment was structured in such a way that the students could fall back on an ever-present knowledgeable source, i.e. the student-teacher, who provided the support and security needed to deal with the task in a small group. Obviously, it does make a difference if you navigate the discourse with 30 or 5 students at a time. It also seems that this generation of student teachers generally feels at ease and comfortable when talking in English because most of them have traveled and use English as a lingua franca in everyday practice.

Provision of supportive risk taking

> To me what was outstanding was the co-operation with the teacher in the planning stage who allowed risk-taking and experiments and allowed us to experiment with our ideas, even though she wasn't convinced that they would work – which is quite unlike my experience during my teaching practica where I was expected to model the teacher's behavior and where I had to closely follow her idea of a good lesson. (Heike, student-teacher, follow-up group discussion)

The framework of the seminar provided a field for guided experiments. On the one hand we offered the structure, guidance, input, and feedback needed to give student teachers' security. On the other hand they were encouraged to venture from the well trodden paths of their pre-training experiences and go beyond the conventional in that we encouraged creative, personal experimentation within their teams. The timid question of one of our students, *Must our experiments be successful?*, could therefore easily be answered by replying, *No, they don't have to be, but they have to be thoroughly planned and evaluated.* In this respect the experience represents an alternative to the practicum where student teachers have to fit into ongoing activities more often than not defined by their supervising teacher.

Conclusions: Where Do We Go From Here?

We are aware of the fact that at the present time we have only just begun to understand the multifaceted dimensions of technology-mediated second language teaching and learning and the cognitive demands placed on pre-service EFL teachers when involved in interaction with students while learning to teach. Therefore, more detailed research needs to investigate the discourse generated in student-teacher/student groups as seen from different perspectives, that is student teachers, students, and what research on the features of communication in classrooms has discovered. Studies on instructional decisions and practices have highlighted these demands in some detail (Johnson, 1992; 1994). They imply that student teachers tend to perceive student initiations as off-task behavior and a threat to instructional management. Therefore student

teachers tend to ignore student initiations in favor of maintaining control over the instructional activity which is likely to limit second language learners' opportunities for authentic and self-selected use of the target language during classroom instruction. The availability of computer technology in language classrooms aggravates the demands on student teachers' discourse management because of its unpredictable and audience-focused nature. And yet there is evidence in our data that when classroom language learning is organized in a project-format, which allows for more self-directed, autonomous learning for students, student teachers usually felt more comfortable and relaxed with their role than they did during their practicum when they were involved in traditional whole-class interaction.

Future research also needs to address the question of how school-university collaborations can contribute to development processes in both institutions: Can student teachers actually function as change agents? Could they perhaps even be role models for practicing teachers? Again, there is some evidence in our project that the mutual give-and-take we talked about also seems to work in this respect. As student teachers experience alternative images of teachers and teaching through the project format in their seminars and the role models course instructors provide, they do not feel powerless to alter their instructional practices – even though they have experienced few models of action from their own language learning experiences. As student teachers were encouraged to experiment with the ideas they encountered in publications which they personally felt comfortable with, they did not approach classrooms with a sense of being powerless, but on the contrary, were eager to try out things in practice. This was due to the fact that they had been empowered to do so during university course work and because they were encouraged to investigate their own theories of appropriate language learning processes. The way student teachers experienced their role during this course fundamentally differed from their role during their practica where they often reported to have been treated as blank slates because practicing teachers perceived them as ill-prepared for teaching by the decontextualized theory they had encountered in university courses. Therefore it is a common experience that student teachers are expected to model a teacher whose instructional practices often contradict images of teaching they encounter in the literature at the university. Important though the practicum is for introducing student teachers to the social context of schools and schooling, the collaboration outlined here seems to establish a new dimension in school-university partnerships. Innovative ideas can be mutually developed so that strategies, materials, and tasks are appropriate both to the social structure of the school context and to commonly agreed-on principles of education – and last but not least, to what student teachers themselves feel at ease with.

Since we have narrowed our focus in this paper on the complexity of the learning environment and the exchange of services, we should at least, in closing, mention the additional issues we have identified from our data. These are:

- The integration of relevant domains of knowledge. The key question here is: In what way is the learning-to-teach environment conducive to the development of professional knowledge which takes into account disciplinary knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, knowledge of context and personal experiential knowledge?

- The development of the teacher education curriculum. This issue raises the question: How does the learning environment relate to the content and structure of formal teacher education? In what way does it stimulate institutional discussion? Where is it at odds with traditional institutional beliefs and procedures?

- The development of discourse competence in the target language: In what way can the learning environment foster the routine use of the target language in different realms of discourse, as *the* fundamental professional competence for non-native EFL teachers?

- The educational perspective on media competence: How does the learning-to-teach experience we offer make student teachers aware of the educational dimensions of technology?

- The assessment of student teachers' achievements: Which tools of evaluation and assessment can appropriately capture such a complex and dynamic process?

With our project we have only just begun to suggest ways in which university classrooms can be turned into stimulating sites for the exploration and integration of different domains of relevant knowledge as identified by recent research on how practicing teachers' knowledge systems shape their understanding of teaching (Woods, 1996). The cooperative learning at these sites has had considerable gains for everybody involved through the mutual give-and-take that crossing borders allows for. Yet, if we consider the institutional constraints and the incoherence of teacher education curricula and practice at our universities, and, of course, the many issues we have raised here, we are aware that our learning-to-teach environments cannot claim the status of clear-cut blueprints for reform. Rather, they are arguments in an ongoing debate to which we will continue to contribute.

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A Drop of Color:
What's the Point of ESL/Bilingual
Language Arts Teacher Education?

Leslie Poynor

There appear to be two camps in the prevailing literature about the effectiveness of teacher education and they appear to be diametrically opposed to one another. In the one camp researchers like Lortie maintain that teacher education has little or no effect on teachers' perceptions and understandings about teaching. Traditional teaching methods endure despite teacher education programs because of the teachers' childhood apprenticeship of observation of their own traditional teachers (Lortie, 1975). Lortie's claim is supported by much empirical evidence that teacher education programs do little to change the lessons learned during a childhood apprenticeship (see, for example, Cortazzi, 1993; Hanson & Herrington, 1976; Petty & Hogben, 1980; Zeichner, Melnick, & Gomez, 1996). Researchers such as Zeichner (1996) and Kennedy (1991) echo this claim describing teacher education programs as a weak intervention at best.

On the other hand, Darling-Hammond, Wise, & Klein (1995) maintain that teacher education programs *do* make a difference. After reviewing several studies these researchers found that teachers who participate in teacher preparation programs are more effective than those who enter teaching via alternative routes. Furthermore, when these programs concentrate more on pedagogy and less on subject matter content, the teachers are even more effective. Mary Kennedy (1998) reported similar findings in her study of preservice, induction and inservice teacher education writing programs. Writing teachers involved in reform-oriented programs tended to move away from traditional prescriptive writing concerns and move toward concerns about student strategies and purposes, whereas teachers enrolled in more traditional management-oriented programs remained concerned about the traditional prescriptions of writing (Kennedy, 1998).

Although seemingly diametrically opposed to one another both camps warrant a closer look. The idea that teachers teach the way they were taught has commonsense appeal. Children often grow up to repeat the child rearing practices of their parents with their own children. It makes common sense that teachers would do the same and in many cases they do. In fact, Zimpher and Ashburn (1992) point out that most of the teachers in the United States are white, middle class females who participate in teacher education programs that prepare them to work with students just like themselves. Without conscious and deliberate intervention to challenge their preconceived

notions, it is unlikely that teachers will alter their perceptions and understandings of traditional teaching, thereby fulfilling the prophecy that teachers will teach the way they were taught.

This conscious and deliberate intervention is exactly what Darling-Hammond, Wise, & Klein (1995) advocate as the role of teacher education programs. Kennedy supports this position with her claim that "substantive orientations [to teacher education] make a difference" (Kennedy, 1998, p. 21). Pre-service teachers enrolled in traditional programs focus on traditional concerns and pre-service teachers enrolled in reform-oriented programs focus on a wider array of concerns. In other words, if the majority of pre-service teachers are white, middle class females participating in a traditional, management-oriented program, then certainly teacher education is going to be a weak intervention. This is a cause of great concern to researchers (e.g., King, Hollins, & Hayman, 1997; Zeichner et al., 1996) interested in the education of the large number of culturally and linguistically diverse children attending our public schools. As Zeichner (1996) points out,

> [T]his leaves vast numbers of students of color, many of them poor, without the benefit of teachers who have been especially prepared for cross-cultural encounters that are a fact of life in many schools. (p. 216)

If, however, these pre-service teachers are involved in reform-oriented programs the intervention is more powerful (Darling-Hammond et al., 1995; Kennedy, 1998). This offers hope for cultural and linguistic minority students, but there is still room for caution. Even when teacher education appears to be a strong intervention there is very little empirical evidence to suggest that the changes are long-lasting or that they influence the practices teachers actually use in the classroom (Zeichner, 1996). Furthermore, the empirical evidence that is present is based on large scale studies, which offer us important information about trends, but very little in the way of understanding the lived reality of actual preservice and first year teachers (e. g. Darling-Hammond et al., 1995; Kennedy, 1998). Zeichner (1996) criticizes the predominance of brief and vague self-reports and calls for detailed descriptions of the lived reality of non-traditional teacher education programs and the long term impact such programs have on the participating students.

Purpose of the Study

Because there is so little empirical evidence about the lived reality of preservice and first year teachers, I decided to undertake the current study. This study is part of a larger study in which I have followed and will follow one ESL preservice teacher and one bilingual preservice teacher through their language arts and reading methods course, their student teaching and their first year of teaching. The purpose of this paper is 1) to examine the perceptions and understandings about

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teaching culturally and linguistically diverse student that these two teachers bring to the reading and language arts methods course and 2) to examine the influence, if any, that a transaction (Rosenblatt, 1978) reading and language arts methods course has on these perceptions and understandings.

The perceptions and understanding that pre-service teachers bring to the reading and language arts methods classroom are based on the life-long apprenticeship they have had with teachers and schools. Most of these apprenticeships take place with traditional teachers in traditional classrooms at traditional schools even through college classes and teacher education classes. In contrast, the senior level ESL/bilingual reading and language arts methods class, of which I am one of four instructors, is a transaction classroom grounded in socio-psycholinguistics (Weaver, 1994). Due to the inherent conflict between traditional classroom practices and transaction classroom practices, it is important to understand what constitutes both models of education.

In the sections that follow, I first provide a brief review of the literature on traditional and transaction education and the impact on ESL/bilingual language arts education. In the second and third sections I describe the research question and the setting and the participants. In the fourth section I outline the research method of narrative analysis. In the fifth section of the paper I present the stories of my participants as I understand them to be and in the final section I offer my own reaction to those stories. Let's turn now to traditional classroom practices.

Review of the Literature

Traditional Classroom Practices

"Jenny?"

"Here."

"Alberto?"

"Here."

"Sam?"

"Here."

Mrs. Wright sits at her desk in the front of the room carefully marking the attendance register with a black pen.

"Margaret. Margaret?" Mrs. Wright looks up and quickly scans the five rows. Ah! There in the fourth row, the second desk is empty. "Does anyone know where Margaret is?"

"Maybe she's sick," volunteers Jesus.

"Maybe so. Well, take out your reading homework," answers Mrs. Wright as she picks up her grade book and walks to the center of the room. "Today we are going backwards and since

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Margaret is absent, Sam, you will be first. Say the picture and the vowel sound. Remember to tell me if it is long or short. Ok, do number one."

"Kite. Long I."

"Very good, Sam. Alberto, number 2." Mrs. Wright walks up and down the rows putting a checkmark by each child's name for finishing the homework assignment.

Alberto answers, "U."

"Alberto, remember that you are supposed to say the picture first."

"Umbrella."

"And what is the vowel?"

"U."

"Remember you are supposed to tell me if it is long or short. Who can help Alberto? Juana?"

Juana answers, "Umbrella, short U."

"Very good, Juana. Alberto, now you try it."

Alberto repeats, "Umbrella, short U."

"Very good, Alberto," Mrs. Wright is standing beside Eric's desk. "Eric, where is your homework?"

"I forgot."

"Well, that is a minus and you need to write your name on the board. I'm very happy that the rest of you did your homework. Please pass it to the front. Remember, if I give it back to you, you will have to correct it tonight and turn it in tomorrow. Now, bluebirds take out your reading books and come to the reading table. The rest of you take out your spelling books and write your new spelling words five time each and do exercise 3 on page 63."

The practices of the teacher in the preceding vignette probably feel familiar to many of us. In fact, we might even take for granted that this is just how schools are. After all, that is how many of us were educated. These practices, however, are tied to very specific beliefs about the purpose and nature of schooling and education. They are based on the ideas that 1) schools should prepare students to be productive, obedient and cooperative laborers in the industrial and business world and 2) schools should be based on factory models to improve the efficiency of educating students (Callahan, 1962).

In her book *Reading Process and Practice: From Socio-psycholinguistics to Whole Language* Weaver (1994) provides an extensive outline of the practices of a traditional language arts and reading classroom, which I have summarized below (pp. 342-343):

- Learners passively and often begrudgingly practice skills, memorize facts, and accumulate information, which is rarely seen as purposeful to the learner.

- Curriculum is determined by outside forces and consists of reading materials written in unnaturally stilted language, the mastery of isolated skills and the mastery of the parts of language.

- Teachers disseminate information, manage students, and evaluate students as capable or incapable based on their performance in accordance with preset objectives and norms.
- Evaluation of both teachers and students is determined by students' performance on standardized tests and/or attainment of curriculum goals.

Given that this model of education has governed traditional school practices since the early 1900s (Callahan, 1962) and continues to govern traditional school practices today, we might expect that our future teachers would enter our teacher education programs with their perceptions and understandings about teaching rooted in these practices.

While this is of concern to teacher educators in general, it is of particular concern to educators of future teachers of ESL/bilingual students given that the proliferation of traditional school practices have been exceedingly damaging to cultural and linguistic minority students. Apple (1990) writes,

> [Traditional] schools partly recreate the social and economic hierarchies of the larger society through what is seemingly a neutral process of selection and instruction. They take the cultural capital, the habitus, of the middle class, as natural and employ it as if all children have had equal access to it. However, by taking all children as equal, while implicitly favoring those who have already acquired the linguistic and social competencies to handle middle-class culture, schools take as natural what is essentially a social gift, i.e. cultural capital. (p. 33)

Although language minority students have rich and varied cultural backgrounds, they do not possess the cultural capital that is typically valued by traditional schools (Apple, 1990). The vast majority of students entering our programs are "products" of traditional school practices in which teachers are technicians laboring for the production of an improved product, the student. If our future ESL/bilingual teachers have had 12 or 13 years of apprenticeship in a factory model of education then what hope do we have that they might offer a more equitable education to their future ESL/bilingual students? If the pre-service teacher's perceptions and understanding are largely determined by experiences in (primarily) traditional schools, can a transaction reading and language arts teacher education course serve as little more than a weak intervention, a drop in the bucket, so to speak? To examine the influence that a transaction reading and language arts teacher education course might have on pre-service teachers, we must first understand the underpinnings of such a course. Let's turn now to a description of transaction classroom practices.

Transaction Classroom Practices

"But he saved six pumpkin seeds for planting in the spring."
"Read it again!"

Mrs. Dyer smiles at Antonio, "You like that story, don't you?" Antonio nods. Mrs. Dyer continues, "Well, Antonio, how about if we do this. I think some people are ready to get started. So let me find out what everyone's going to do this morning and when it's your turn you can say that you want to read <u>Pumpkin, Pumpkin</u> with me. How does that sound?"

Antonio smiles, "O.K."

Mrs. Dyer picks up her clipboard with her language arts checklist. Looking around the circle, she finds Kelsey.

"Kelsey, what are you going to do this morning?"

"I'm gonna work on my spider report."

"At the writing center?"

"Yeah."

"O.K. Jonathon?"

"I'm going to the reading center."

"Are you still thinking about a new story?"

"Yeah. I'm gonna read some more Eric Carle books."

"Ok. Jayne?"

"I need to meet with you 'cause I'm ready to publish."

"Umm. Let's see. Antonio, do you still want to read with me?"

Antonio nods.

"O.K., then, Jayne is there something else you can do while Antonio meets with me? Have you asked a friend to edit your story with you?"

Jayne shakes her head no.

"O.K., why don't you do that first. Who else needs to edit their story?" Mrs. Dyer looks around the circle. Gilberto and Michelle both have their hands up.

"Alright. Why don't the three of you go sit outside and help each other edit your stories? Then when Antonio and I have finished, I'll meet with all three of you."

Turning to the next person on her checklist Mrs. Dyer asks, "Now, Jennifer, what are you going to do this morning?"

Perhaps this scenario is familiar to some of us as students, but more likely, our experiences with this type of classroom come from our experiences as teacher education students and/or as classroom teachers. Like traditional classroom practices, transaction classroom practices are tied to very specific beliefs about the purpose and nature of schooling. They are based on the ideas of Rosenblatt's (1978) reader response theory which "asserts that meaning lies not only in the text, nor only in the reader's mind, but in the transactions between the reader's background knowledge and the information provided by the text" (El-Dinary & Schuder, 1993, pp. 1-2). Weaver provides an extensive outline of the practices of a transaction model language arts and reading classroom, which I also have summarized below (Weaver, 1994, pp. 342-343):

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- Learners actively and often enthusiastically engage in complex language and reasoning processes, which are usually seen as purposeful to the learner.

- Curriculum is determined by and negotiated among the teachers and the students and consists of reading materials written in natural language patterns with an emphasis on developing language and literacy skills across the curriculum.

- Teachers serve as a master craftsperson, mentor and role model and treat students as capable and developing, honoring their unique patterns of growth.

- Teachers and students evaluate themselves, each other and the curriculum goals.

Since the 1950s and 1960s through the 1990s, researchers in the area of socio-psycholinguistics have written extensively about non-traditional, transaction classroom practices (see, for example, Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1986; Cambourne, 1988; Edelsky, 1991; Goodman, 1986; Goodman, 1989; Graves, 1983; Rosenblatt, 1978). Although these researchers have influenced some teacher educators and some classroom teachers, the majority of our nation's public schools remain entrenched in traditional classroom practices (Apple, 1990). As noted earlier, traditional school practices have been exceedingly damaging to language minority students because the practices presuppose a certain type of social, cultural and linguistic experiences that language minority students often have not had (Apple, 1990). On the other hand, transaction classroom practices can offer language minority students a level playing field where 1) all social, cultural and linguistic experiences would be viewed as valuable and 2) children would not be viewed as products in need of correction, but rather as capable and developing human beings. Transaction classrooms, however, are not those from which the vast majority of our pre-service teachers come. So what happens to those pre-service teachers with perceptions and understandings rooted in traditional classroom practices when they encounter a teacher education reading and language arts methods course rooted in transaction classroom practices? Again, is this course just a drop in the bucket?

The Research Question

As I stated earlier, the purpose of this paper is to examine the perceptions and understandings about teaching cultural and linguistic minority students held by a pre-service ESL teacher and a pre-service bilingual teacher during their reading and language arts methods class. Simply stated my question was what perceptions and understandings about teaching cultural and linguistic minority students do a pre-service ESL teacher and a pre-service bilingual teacher bring to transaction reading and language arts methods class and how, if at all, do they change during the course of the class?

The Setting and the Participants

The setting for this study was an undergraduate ESL/bilingual reading and language arts methods course at Arizona State University in the fall of 1998. Normally, the course was taught as two separate classes; however, in the summer of 1998 the other three instructors and I decided to team teach the two courses as one course. We met four times for about four hours each to plan the syllabus. We made substantial changes to the previous syllabi to make certain that the students would be involved in the same types of experiences that we would like them to use in their own classroom. Not only did we want students to learn about a transaction classroom, but also we wanted them to participate in such a classroom.

The students were engaged in complex language and reasoning processes through reading professional literature and through written reflections about the readings. In addition, the students self-assessed themselves by completing a weekly rubric about their progress. During weekly cohort (small groups of 10 to 12 students) meetings, the instructors negotiated the curriculum and direction of the course with the students. Furthermore, as instructors, we facilitated and served as mentors for transaction classroom practices. These practices included the writing process, literature studies, inquiry projects, reading aloud to students, small group work, and child observations.

After spending six weeks in the reading and language arts methods course I identified two possible participants for the study. I chose these particular participants because both had experienced a traditional, transmission model of K-12 public education, but they seemed to hold a view of education that was more consistent with a transaction model of education. I was also interested in their stories because they each had had difficult experiences concerning the issue of second language acquisition.

Paul, a Latino native speaker of Spanish, was 40 years old at the time of the study. He had attended public school when there was no bilingual education available to him. He started school as a monolingual Spanish speaker, but received all his instruction in English. Despite physical punishment for speaking Spanish, Paul managed to learn English, to learn content taught in English and to maintain his Spanish fluency. He was in the bilingual section of the course.

Carmen, a Latina native speaker of English, was 25 years old at the time of the study. She attended school when both ESL and bilingual classes would have been available to her, but as a native speaker of English she was not eligible for these classes. Her parents, mindful of the type of treatment they had received in school, had only spoken to Carmen in English, which later left Carmen feeling isolated from her Spanish-speaking peers and teachers. At 25 she was desperately

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trying to learn the language of her culture by attending Spanish language schools in Mexico and taking Spanish classes. She was in the ESL section of the course.

Methods

My approach to the data collection and data analysis was that of narrative analysis in which the purpose was "to produce stories as the outcome of the research" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15). Narrative analysis is especially suited to the understanding of human action because human beings often relate their actions within the context of a larger story. The larger story often includes past experiences, present experiences and future goals, all of which is the basis for human action.

In the collection of data, I followed Carmen, an ESL pre-service teacher, and Paul, a bilingual pre-service teacher, through their reading and language arts methods course of which I was one of four co-instructors. I conducted, recorded and transcribed interviews with each participant in addition to taking notes on our several informal conversations to establish their perceptions and understandings of teaching linguistic and cultural minority students. I observed and recorded their interactions with other members of the reading methods class focusing on their comments, body language and facial expressions, believing that attention to these details might illuminate their understandings and how they may or may not be changing. I also collected and read all of the writings that they produced during the class. The collection of data was neither linear nor neat. It was, in fact, messy, repetitive, complex and often puzzling. For example, in one interview the participant endorsed transaction classroom practices, but appeared to endorse traditional classroom practices in one of the written assignments. I sought to clarify this and each puzzling issue through interview questions and/or informal conversations.

I used the data collected to reconstruct a narrative account of the participants as complex individuals involved in the complex process of becoming a teacher. In writing the narrative I was not attempting to create an accurate account of history, but rather a fiction that would be a faithful representation of the two participants' lives as they saw them. I offered the narrative to the participants to read. Had I represented them in a faithful way? Had I represented the overall essence of their lives as they understand them? I revised the stories according to their comments and according to my own understandings of the data. This to-and-fro movement that I used to make sense of the data is best described by Polkinghorne (1995):

> [Narrative analysis] requires testing the beginning attempts at emplotment with the database. If major events or actions described in the data conflict with or contradict the emerging plot idea, the idea needs to be adapted to better fit or make sense of the elements and their relationships....The creation of a text involves the to-and-fro

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movement from parts to whole that is involved in comprehending a finished text.
(p. 16)

The participants had complete control over the editing and revising of their story, but I was still the primary writer. The resulting stories are my construction as negotiated between the participants and me. The final version is not just a fictionalized account written for the enjoyment of the reader (although I hope that it is that), but also a synthesizing of data into a coherent whole so that the reader might come to understand the participants in their complexity as human beings. These are their stories as told by me, the researcher.

The Findings

Carmen and Paul's Story

"What does reading mean to you?" the instructors are asking on the second day of class. There are four of them and they are talking about abstract things like what reading means to you and what's your philosophy of education and what's your theory of how kids learn. Carmen, Amy and Paul exchange a look. This is not what they had hoped for from this class. They had hoped that finally someone in the College of Education would tell them how to teach and what to do for ESL and bilingual kids. But it looked like this class was going to be like every other one they had taken – all pie-in-the-sky theory and no real-life teaching. They would just have to learn what to do from their placement teachers. After class, they walk out together discussing the latest pie-in-the-sky assignment – to write their philosophy of education. Paul says, "I haven't had any teaching experience yet. How am I supposed to write my philosophy of education?" Amy joins him, "Yeah. I know what you mean. I'm just trying to figure out what to do during the first two weeks of school." Carmen says, "Yeah. I was hoping that they'd be telling us how to teach. When are they gonna do that?" As they reach the bottom of the stairs, they say goodbye to each other and each turn to go their separate ways.

Carmen's Story

As Carmen walks to the bus stop to catch the shuttle to her car she thinks about what it was like on her first day of kindergarten. She can still see Mrs. Zaragoza smiling down at her. Kindergarten had been fun. It was later that school changed and became not such a fun place…

"Which reading group are you in?" whispers Angelica excitedly. Not waiting for Carmen to answer she whispers, "I'm in the Monsters and Dragons group. That's the top group. We get to read out of the Monsters and Dragons book. I know it is the top group because I heard Mrs. Reed tell

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Mrs. Smith that she was really lucky to have so many kids in the Monsters and Dragons book and not to have too many kids in the bottom two groups. Last year I was in the average group. I can't wait to tell my Mom. So what group are you in? Did Mrs. Reed tell you yet?" Carmen didn't answer. She had been in the average group last year and Mrs. Reed just told her that she would be in the Magic World book this year. She isn't sure if that is the average group or not, but she is sure that it isn't the Monsters and Dragons group and it isn't the top group. Wrinkling her eyebrows together, she searches for something to say to Angelica, who is whispering to her again.

"Carmen! Did you hear me? What group are you in? I hope you are in my group!"

"Angelica!! What are you supposed to be doing?" Mrs. Reed snaps from across the room.

Angelica sighs, "Working in my workbook."

Mrs. Reed nods her head, "That's right. Have you finished pages six and seven?"

Angelica answers, "I've finished page six and I'm almost finished page seven."

"Then I suggest that you finish page seven and let Carmen do her work. Carmen is not in the same group as you and she needs to catch up on her work. When you finish page seven, you can go to the language games table and practice your spelling words. If I remember correctly you missed two or three words on last week's test. And Carmen, you need to get busy."

Carmen already has her head bent over her workbook. Without looking up, she nods as her throat closes up and two hot tears slip out of the corners of her eyes.

Carmen stares out the bus window and blinks back tears. "That's it," she thinks, "That's my philosophy of education. To never make anyone feel the way Mrs. Reed made me feel. No matter what I do as a teacher I will never make my students feel like they are average! Every child is special! And it shouldn't matter what language the child speaks either!" She thinks back to Mr. Garcia's 12th grade class…

"Let's introduce ourselves," Mr. Garcia announces. "Let's go around the room and tell a little bit about ourselves and what languages you speak."

Gilberto begins, "Me llamo Gilberto. Mi familia es de Mexico. He vivido aqui por seis anos."

Angelica follows, "My name is Angelica. Soy de Mexico tambien. Mi familia has lived here since I was one year old."

Carmen begins counting the number of people in front of her. There are only six more people. She listens as each person says their name and uses their home language. Her hands begin to sweat. What am I going to do? Her heart begins to race. She knows where this is going. The old names begin running through her head – White Mexican, White Mexican, White Mexican, traitor, White Mexican, traitor. Why didn't my parents teach me Spanish? Why did they only speak to me

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in English? Didn't they know they were cutting me off from my own people? My own culture? Didn't they know that with my name, my skin color, my family background that I could never, never fit into the mainstream? And now, without the language of my culture, I don't fit in there either. Three people in front of me. What can I say? If I don't speak in Spanish they will think that I am denying my heritage. But if try to speak in Spanish they will know that I can't. They will all think of me as a White Mexican. Two people. I feel sick. Maybe I could explain. This is a time to talk about ourselves. Maybe I could share with the group that my parents didn't want me to suffer as they had suffered. White Mexican. One person. I can't do this.

The bus stops. Carmen gets up to walk off the bus. Her face burns red as she feels the shame and humiliation of that class. All children should be valued no matter what language they speak! No child should ever be made to feel dumb or average or out of place. I'll just have to find a way to make that happen. I'll make learning fun so that every child can succeed. Instead of flash cards, I'll make matching games. Instead of writing spelling words, I'll let the kids paint them or make them out of clay. I'll let them use manipulatives in math. We'll do all the experiments in the science book. I'll be patient with kids who need extra time. That's my philosophy, Carmen thinks as she pulls out her keys to open her car door.

Paul's Story

Paul shifts his backpack from his left shoulder to his right as he walks to the student union building. He thinks about his philosophy. My philosophy of education. Well, it's not just a philosophy of education, but a philosophy of bilingual education. I mean I certainly never got the benefit of bilingual education unless you count what my brothers did…

"Vamanos Mijo."

Paul hears his mother, but he doesn't move. Today is the first day of school and he doesn't want to go. He had heard from Jose and Gilberto just what school was like. They are one and two years older than he is and they have already been to school. They have told him about the small rooms with lots of kids. They told him how everybody got their own little escritorio and how they were all lined up like the way they would line up toy soldiers. And all the smart kids, all the ones who could already speak English, sit in the very front and all the dumb kids that only spoke Spanish sit in the back. They pretend like it is fun to sit in the back. "See when you sit back there, the maestra, she doesn't know what you are doing. You can draw or look at books. She doesn't know. And it's fun man." But even with that, Paul doesn't want to go.

"Paul! ¿Dónde estás? ¡Tenemos que ir!"

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Paul walks out and takes his mother's hand. When they get to the classroom it is just like what Jose and Gilberto said. There are lots of escritorios and lots of niños. The teacher comes over and greets his mom in Spanish. Paul doesn't listen. Then she turns to Paul, "Buenos Dias. ¿Como estás?"

Paul whispers, "Bien." She starts speaking in English, taking Paul's hand and pointing at one of the escritorios. Paul looks back at his Mom. She waves. She looks happy. Paul turns his attention back to the maestra. She continues talking in English and pointing at a desk in the back of the room. She leads Paul to the desk. Paul understands that this is where he is to sit. Just like Jose and Gilberto said.

As Paul walks down the stairs to Burger King his smile fades remembering those first few days of school. They weren't easy. That should be a part of my philosophy. No child should ever be made to feel dumb. No child should ever have to sit in the back of the room because of their language. The home language and literacy of a child should be valued. Bilingual education should be about not just respecting the child's home language and literacy, but also the child's background, whether his parents are new immigrants or third generation natives. It should also be about being patient with kids and giving them time to learn the new language. If they need two weeks to learn the vocabulary, then they should have it. Why do they have to do it in a week? If they need fewer spelling words, then ok. We have to give second language learners more time, thinks Paul as he walks up to the counter to order a Whopper with fries.

Carmen, Paul, and Leslie's Story

"Throughout this course I have just wanted you to be aware of the alternative," Leslie says at the beginning of the cohort discussion group. "Most of us have had years of experience with the traditional perspective on teaching, but very few of us have ever heard of transaction teaching. I think a transactional classroom is one of the best avenues we have for social change and I am in education because I am an advocate for social change. I am in education for no other reason."

"I'm not," interrupts Mike. "I'm not in education because I want social change. I just want kids to learn to read and write and to grow up and pay their taxes. I'm not against social change. I'm neutral."

"You cannot be neutral!" says Paul without turning to look at Mike. "In education you are either for social change or against it, but you can never say that you are neutral to both arguments. If you are neutral you may not be advocating a social change, but you are supporting the status quo of our present education system. To me being a bilingual teacher automatically places me on

the side for social change. This is why I think a transactional learning environment is very important. Compared to when I was going to school when there was no bilingual education and everything was taught in a traditional manner, what we've been learning about in this class offers us a chance to change all that. I see a transactional learning environment as a first step towards the empowerment of a once unacknowledged and silent majority, mainly minorities."

"So what does that mean?" asks Amalia. "You aren't going to teach kids phonics and how to take standardized tests? Don't you think that will empower minority kids, too?"

"I'm not sure exactly how I'm going to do it. I still haven't seen a real transaction classroom in action. I'll probably use the basal readers and the teachers' guides like training wheels to get me started. But I do know that I want kids to share what they know about their home and their culture. I do know that I won't swat them for talking in their home language, but instead I will encourage them to talk and write in whatever language that they can best use to describe their personal experiences. I do know that I won't use Sally, Dick and Jane books, but I will use books that reflect the child's own culture as well as other multicultural literature. I do know that I won't make kids sit in rows, but I will let them work in groups and talk to each other. And I'll let them help me plan our themes. Like I said, I'm not exactly sure how I'm going to work all this out and I may have to use some of the teachers' manuals as training wheels, but I do know that I won't be supporting the status quo of the present education system."

Carmen jumps in, "Paul, my father had experiences like you when he went to school. There was no bilingual education and he got swatted for speaking Spanish and they changed his name from Jose to Joe. And because of all that my parents didn't teach me Spanish when I was little and so I'm trying to learn it now. To be bilingual, what a blessing! So I think I'm like you Paul in that I am an advocate for social change. I am definitely not neutral. Somebody has to fight for these kids. I'm also like you Amy, in that I thought I was going to come in here and just learn more fun ways to teach kids to read and write. I never knew that there was an alternative to the traditional approach. I think that if I had gone into student teaching after last semester I would have just been a traditional teacher like my teachers – well hopefully nicer. But now after this class I have an alternative. I just wish that I could have seen whole language in action. I know this is my philosophy, but I really want to see how it is done. I agree with you, Paul, that I'm not exactly sure how I am going to do it, but I know that this is what I believe."

Everyone is quiet. Finally Leslie says, "I'd love to continue this conversation, but unfortunately we are out of time and I'm sure you are ready for the winter break! Thanks for a great semester and good luck student teaching."

Conclusion

Both Carmen and Paul had experienced traditional classroom practices and both had come away from those experiences with a desire to never humiliate a child, to never make a child feel dumb or average, to value the home language and culture of the child no matter what it is and to be patient with a child learning a new language. They wanted to "do teaching" better than it was "done" to them, but they did assume that the traditional perspective on teaching *was* teaching. They did not question the traditional practices of the school, but rather accepted them as "givens". If their story ended here, it would seem that these two preservice teachers were destined to teach the way they themselves were taught only nicer, but their story does not end here. They participated in a transaction reading and language arts methods course.

During the course, Carmen and Paul reflected on their experiences with traditional classroom practices, identified the limiting impact of those practices, and juxtaposed those practices with transactional classroom practices (Garcia, 1997). The dissonance between their childhood experiences and the teaching practices of their reading and language arts methods course served as an important challenge to their perceptions and understandings about teaching cultural and linguistic minority children (Hollins, 1997). As a result of the critical reflection and dissonance both Carmen and Paul changed their perceptions and understandings about teaching cultural and linguistic minority children.

For Carmen, the change came in that she was no longer looking for ways to make traditional practices more fun and compassionate for second language learners, but rather was looking for alternative classroom practices that moved beyond the assumptions and beliefs typically held by traditional teachers. Likewise for Paul, the transaction classroom practices offered him an alternative to traditional practices, thereby providing him a way to value the child's home language and literacy, to respect home cultures and backgrounds and to empower minorities. Furthermore, both Carmen and Paul came to see the instruction of bilingual and/or ESL students as an inherently political position. Although they did not enter the class with a conscious awareness of the political nature of ESL/bilingual education, both left the class seeing teaching as a political activity and the transaction classroom as an avenue for facilitating social change.

Does this mean that this teacher education course did make a difference? Does this mean that this course was more than a weak intervention? More than a drop in the bucket? That is really too early to tell. Carmen and Paul both have yet to complete their student teaching and they both have yet to complete their first year of teaching before we can determine the longer term impact of this transaction course. Yet, one thing is for certain, if the class were only a drop in the bucket, it

was at least a drop of color because the ideas that they entered with are not the same ones with which they left. All of their thinking seems to have been permeated by the drop of color provided by the transaction classroom practices. Will these practices that they imagine become the practices that they implement? Fortunately, this study is only the beginning of my relationship with Carmen and Paul. I will follow them through their student teaching and their first year of teaching to continue to explore how the color of the class holds or fades as they move into the more unfamiliar waters of teaching.

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Collaborative Research to Facilitate Non-Native English Speaker Student Voices in a Second Language Acquisition Course

Shelley Wong, Yuh-Yun Yen, Francis Bangou, and Carmen Chacon

Critical Perspectives on Classroom Discourse in a Second Language Acquisition Course

The study is a collaborative conversation concerning "emergent praxis" (Edge & Richards, 1998) in teacher education. Its starting point is one teacher's desire to "research" problems to improve her own teaching. Our collaborative research project began immediately after the meeting of Shelley Wong's first class at Ohio State University, a Second Language Acquisition course in September of 1998. Shelley's attention was drawn to the voices of the Non-native Speakers who were the overwhelming majority of the class, but were not as vocal as the Native Speakers who were the minority (Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999).

Questions concerning the perceptions, status and treatment of nonnative ESL teachers (NNESLTs) (Tang, 1997) have direct relevance to teacher education with diverse populations. Although bilingual and minority teachers have the potential to play an important role as mentors and role models for English language learners, they may not have the same status as their mainstream colleagues, especially if they are racial minorities and Non-native Teachers of English (Amin, 1997).

The course was a requirement for the M. A. in Second and Foreign Language Education (S/FLED) and validation in the State of Ohio for teaching in elementary and secondary schools in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. The overwhelming majority of the students (25 out of 38) were international students and Nonnative English as a Second/Foreign Language teachers and prospective teachers. Shelley perceived that U.S. students, while numerically a minority, seemed to take a disproportionate number of turns in the classroom interaction. She was concerned that many of the international students were silent in class and wondered if they felt comfortable about raising questions about the course material. She was also concerned about whether international students who were studying in an English-speaking environment for the first time might feel "lost" at a large university.

Concerned that international student perspectives were marginalized in the discourse, she enlisted the support of three OSU doctoral students to join the teacher research project: Yuh-Yun Yen, Francis Bangou, and Carmen Chacon.

She identified two strategies to try to address what she considered was a problem in the imbalance of classroom interaction (native speaker versus non-native speaker). First, she encouraged students to get into study groups to go over class readings and prepare for the quizzes together. She found looking back on her own graduate student experiences, that through study groups she had begun what later were to become life-long professional relationships. Studying together and collaborating with classmates on projects had been an invaluable part of her own professional development and induction into a professional community. Secondly, she hoped that a listserv, which she had never used before, would be a way of generating more in-between class discussion and fostering more of a sense of community in what was to her a large graduate level class (more than 40 students, including auditors).

Yuh-Yun set up an electronic listserv to facilitate discussion between the weekly class meetings. Use of internet resources has been shown to be a meaningful way of integrating language and culture because it can provide opportunities for nonnative English students to interact with native speakers (Lee, 1997). E-mail assists foreign language learning because it motivates students (Leh, 1997) and it is a potentially important tool for promoting educational change (Markee, 1994). Electronic literacies hold promise for cultural and linguistically diverse learners who have previously had no access to it (Murray, 1994; Warschauer, 1999).

Objectives of the Research

Two research questions were a starting point for exploration:

1. How can electronic mail be used as a tool (Vygotsky, 1978) to facilitate participation of student voices in a Second Language Acquisition (SLA) class?
2. How can collaborative teacher research support reflection and generate alternative visions in teacher education?

Methodology

The method of research is dialogic (Wong, 1994). Dialogic refers to the method of teacher research employed in the interviews in which the attempt was not to "place the subjects of research under a glass," but to engage students in a conversation about their learning and to foster a sense of community among the students in the program.[1] Another dialogic quality to the method of

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[1] We would like to thank the Ohio State University students who generously shared their insights through participating in this study: Fatma Baser, Sujung Chae, Hsien Chang, Pe-Chuan Cheng, An-Jen Chi, Monica Gargac, Shiau-Jing Guo, Frances Haney, Ju Hee Hwang, Brad Johnson, Hyung Mi Joo, Helen Hi Sun Kim, Stephanie Kleban, Ji-Yeon Lee, En-Chong Liaw, Ahmed Mohammed, Ruriko Ono, Topac Osman, Cynthia Schmidt-Schilling, Kang-Jen Tien, Natalia Tshoshanova, Naoko Yamaga, Ching-Lan Yin, and Fusako Yoneda.

research was the recognition that the researchers brought their own cultural and linguistic resources to the research (Egan-Robertson & Willett, 1998). In contrast to traditional research in which there is one dominant "objective" perspective reported through a "master narrative" (Greene, 1988; Luke and Gore, 1992), dialogic research emphasizes multiple perspectives which are both engendered by and construct the social identities of the researchers (Norton, 1997). Participatory action research emphasizes the agency or potential of the teacher to reflect and theorize in order to transform her own practice (Auerbach, 1994). Finally, each researcher contributed in different ways to the project and experienced and drew somewhat different insights from the project.

Yuh-Yun Yen was from Taiwan and spoke Taiwanese and Chinese. At the time of the study she had worked on her two Ph.D.s for more than six years – one in Taiwan at National Chengchi University, and another at Ohio State University. In Taiwan she was both a full time educational administrator supervising teachers and part time English instructor for six years. She completed her Ph.D. in Foreign/Second Language Education at Ohio State University (2000) and is now an Assistant Professor in the Department of Foreign Languages at the National Chiayi University in Taiwan.

Francis Bangou was a French instructor from Guadeloupe and France who had a B. A. in Linguistics and a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics and Teaching French as a Foreign Language from the University of Bordeaux in France. He also received a Master's in French and Pedagogy from Kent State University in the U.S. and taught French for two years.

Carmen Chacon was an EFL teacher from Venezuela. She speaks Spanish and had a B. A. in Education majoring in English. She received a Master's Degree from Eastern Washington University in College Instruction: Teaching ESL. She has taught EFL both in high school and at the college level for around 16 years. Over the last eight years, she has been a teacher educator in the English teacher education program at the University of Los Andes in Tachira State, Venezuela.

Data

We collected three data sets: 1) audio tapes of student interviews, 2) videotapes of classes and a focus group meeting, and 3) the listserv messages (n=341). In this paper we will focus on 3 of the 15 questions from the student interviews, and listserv messages. (See Appendix A for the interview questions).

1. *Interviews*: Yuh-Yun, Francis and Carmen interviewed 24 students from the class. The doctoral student researchers were not "neutral" instruments, but were positioned within the interviews – as international students and non-native speakers of English – to draw more insights

from the students they interviewed through establishing a sense of common identity and solidarity as "in-group". Moreover, we believed that interviewees would feel more comfortable to speak with someone with whom they could identify to some degree. For the same reason before starting an interview, we wanted students to be aware that pseudonyms would be used when we referred to their responses. In this way they would feel more comfortable about speaking frankly about Shelley's class. The students selected their own pseudonyms.

2. *Focus Group Meeting:* We organized an informal dinner where we first presented our analysis from the interviews and then each interviewer gathered with his/her interviewees to ask if their perspectives had been reflected in our preliminary analysis. Participants were encouraged to change ideas they thought were not accurate or to add some additional thoughts about the issues raised by the questions.

3. *Listserv messages:* We had 341 messages and decided to code a sample of 120 for our initial analysis. To analyze the listserv interactions we first designed a coding chart, which we developed through discussion. We also counted the number of messages sent by each student and the instructor and recorded whether the messages were posted by: Non-native Speaker (NNS) or Native Speaker (NS),[2] Female (F) or Male (M).

Findings from the Interviews:

Through the interviews, Yuh-Yun, Francis and Carmen had the opportunity to interact face-to-face with individual students and get valuable information about the TESOL Program, as well as the T & L 703M class and the use of electronic mail. After they had interviewed their students individually, they met with Shelley and selected three questions from the interviews that they felt would generate the most feedback about how to improve the course and the use of electronic mail:

- Did you have any trouble understanding Dr. Wong's class?
- Did you find Dr. Wong's class to be more difficult than your other classes?
- Did you like using the listserv in class?

Although the questions may appear to be "leading" (Seidman, 1998), the researchers used their shared identities as international graduate students to establish rapport and to encourage interviewees to talk openly about their experiences in the class and in the program.

The following is a summary from student responses to the first question which was presented for member-checking at a Focus Group Meeting on April 14, 1999:

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[2] The Non-Native Speaker and Native Speaker categories proved problematic in the case of at least one of the students.

Summary of Responses from the Interviews
(Presented at the Focus Group Meeting on 4/14/99)

Question: Did you have any trouble understanding Dr. Wong's class?

Yes, I had trouble understanding Dr. Wong's class: 14 students

- I had trouble understanding the content (3)
- Too many readings (3)
- At the beginning it was difficult; afterward it was easier (3)
- The class was not well organized – time management & presentation of information (3)
- I needed more time to digest the concepts of the readings (3)
- Not enough direct teaching – more lectures (3)
- Adjustment to new (different) academic environment (first quarter) (2)
- Problems understanding American students in the class (2)
- She did not teach us anything. Class was only students' presentations (2)
- A lot of new concepts (1)
- I didn't know what the teacher's objectives were, where the class was going (1)
- The instructor should have provided us with some background knowledge (1)

No, I didn't have any trouble understanding Dr. Wong's class: 13 students

- No – one said not in speech but the class was not well organized (5)
- She has a good pronunciation (3)
- Study groups helped to understand –one said that she still had some problems (3)
- Understand better Chinese, Japanese teachers, they speak slower (1)
- No but had some problems to understand some students (1)

In response to the question, "Did you have any trouble understanding Dr. Wong's class?" 14 students said "Yes," and 13 said "No." (The total number of students interviewed was 24. Some answered both "yes" and "no" and were counted twice.) Examples of excerpts from transcriptions of interviews follow below:

- Yes. I didn't quite understand the reading. It is very theoretical and I don't have any linguistic background. In addition, I had listening comprehension problems when classmates were discussing because it was my first quarter. I would say what I learned from this class was through study group. We spent a lot of time in discussion.

- Yes. I didn't think she did teach us something. All the classes were students' presentations. Time wasn't controlled very well. The instructor didn't provide us with some background knowledge about basic Vygotsky theory and educational psychology. After midterm, she started to give us some basic background, but the explanation was lack of system and not very organized.

- Yes. I felt a little difficult to understand because Vygotsky's theory is very difficult and hard to understand.

- I think the course was organized on students' presentations and comments. We needed a lecture because we were trying to discover what to do. It was my first quarter. I hadn't studied Vygotsky before in my life.

The following are comments from students who answered both "Yes" and "No":

- Yes and no. Too fast and no time to digest the information.
- Not in speech. A lot of readings, material difficult, not direct teaching of difficult concepts and class was staged on these difficult concepts and we did not cover as much as I expected.

The answers we got from the 13 students who said "no" were brief and particularly centered on Shelley's pronunciation, tone of voice and pace of speech. The following are examples of the students who said that they did not have any trouble in understanding the class:

- No, she is comprehensible. We are international students and I had some problems understanding native students.
- No, I understand better Chinese, Japanese teachers because they speak slower.

The overwhelming majority of students (18/24) found Shelley's class to be more difficult than their other courses.

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Summary of Responses from the Interviews
(Presented at the Focus Group Meeting on 4/14/99)

Question: Did you find Dr. Wong's class more difficult than the other classes?

Yes, I found her class more difficult: (18 students)

- Struggled with the readings – too much, too difficult (7)
- Class was not well organized (2)
- Content was too difficult (2)
- Needed more time to discuss and ask questions (2)
- It was new for me (2)
- A lot of material to memorize for the midterm and final (1)
- Did not see the connection between the articles and how to relate to ESL teaching (1)
- We had to do more work than in the other classes (1)
- It was unclear (1)
- It was my first class in the program (1)
- I was behind in the beginning because I started after the quarter began (1)
- Didn't like quizzes – would have preferred papers (1)
- I didn't know how to prepare for quizzes (1)
- If Vygotsky were postponed, it would be easier (1)
- I felt intimated by Dr. Wong's conviction (1)

No, the class was not more difficult: (4 students)

- No – one said no if you did readings (3)
- Not more difficult but more voluminous, a lot of readings (1)

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In the interviews some of the students mentioned the following reasons why they felt Shelley's class was more difficult than their other courses:

- Yes, because it was very confusing. I did not see the connection among the articles and how to relate them to ESL teaching

- Yes. Because the reading is very difficult. We were expecting that Dr. Wong to give us some instructions but she didn't have time to do it. We were in such a hurry in each section. The time was never enough. We don't have much time to discuss and enough time for the presentation. I think we need more time to discuss and for the presentation.

- Yes, because it was not too organized; it wasn't clear at all, the instruction. It makes it more difficult for me. I felt intimidated by Dr. Wong's conviction. I felt I couldn't argue with her.

The students who did not have difficulties said:

- No difficulty if you did the readings.

- No. I learned a lot from her. I think her class is as difficult as the others. Everything is difficult for me.
- Actually no more difficult, but more voluminous compared with the other classes. The volume is greater than the other subjects.

By summarizing the students' responses to the two above questions, we were able to gain valuable insights into student perceptions of their learning experiences in the course. Students mentioned that their trouble in understanding the instructor and the content of the class was due mainly to the amount of readings and not familiarity with the topics addressed which seemed to be overwhelming and difficult to them. Moreover, they were entering the program and the T&L 703M course was one of the first requirements. They seemed to lack the necessary linguistic background to understand the theoretical issues aimed at in the readings. There were also some complaints about the class management and time devoted to lectures and discussions. Again, the difficulties mentioned are particularly focused on content, time management, amount of material to be covered, and lack of background, especially on Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory. However, according to some students, study groups helped them to develop a better understanding of the content.

Student Interview Opinions on the Use of the Listserv

Shelley encouraged the use of the listserv, but she did not require a specific number of postings per week. Almost all of the students (22/24) had positive comments about using the listserv. Twelve students said that they liked it because they could participate, discuss and send messages. For example an NNS reported, "Yes, it's very helpful. I have some problems in English. If it's in class I can't participate. But using listserv you can send your ideas to all people. There is no time or number of person limitation to participate in listserv." Moreover, six students liked it because they saw it as a source of information and a way to obtain responses to their questions. One student said, "Yes, it is very convenient and you can see the real world in screen. Also you can pose questions and get some responses from others."

Students also believed that the listserv was a good way to connect with classmates (4 students), and was convenient to discuss (4 students). Some students liked it because they didn't feel nervous using it (4 students) and they could print out messages as a reference to prepare for exams (4 students). As a student expressed, "Yes, because we didn't have time to discuss in class. Listserv built up another way to communicate with each other. Besides I felt unthreatening and comfortable in using listserv. I can print out the message and use it as a reference to prepare my exams." Three students liked it because the listserv was an excellent tool to practice reading and

writing. One student commented, "I could learn English through reading these e-mail messages, especially some American slangs and practiced my writing." Two students thought that the listserv helped them to participate in a large class. One student enjoyed helping people and being helped, while another liked to get "fresh up-to-date information." Finally, a student liked the listserv because she/he got help from the instructor: "I enjoyed reading what people wrote and discuss on the listserv. Besides Dr. Wong was really helping us on the listserv more than in class".

Not all students reported that they liked using the listserv in Shelley's course. Two students did not have a computer at home. As one expressed it, "I live in a dorm and I don't have a computer. Sometimes the discussion on the listserv is very confusing and I cannot spend much time on computer. It takes time to participate in discussions". Students who do not have computers at home have to use public sites. Utilizing a public site might be restrictive because either facilities may not be open at all hours or transportation to the facilities may be limited and it may be time consuming to travel to a public site.

One student was concerned with grammatical mistakes: "[B]ut the reason why I did not send many messages it is because of the writing was in English. It makes me more concerned about grammar and spelling when I use it." Three students reported that they did not like using the listserv because they received too many messages. One commented, "If I have questions I can get responses from classmates. But I don't want to get so much information. I got everything even if I didn't like it."

In summary, a majority of students reported that they liked using the listserv because it enabled them to communicate. Through the medium of the listserv, as Francis characterized it, "One's face was more protected than in class." At the same time, at least one student expressed apprehension about making grammatical mistakes on the listserv. It is also important to highlight that one of the reasons why a few students did not like to use the listserv is because they did not have access to a computer. Who has access is an important factor to consider when we think about the issue of equity.

Preliminary E-mail Message Analysis

For our preliminary analysis, we analyzed 120 e-mail messages (about one third of the total number of messages (n=341)). We developed a coding scheme to categorize the messages posted to the listserv from the students (S) and the instructor (T), selecting the following categories:

> **CM:** Class Management (time, activities, scheduling)
> **QR:** Questions about Readings
> **RTC:** Reactions/opinions about Topics raised in Class

NRC: Not directly Related to Class (e.g., jokes, stories)
QIP: Quiz Information and Preparation
TI: Technical Issues (e-mail, listserv)
MI: Miscellaneous
NNS: Nonnative Speaker; **NS:** Native Speaker
F: Female; **M:** Male

Table 1 is the analysis of the percentage of e-mail messages that were sent out by the instructor and students, coded by categories. (See Table 1 below):

Table 1: percentage of E-mail Messages Coded by Categories

E-mail #	NNS NS	F M	Class Mgmt. CM	Ques. Readings QR	Reaction to Topics & Class RTC	Not directly related to class NRC	Quiz Info & Prep QIP	Tech.nical Issues TI	Misc. M
S: 81%	NNS: 13% NS: 68%	F: 75% M: 6%	13%	9%	25%	8%	10%	3%	8%
T: 19%	NS: 19%	F: 19%	4%	0%	5%	4%	1%	1%	8%
Total: 100%	NNS: 13% NS: 87%	F: 94% M: 6%	17%	9%	30%	12%	11%	4%	17%

From Table 1, we can see that students used the list serv to post messages about class readings (QR=9%) and in preparation for class quizzes (QIP=10%). Most of the student messages (coded "RTC") were reactions or opinions about topics raised in class (25%). Electronic mail enabled students to post handouts for their classmates to read before or as a follow up to their presentations. They were also able to clarify points they had made in their presentations when they didn't have enough time in class. A Korean student who made a presentation on poverty posted:

> I'm sorry that we don't have enough time to make smooth conclusions and do activity. Let me write down my own conclusion: First, teacher should know every children has his/her wise hearts in their inside. Because they all innocence. Second, teacher should know and think positive thoughts. Do not give up and do not ignore/neglect hopes. Third, teacher should let children (live in rich districts) know another world through lesson plans naturally and let them help other poor children voluntarily. Fourth, teacher should let children (live in poor districts) know that poverty is just inconvenient not embarrassing, let them get out bad situations through education. Fifth, teacher must be an advocator by standing for poor children and let them give and have a power and a voice. Finally, I'd like to tell you a lyrics, even if I don't know who wrote this lyrics: "I believe that children are our future, teach them well let them lead a way, show them all the beauty they possess inside. Give them a sense of pride to make it easier, let the children's laughter remind us how we used to be."

> In article 16, by copying this sentence, I'll finish my conclusion: "For children or next generations, we are the only one who can guarantee what you will do about both equity and excellence in our own classroom." I believe that it depends on our hands.

The message also included a list of books by Jonathan Kozol and the invitation to stay after the following class for an activity on poverty. At the next session a group of 10 or 12 students stayed after class to discuss examples from their countries. After the session another student posted a message to the listserv for those who couldn't attend the extra session:

> In Japan, we fortunately cannot find very serious poverty. All students can get textbooks and foods at their schools. However, many researchers, educators and others have criticized "mental poverty" in Japanese students. We introduced 'bullying' as one of the serious problems in many schools. There are some students who are not accepted by others because they are different from them. You can be bullied because your hair is a little bit curled, because you don't wear NIKE shoes, because your parents are divorced …because you are DIFFERENT. You can be bullied with any tiny reason.

Students used the listserv to discuss their predictions of questions likely to be included in the quizzes – 10% of the student postings (coded "QIP") concerned quiz information and preparation. For example, one student wrote, "I had a few questions about the quiz on Monday… Is the quiz only going to cover the material on the hand-out…?" Questions about class readings (coded QR) comprised 9% of the student messages. An example posted by a student from Taiwan follows:

> Hi there
>
> When I finished the article, "Learning a Language from Learners" (Wong-Fillmore, 1993) I found that the author keeps using the term **standard variety of English.** I start to think about what does the term mean? If someone says to me that I lack of standard variety of English, does it imply I lack grammatical skills or simply I use too much formulaic phrases? What is the definition of standardized English? Originally, English is from England. So, can we say that British English is more standardized than American English? And does the pronunciation involve in standardized English?

The question generated postings from both the instructor and students. A NNS replied:

> Hello, SLAMLISTers,
>
> In Russia, we do have the Standard Russian. It is not the language of the power (unfortunately, some of our government officials are not very "friendly" with the Standard Russian).
>
> Standard Russian is the language of educated people. It is the language that follow basic phonetical, grammar, and stylistic rules. The language that is spoken in St. Petersburg and Moscow is said to be Standard Russian. The more correctly one speaks, the more educated he or she is considered to be. Of course, we code-switch, and use different kinds of talks, but mostly in informal interactions. People usually try to learn Standard Russian which is taught in school to speak correctly.

We also have local dialects; though it is mostly the matter of pronunciation, and "special local lexis". The closer to Moscow or St. Petersburg people live, the more standard they speak.

Postings concerning class management (coded CM) comprised 13% of the preliminary analysis. An example in this category was: "We will need a VCR for our presentation on November 30th. Can you arrange for that?" The following is an excerpt from a posting not directly related to class (coded NRC). The message is a long sentimental narrative about a teacher, Mrs. Thompson, who recognizes potential in Teddy, a boy who has messy clothes and who needs a bath. The child returns many years later to the teacher as Dr. Stoddard:

> They hugged each other, and Dr. Stoddard whispered in Mrs. Thompson's ear, "Thank you Mrs. Thompson for believing in me. Thank you so much for making me feel important and showing me that I could make a difference." Mrs. Thompson, with tears in her eyes, whispered back. She said, "Teddy, you have it all wrong. You were the one who taught me that I could make a difference. I didn't know how to teach until I met you.

The student who posted the message was a nonnative English speaker from Turkey who was not very vocal in class. His posting prompted more than one response, from the instructor as well as more than one student. An example from a classmate from Taiwan follows:

> Hi! all.
> Did you read this story?? You have to read this story!! After I read this story, I almost cry!! In this story, I see what is education and what we (the teacher) can do !! I love this story very much!! I want to ask X, where do you get this story??
>
> I think Mrs. Thompson in this story is the model for every teacher. when I was a teacher in Taiwan, I had to be honest, sometimes, I don't like my students. Some of my students are trouble makers and they always couldn't do well in the class. At that time I didn't know what I could do for them. I tried to help them and understand them. However, I still couldn't help them. I didn't know why. I think that's one of the reasons I study here. Besides, I am very concerned about the students' psychological development.
>
> I really want to learn more about educational psychology. Does OSU have this kind more information??
>
> If anyone know where I can get more information about educational psychology, please let me know!!! Thanks a lot!! Finally, READ THIS STORY!!! :)

NNS and NS both entered and created a new professional discourse community through their listserv discussion. The listserv was a way of discussing the significance of readings for TESOL within various social and cultural contexts. In posting a message about "mental poverty", the Japanese student was both contributing to and transforming the curriculum to address the way students are constructed as "different" through the practice of "bullying" among school children.

The listserv provided a medium for students to amplify, refine and extend their perspectives in between classes.

Participation in the Listserv: Nonnative and Native Speakers

Sorting the total number of email messages (n=341) into the three groups – the teacher (T), the Nonnative Students (NNS) and the Native Students (NS) – each contributed approximately one third of the postings. See Table 2 below:

Table 2: Total Number of E-mail Messages and Percentage

NS/NNS	Number of E-mail Messages and Percentage
NNSs	102 (30%)
NSs	123 (36%)
T	99 (29%)
Others	17 (5%)
Total	341 (100%)

NS/NNS: Native Speaker/ Nonnative Speaker
NNSs: Nonnative Speaker Student
NSs: Native Speaker Student
T: Teacher
Others: Error messages, technical postings from non listserv members.

Nonnative speaker students (n=25) who comprised 66% of the class posted a total of 102 email messages, or 45% of the student messages. Native speaker students (n=13) who comprised 34% of the class, posted 123 messages or 55% of the student messages. See Table 3 below:

Table 3: NS/NNS Student E-mail Messages by Number and Percentage

NS/NNS	Subjects and Percentage	E-mail Message Numbers and Percentage
NNS	25 (66%)	102 (45%)
NS	13 (34%)	123 (55%)
Total	38 (100%)	225 (100%)

A count of the messages posted on the listserv by each student in the class (n=38) revealed a range of participation, from one student who posted 44 messages to four students who never posted a message. Again, we want to state that Shelley encouraged the use of the listserv but never required a specific number of postings, nor assigned grades based on frequency of postings. Native speaker (NS) participation on the listserv ranged from 44 postings to 0. The two most active participants on the listserv were both NS, with 44 and 33 postings. Their combined number of postings (77) comprised 34% of the total number of student email messages (225).

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If these two students had taken 34% of the total number of student turns during the class, we might characterize their participation as "monopolizing" the floor. In "real" time communication (or radio or TV programming), participation of one interlocutor takes away time from another interlocutor. So if a classmate, whether native speaker or nonnative speaker, takes too many turns, s/he deprives others of the opportunity to speak. However, the listserv is a different medium of interaction. Posting a message electronically doesn't deprive other students on a listserv from the opportunity to post. In fact, a posting can invite or encourage others to respond. The student who posted the most messages (n=44) we would characterize as a "class leader" because of her ability to facilitate interaction with her classmates on the listserv. She was able to both answer questions based on her knowledge of the field as a seasoned second foreign language teacher and to pose questions, thereby encouraging others to participate and to share their perspectives. When as part of the class evaluation Shelley asked students to identify students in the class who, through the study groups or the listserv, had contributed most to their learning, the student who had posted the most messages was mentioned repeatedly.

The overwhelming majority, 22 out of 25, of the nonnative speakers (NNS) posted at least one e-mail message themselves and availed themselves of the opportunity to interact with their instructor and classmates through the listserv. The large number of participants showed to us that despite obstacles, nonnative speaker students successfully increased their participation outside of class through the listserv. Of the top 12 ranking students who sent out the most e-mail messages, NNS occupied 7 out of 12. They also emerged as class leaders, asserting their professional identities through a rich, multi-voiced, multi-functional, heteroglossic (Bakhtin, 1981) range of postings. Students from around the world were able to contribute to discussions of second language acquisition and to redefine and extend the problems (i.e., "mental" poverty and bullying) with respect to their own cultural context.

Reflections on the Collaborative Research Project

Collaborative research enabled Shelley to gain valuable insights into how her students experienced not only her SLA course, but how they saw it in relation to their other courses and how they experienced the MA program. As Carmen explained:

> This project provided meaningful feedback to the teacher as a reflective practitioner and decision-maker. The dialogic approach we used in our methodology allowed us and the participants to engage in a friendly conversation as peers, rather than assuming the traditional roles of researcher and subject. In my case, my first

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concern was to establish a friendly atmosphere and a comfortable rapport with the students so that we could talk at ease.

Through the one-on-one interviews and later, leading the focus groups to present analysis and conduct "member checking," the researchers in this project drew from their multiple social and professional identities – as experienced language teachers and teacher educators, as women, as a man, as TESOL/Foreign language professionals who have lived and studied or worked in more than one country, as bilingual researchers, as hybrid or Creole or "mixed" multiple identities, as Asian, as Taiwanese, as Venezuelan, as Latina, as a mother, and other dimensions of their lives.

Because the largest group of international students was from Taiwan, and one of the researchers, Yuh-Yun, was from Taiwan, ethnicity was an important theme throughout the project. It was also an interesting point of departure for "dialogic" research methods in which it is acknowledged that each research participant brings different valuable resources. For example, we encouraged Yuh-Yun to utilize Chinese in interviews or to code switch with the aim of establishing rapport with the subjects and utilizing her "insider" knowledge to ask questions. Yuh-Yun's ethnic, linguistic cultural heritage played an important role in "reading" and interpreting Chinese student prior educational experiences and expectations.

Cross-cultural communication does not always proceed smoothly. Students expressed many frank and critical opinions about Shelley's teaching. Yuh-Yun had been a supervisor of teachers in Taiwan, responsible for observing teachers in 60 schools a year. Some of her comments struck Shelley as highly opinionated and normative (i.e., "You should forget what you did in the past and begin a fresh – like a new baby.") Shelley was a fifth-generation Chinese American, who first began her career in TESOL under the apprenticeship of Chinese colleagues in Hong Kong. As an American (with a 60s, Santa Cruz, California communicative style) Shelley remembers she found her Chinese colleagues propensity to use the model "should" somewhat overbearing. But she has learned through the years that Chinese express concern for those they care about, by giving advice. Use of the model "should" is an example of "cross-talk" which occurs in different conversational styles of men and women and various ethnic groups (Tannen, 1986; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Young, 1994). Francis pointed out the value of cross-cultural communication in the project:

> Working with people from different backgrounds and cultures enabled me to have multiple perspectives on different issues raised throughout the study. Therefore, I could notice facts that I would not have been able to see if I was by myself. Working with international students was also very beneficial for me. Indeed, being myself an international student, I could identify with some of the problems that

participants highlighted. I realized that I was not the only one to go through some confusing experiences.

Another valuable quality of our collaboration was the diversity of professional and academic experiences we brought to the research project. Yuh-Yun, Carmen and Francis all were experienced teachers. Collaborative research provided Shelley with support from other teachers who respected her as a teacher and as a change agent. This gave her more confidence to take a transformative stance towards her teaching. For example, Francis' criticisms of Western "stage" approaches to knowledge (in which the SLA course is "theoretical" and methods courses are "practical") encouraged her to decide to integrate a more experiential approach the following year.

At the focus group meeting conducted a few months after the fall course, Shelley presented to her former students the lessons she had learned from the interviews and how she would change the SLA course the following year.

- Fewer readings: She decided to have fewer readings the following year. There would be more "advanced organizers", explanations of why a reading was selected, and study questions.

- Better balance between theory and practice: She would strive to create a better balance between student presentations and teacher directed lectures. Shelley would lecture more, particularly on the more difficult Vygotkian concepts such as private speech, mediation, activity theory (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995). All presentations should be more experiential to address the connection between the theory and practice of second/foreign language teaching and learning. It was also important to draw from knowledge from all over the world, not only from the West and Europe. There should be many more connections to language teaching in EFL contexts and language teaching issues and problems in the various countries where students plan to work.

- Orientation to a new culture studying in an English speaking environment: Because the course is the first course in a program in which the majority of the students are international students, it should include cultural adjustment, and experiential language learning activities and field trips on the campus, in the community and in public schools. Course assignments such as linguistic biographies or journals would encourage students to reflect on their own experiences as language learners or teachers.

- Use of technology: Shelley decided to try a threaded discussion instead of a listserv the following year.[3] This technology enables students to post a message which appears connected or "threaded" to other messages on the screen. Similar to a web chat, discussions that appear on the screen are threaded together by topic.

Shelley's presentation to the students at the focus group was received positively by the MA students. As Carmen said,

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[3] My appreciation to Merry Merryfield at OSU who has introduced me to threaded discussion by sharing her web page from her course T & L 878 on global perspectives in education.

The students could see how their insights, "voice" would help their professor to re-adjust her course syllabi as well as class planning and management for the future. I strongly believe that if we as teacher educators encourage this kind of action-research based on our daily pedagogical practices, we not only improve our teaching, but we also grow as persons and become more reflective about the instructional process. Most important of all, we take into account the students' voices by giving them the opportunity to express their feelings and concerns about the problems they face in their learning process.

Through social practice, collaborative research forges a community of researchers. As Yuh Yun said,

> Dewey says, "Learning by doing." This was quite true in my experience of learning to conduct research with others. Although I learned how to do qualitative research when I took qualitative research methodology classes, I didn't have rich data for developing some themes and coding. I also learned the concept of action research, but never had a chance to do an action research project. I had learned the concept of Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (ZPD), yet never thought of how to implement it in a real class. Through this research project, I had an opportunity to practice by doing data analysis, member checking, conducting a focus group, triangulation.

Our dialogue also supported reflection because it provided us with the confidence to theorize, to speculate and to generate alternatives. As Francis put it:

> As a first year doctoral student, working on this study was very enriching. First, it served as a stepping-stone to become a part of an academic community. Indeed, throughout these last couple of months I became more familiar with a professional discourse, and uses that I was not as familiar with in the beginning of the academic year. Although Shelley, Carmen and Yuh-Yun had more experience, they always valued and respected my opinion. This fact had a big impact on the construction of my identity as a young researcher.

Collaboration enabled us to accomplish collectively what we would not have been able to do alone. However, it was only a modest beginning towards answering our research question: How can electronic mail be used as a tool (Vygotsky, 1978) to facilitate participation of student voices? In our study both NNS and NS students asserted their professional identities and emerged as "class leaders" through electronic communication. In the future we would like to take a closer look at how electronic postings reflected heteroglossic and multiple dimensions of "professional expertise, affiliation and inheritance" (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997) and at how NNS and NS teachers and prospective teachers both appropriated and transformed western academic and professional discourse.

Appendix: Personal Data and Interview Questions

I. Personal Data and Educational Background

Name (pseudonym)_____

Country _____Age_____L1_____

Other language(s) spoken _____

Major _____Minor _____

University _____

Which of the following did you study in your career?

Linguistics _____Women's studies _____Psychology_____

Ethnic studies_____Anthropology_____Philosophy _____

Western Civilization _____Europe, Latin American Literature_____

African Civilization _____

Teaching experience Yes _____No _____

Level _____

How long_____Where _____

Institution _____

II. Professional Background
1. Why did you decide to be an EFL teacher?
2. Did you attend a teacher college program?
3. Were your professors native speakers of English?
4. What language is used in schools in your country?
5. Is this your first quarter in OSU?
6. Are you satisfied with your program (at OSU) so far? Explain.

III. About your 703 class
1. Did you have any trouble understanding Dr. Wong's Class?
2. Did you find her class more difficult than the others? Why?
3. Have you ever had any problem participating in a class?
4. Have you ever felt like "an outsider," excluded or marginalized here in Columbus, OSU, or in class? Explain.
5. Have you developed any strategies to cope with this situation?

IV. About the list service
1. Have you ever used a list service before? In what context?
2. Did you have any problem using the listserv in the class? Why?
3. Did you like using the listserv in class?
4. How often did you use it?
5. If it were not a requirement would you have used it?

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Preparing Second Language Teachers
for Low Incidence Situations

Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir

This paper serves as an installment in an ongoing effort to broaden the national discussion on second language teacher education to include the challenges of teaching in low incidence situations. Below is a report of measures to align the master's level program in Teaching English as a Second Language at Notre Dame College in Manchester, New Hampshire, with the current philosophical developments in educating second language students as well as to address the specific needs of itinerant second language teachers in rural areas of Northern New England. Using an adaptation of the Professional Development School Model (The Holmes Group, 1986; Levine, 1992), the program teams together student-teachers, cooperating teachers, and college faculty in solving problems specific to rural or low incidence second language teaching by identifying particular classroom, school, or district-wide challenges, and creating and implementing solutions to those challenges. The revised TESOL program thus provides professional support and networking opportunities for isolated teachers in rural areas while giving classroom experiences to student-teachers that better reflect the real-life contexts in which they will find themselves upon graduation.

The field of Teaching English as a Second Language continues to branch off into different specialties. Until the mid-eighties, most teacher education programs concentrated on language teaching, or the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. The coursework consisted predominantly of linguistics and methods courses as the pursuit of the 'best method' dominated ESL research. Many masters' programs, situated in language or linguistics departments rather than education departments, did not require a teaching practicum. Today, however, a clear distinction is made between EFL (to name one sub-field) and what is now more appropriately termed second language education, or educating English language learners (ELLs). Rather than English language learning, second language education is "academic, cognitive and social as well as linguistic" (Genesee, 1994, p. 2). Approaches to instructional practices have thus expanded from the culture- and linguistics-based model of teaching English as a second language to a more holistic approach on how to successfully educate bilingual children as they are becoming proficient in the target language (Genesee, 1994). Additionally, the dismal reports of the failure of traditional pull-out methods of teaching ESL (Collier, 1995) hit home especially in rural areas where the pull-out model is the educational model of choice for second language students.

As a result of the shift in educational philosophy, the relevance of the traditional combination of linguistics and methods courses in teacher education programs has been called into question, and as a consequence, the field has seen a renewed and revitalized discussion on appropriate practices in second language teacher development (Lange, 1990). The changes coincide with a philosophical shift in mainstream teacher education in the wake of the conclusions of the Holmes Group (1986). The Holmes Report called for the establishment of Professional Development Schools (Walters, 1998; Levine, 1998; Anderson, 1997), which are school-based as opposed to University-based, involve practicing teachers, and develop life-long learners. Efforts have been made to create a theoretical and conceptual framework for second language teacher preparation away from teacher "training" models to teacher development based on constructivist and experiential learning models. Finally, there has been a call for a more prominent role for teachers and their knowledge and practices in the development of theories of teaching and teacher preparation (Freeman, 1998; Freeman and Richards, 1996, 1993; Nunan, 1991; Richards, 1998, 1990; Richards and Nunan, 1990; Tollefson, 1995). Clair and Adger (1999) synthesized the research findings on promising professional development for second language teachers. They describe the specific knowledge and attitudes that today's second language teachers must have. This includes an understanding of bilingualism; language proficiency; the socio-cultural context of learning; attitudes about race, culture and language; the connection between the development of content knowledge and language and cognitive development (p. 1).

However, the important re-examination of second language teacher development has yet to include the challenges faced by itinerant second language teachers in low incidence situations. In a low incidence situation, the second language teacher's role extends outside the classroom and outside the school. In the rural classroom, the itinerant teacher must juggle multiple individual educational plans for multilevel small group and tutoring situations. Although there is clearly an overlap, the duties of the itinerant second language teacher differ in important ways from the ones carried out by the classroom teacher (Carnuccio et al., 2000; Arnbjörnsdóttir et al., 1999; Arnbjörnsdóttir, Coakley, & Higginbotham, 1996; Arnbjörnsdóttir, 1998).

What is a Low-Incidence Situation?

More and more school districts that previously had no second language students are seeing an influx of students who need English language services. In 1996-97 there were approximately 3,405,915 second language students in the United States, or 8% of the total student population. This was about a 7% increase from the year before. Six states reported that their second language

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population was larger than 11% of the general school populations with California, New Mexico, and Alaska reporting 22-26% second language learners. On the other hand, thirty-six states reported 5% or fewer second language students (NCBE Survey 1998). A low incidence of second language students is not limited to those states as even in states with high numbers, there are school districts with a low concentration of students for whom English is a second language.

Among low incidence states that have seen an increase in students requiring English educational assistance are the Northern New England states. In 1992, 1135 LEP students were reported in New Hampshire with about a third more estimated to have gone unreported (NNETESOL, 1993, p. 2). This was an 85% increase from the two previous years. By 1998, the number in New Hampshire had risen to 2,258 (Federal LEP Identification Survey, 1998). Consequently, small towns and rural communities in New Hampshire are providing ESL services for a handful of students, from one to several dozen to a school or district. Second language teachers in rural districts are increasingly finding themselves in roles that go beyond the classroom, serving as advocates, consultants, liaisons, and program directors. In addition, they must prepare individual curricula for students with diverse educational, cultural, economic, and linguistic backgrounds at different ages and literacy levels. In the best of situations, there is one certified ESL teacher who provides services to students in up to five schools. These teachers find themselves in low-incidence situations, contexts for which traditional second language teacher education programs do not prepare them (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 1998).

The Characteristics of Teaching in a Low Incidence Context

In response to a growing concern that the TESL Program at Notre Dame College in Manchester, New Hampshire was not adequately meeting the needs of its pre-service teachers, the author conducted a survey in 1996 among second language teachers in New Hampshire. Surveys were sent to educators who were on the TESL Program's mailing list for professional development workshops and included the majority of teachers involved in ESL teaching in New Hampshire, seventy-two in all. The goal of the survey was to define the specific characteristics of teaching second language students in low incidence situations, and determine how second language teachers are prepared to meet the challenges (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 1998). The thirty-one anonymous surveys contained responses to eighteen questions ranging from elicitation of statistical data about the number of students, schools, and districts served; information about the role of the teacher and their day to day activities, to conceptual questions about the ideal program, working conditions, and collaborations with other faculty and administrators. Thirty of the respondents were teachers or

tutors at the K-12 level. Twenty-five of those had either a Masters degree and/or certification in ESL. Below is a broad outline of the important issues that emerged from the survey results.

Second language teachers in New Hampshire have from 1 to 65 students in from 1 to 5 schools - the average being 2.3 schools served by one teacher. They also:

- teach at up to three school levels with multiple ages, linguistic backgrounds, literacy and educational levels in pull-out programs.
- are discouraged about the pull-out model, and find it difficult to implement an inclusionary content-based model due to lack of collaboration with mainstream teachers.
- work in isolation without professional support and little understanding or efforts to collaborate by mainstream teachers and administrators whom they rated low on knowledge and understanding of second language education.
- have no time to create new curricula or modify existing curricula to meet the needs of diverse student populations (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 1998).

About half of the teachers rated their teacher preparation as adequate for teaching ESL, while claiming that it lacked a connection to "real-life" situations, lacked preparation for working in the pull-out model and creating multiple individual curricula, or effective ways to collaborate with colleagues and advocate for their students.

Revising the TESOL Program

Based on the philosophical changes in the field of second language teacher development outlined above and informal input by its graduates, supported by the results of the survey, the Notre Dame College TESOL Program was revised to better meet the needs of its traditional clientele. They are, for the most part, teachers and students working toward professional certification to teach second language students in public K-12 schools in New Hampshire. The revisions also included strengthening the program's role in providing meaningful opportunities for life-long learning once pre-service development was completed by encouraging and assisting second language teachers to become actively involved in addressing their professional challenges through action research. This was a shift from the short, haphazard workshops previously offered ongoing professional development seen as an extension of professional preparation. Two main goals were identified and emphasized for the new, revised program. It would provide:

- "real-life" development opportunities for student-teachers who will go on to teach in low incidence situations.
- meaningful ongoing professional support and development for isolated low incidence second language teachers.

The first meant taking a look at the existing course work and determining what needed to be revised, added and omitted. The second required rethinking how the program provided professional support and professional development to its alumni and others working with linguistic minorities in New Hampshire. This revision was completed in three phases outlined below.

The Masters program in Teaching English as a Second Language at Notre Dame College in New Hampshire was established in 1987 through a Title VII grant. The thirty-six credit program contained the traditional fare of courses with a heavy emphasis on methodology (2 courses) and linguistics (2 courses). There were also courses on second language acquisition, curriculum and assessment, and multicultural education. Students took a course on reading, a research course, and two electives in any area of education. There was also a short, 100 hour practicum. The practicum was always problematic as there has been a critical shortage of second language teachers in New Hampshire from the inception of the program, so many of the students were completing their practicum on the job. For new teachers there was a dearth of appropriate practicum sites and qualified cooperating teachers. Student-teachers thus ranged from seasoned teachers to complete novices. Some were ESL coordinators (and the only teacher) for whole districts. Few had an opportunity to work closely in a classroom with a cooperating teacher. Each practicum was therefore individually designed, but needed more definition and structure to provide students with real opportunities to reflect on their professional practices. Graduates of the program received a Masters in Education with certification to teach ESL K-12.

The program clearly wasn't meeting the requirements of the graduates' educational settings, and the literature on second language teaching represented in the program's curriculum, for the most part, ignored low incidence teaching. Therefore, in 1998, the program was revised to better reflect actual practices. In the first phase, the two linguistics courses, *Phonetics and Phonology*, and *Syntax and Semantics* were combined into one course that focused on the application of linguistic knowledge to teaching. An historical overview course on teaching methods was dropped altogether and replaced by a course on the social contexts of second language learning and teaching. The other methods course was refocused on the development of language through content and literacy with a short overview of other methods and approaches.

The revisions in the second and third phases were guided by two overreaching principles;

1. to increase collaborations between student-teachers, practicing teachers, and college faculty and
2. that school practices would inform course work and vice versa.

This was accomplished by:

- combining pre and in-service teacher development;
- establishing partnerships among faculty, teachers, student-teachers and mainstream teachers to provide professional support, collegiality, and to educate student-teachers, and provide ongoing professional development to second language teachers and mainstream teachers wherever possible;
- using action research in the classroom to identify issues specific to a second language student, classroom, school or district and to provide solutions to those issues.

This second phase of the revisions involved restructuring the TESL program to allow for more integration of the course work. A new required sequence of course offerings was introduced. Students take *Curriculum and Assessment I* and *Second Language Acquisition* together in the fall semester, and *Curriculum and Assessment II* and the *Clinical Experience* in the spring. A three-part *Action Research* course replaced a traditional research course and was integrated with and ran parallel to the new sequence of fall and spring courses. The new sequence allows TESOL students to study the theoretical underpinnings of second language acquisition and curriculum development while at the same time observing second language students at their practicum sites and identifying issues they would work on. During the observation period, students receive guidelines and observation sheets, so that they may focus their attention on specific classroom activities including teacher talk, student participation, questioning behaviors, and use of classroom space. The student-teachers are encouraged to observe as many classes as they can and not limit the observations to second language classrooms.

The college supervisor, cooperating teacher, the *Curriculum and Assessment II* professor, and the student-teacher form a school-based professional development team. In situations where the student-teacher was completing the practicum on the job, another seasoned teacher from the district or even, in one case, from another district becomes the mentor teacher. The team guides the student in pursuing an action research project, a curriculum development project, or another relevant project that is based on a pedagogical need in the co-operating teacher's or the student's own classroom, school or district which was identified during observations the previous semester. The project could focus on any area of second language learning or teaching observed, or on recommendations by the cooperating teacher.

The project is then developed in the *Curriculum and Assessment I* and *II* courses and implemented during the *Clinical Experience*. This integration constituted the third phase of the program revisions. The 240 hour student teaching experience required keeping a learning log and approximately 10 hours of attendance at seminars and meetings with the team. Cooperating teachers and college supervisors were also asked to keep diaries and were asked to attend one

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session at the College to discuss their role on the team. Additionally, the team works together to provide the student-teacher with the broadest possible practical experience which includes all aspects of low incidence teaching. This includes administering tests, collaborating with mainstream teachers, administrators and parents.

Below is a chronological description of this process:

1. Students are enrolled in two theoretical courses: Second Language Acquisition and Curriculum and Assessment I. Also during the fall semester, a practicum site is identified and a professional team is created: The team includes the student-teacher, a cooperating teacher, college supervisor, and another educator depending on the project. Team members have one training session where they are introduced to the program and given explanations of its purpose and their roles on the team.

2. The team decides to work on a classroom issue that has been identified by the cooperating teacher or the student-teacher through an action research related observation, supported by research conducted in the two fall courses.

3. Members of the team work together to identify possible solutions.

4. The curriculum is developed and tested by the student-teacher with feedback from the professor and students in the *Curriculum Assessment II* course.

5. The curriculum is implemented in the *Clinical Experience* observed by the college supervisor, who provides feedback about its implementation.

6. Once completed, a copy of the curriculum is left with the cooperating teacher.

The benefits of the revised model are the following:

The student-teacher benefits from:
- teaching and working in a real classroom situation
- creating real curricula
- working in a professional team
- doing action research

Collaborating second language teacher gains:
- release time for professional growth
- an effective curriculum
- experience and support from working in a professional team
- staff development hours

Collaborating faculty (college supervisors) benefit from:
- working in a school setting with real issues
- action research (Based on Anderson, 1997).

For Masters candidates the program culminates in a capstone project that includes the action research component, the curriculum unit or other solutions to identified issues, and ways to disseminate the results either through printed materials or workshops. The intent is to encourage graduates to share their findings with others and stimulate ongoing classroom research and collaborations among all educators.

The Students, the Clinical Sites, the Projects

The seven student-teachers in the first group were all non-traditional in age and most had some background or experience in education. One student was a licensed school counselor. Three were already certified to teach elementary education, and at least three had experience teaching ESL or EFL. Their clinical sites ranged from their own work-place to a more traditional student-teaching situation; from rural schools with pull-out programs to urban schools with multi-aged, multi-leveled, multilingual, self-contained classes.

The requirement for *Curriculum and Assessment II* was that each student complete a literature survey which entailed locating, reading, and reporting on 3-5 articles relating to one aspect of their clinical experience. This was in addition to the course textbook. There were four interim projects which included excerpting small parts of the overall curriculum plan to be implemented in the clinical setting, as a warm-up for full-time teaching. These were two lesson plans to be tested in February and two lessons to be tested in March under the supervision of the college supervisor. Each lesson plan had to specify which ESL Standards and which goals from the New Hampshire Curriculum Frameworks were being met. The lessons were presented to the students and professor in the *Curriculum and Assessment II* course for feedback prior to implementation in the classroom. The students then tested their lessons in their classes which were observed by the college supervisor. The final project was a revised version of the curriculum plan, modified to reflect the realities of the clinical situation. Students documented the process of implementation, reflection and revision as they proceeded throughout the semester. This process was designed so that students would receive feedback from the team at all levels of the development and implementation of their projects.

Among the action research projects the teams worked on were:

- An elementary language arts program for a self-contained ESL classroom with students of diverse literacy levels.
- A literacy curriculum for middle school low literacy SL students focusing on reading strategies.

- A math curriculum for a self-contained 3rd and 4th grade ESL class.
- A curriculum that develops higher order academic and literacy skills for a high school pullout group.
- An economics curriculum for low literacy/low English proficient high school students.
- A program on effective ways to teach literature to second language students.
- A program to encourage reading for a 2nd-3rd grade pullout group through a "Book Club."

In addition to the regular daily cooperation, the cooperating teacher completed three formal observations using standardized forms from the College.

Evaluation After the First Year

The first cohort group has completed the revised program. The integration of the *Clinical Experience* and the *Curriculum and Assessment* courses met its goals in that all teams identified challenges, all student-teachers created curricula that were tested and critiqued, and a copy was left for the cooperating teacher to use with his/her students.

The following evaluation is based on the diaries of the first group of student-teachers. They were asked to set aside time each day to document their thoughts about the day's activities. At the end of their clinical experience, students brought their journals to a final seminar where they answered a lengthy questionnaire about their experiences based on their entries. The questionnaire included 35 essay type questions under the following subheadings: "Your Development as a Teacher," "The Team," "Teaching and Curriculum," "The Classroom Environment," and "Professional Issues." The results reported here are mainly based on answers to questions within "Teaching and Curriculum" "The Team" and "Professional Issues". Additionally, informal commentary by the two college supervisors (the author was one) was used. The cooperating teachers did not keep journals (although that was one of the requirements) and their perspective is thus largely excluded from this discussion (See further discussion below).

Choice, Development and Implementations of Curricula

The first questions centered on the choice, development and implementation of the curriculum projects, and how the team approach aided the students in this process. As expected, the student-teachers were generally guided in their choice of curriculum projects through discussions with the cooperating teacher or through their observations of their own or the cooperating teacher's students.

A student-teacher in a high school low literacy/intermediate English level described how she selected a project that would be more appropriate to the educational level of her cooperating teacher's students by replacing a textbook with a curriculum that was more experiential and meaningful. She states:

> [The cooperating teacher] and I selected the curriculum based on her experience and goals – ESL 3 had an Economics book, but [in stead of using it], we focused on what the students were looking at for next year, as well as their "gaps". We tried to make the lessons focus on survival/life skills as opposed to academic economics. I think [the cooperating teacher] and I were very compatible and in sync with each other – we were looking at the needs of the students in terms of day to day function-focus on enhancing their ability to communicate in English – Consumer Economics.

Another student-teacher, who worked as a tutor in a pull-out program at the elementary level, observed a lack of motivation to read among her second language students who were at different grade levels. She created a "Book Club" to encourage them to read more by letting the students choose which books they read and then developing their comprehension through interactive literacy activities. She wrote the following in her diary based on her observations before the student teaching experience:

> J is speaking Spanish now. I think a light bulb went on. He seems to be learning English also. All of a sudden he is retaining what he is learning. His reading consists of looking at pictures. A still is not speaking. I'm not sure if she understands English. She seems to know the alphabet. F seems to have lost his motivation. Could it be his age – 13? He acts like a junior high student. He does not want to read "Early Success" books. L refuses to read. How can I get her to read? Hopefully the Book Club will give her motivation. L and A want only to draw, not read.

This quote illustrates the diversity of children's needs in low incidence situations. A few weeks later, despite efforts to encourage F to read every day, F has become very frustrated. It turns out that he is hard of hearing, but is not wearing hearing aids. The student-teacher then tries to help him use a computer program for a "change of pace" and to strengthen his English literacy skills. A month into the "Book Club", the student-teacher has made some progress with the younger children by rearranging the pull-out groups to better match the children's ages, personalities, and cultures. This seems to work and the reluctant children are now more willing to participate, as they no longer feel intimated by the "louder," older students who had been reassigned to another group. The student-teacher writes:

> A and L continue to read easier books, or I have them listen to books on tape. They will continue to write in their journals about what they read. I will also have them report to the class about what they have read.

This is a marked change and is indicative of the success of the "Book Club." During the four observations by the college supervisor of the implementations of the lesson plans created for the "Book Club," L and her group were relaxed, engaged and enthusiastic about reading. They were able to use Venn diagrams to compare plots, write out scenes they liked from the books, cook food from recipes in the books, act out characters and draw pictures to illustrate events that occurred in the stories, and connect the events to their personal lives ... and they asked for more books.

In the development of their curricula, none of the seven student-teachers used textbooks as their main source nor as supplementary texts on a regular basis. One student-teacher, who was asked by the cooperating teacher to adapt a part of an elementary Reading Program for second language students, was able to incorporate her interest in the teaching of literature at the elementary level. She commented: "For the 1st graders I used various trade books and developed activities around them. I was doing my project on literature in the class, so we didn't use textbooks." Another student-teacher at the high school level commented: "I focused on using real life world and literature writings as a base [for the academic skills curriculum]." Yet another student-teacher wrote that she used the Internet, tax returns, banking documents, newspapers, etc. for her curriculum on Consumer Economics. A teacher at a middle school who had previously taught adults ESL said:

> One of the hardest things I faced in developing my reading curriculum was finding interesting readings. Reading – a skill – was the content of the class and my curriculum focused on skills as well, namely reading strategies. Teaching content is not only important in preparing the student for mainstream classes, but also in giving them something to work with. I took content for granted in teaching adults because our content was life skills and situations… You always have to be looking for content and trying to make the language learning relevant and meaningful.

Finally, a student-teacher, who already had elementary certification and whose clinical site was her own 4-5th grade classroom, started the school year without instructional materials and was thus forced to create a curriculum to use day to day with her second language students. She wrote this about her first days in her classroom:

> I chose a language arts curriculum. It was something the kids had to learn. I was forced to develop something I could use [immediately]. I used the materials they gave us, and incorporated strategies that I was familiar with, as I searched for anything that would work.

Most of these student-teachers were working in second language classrooms either as teachers or tutors, by the time they reached their clinical experience and were therefore completing their student teaching "on the job." This last quote exemplifies the most difficult situation a

student-teacher in this group had to contend with. It is a challenge for teacher education programs to give working teachers a meaningful professional development experience while they are working under great pressure to meet the everyday educational needs of their diverse classrooms. They cannot leave their own classrooms easily to observe other teachers and cooperating teachers need release time to work with them. In this case, as a result of the integrated courses, the teacher was able to create a curriculum for her class with the aid of her team.

In implementing the curriculum, student-teachers ran into many "real life" issues that they hadn't planned on. One student-teacher wrote: "Lot's of things didn't go according to plan, but most often it was because of school schedule change, or a number of students' absences that weren't anticipated – homework that wasn't completed, but not because a method or irrelevant curriculum." The same student-teacher had planned cooperative activities for her high school class. She dropped her plans and lectures instead as the class had been exceptionally unruly and difficult the first part of the week. She writes:

> Thursday. I change gears since I am pretty depressed by yesterday. K [cooperating teacher] was positive and upbeat saying that this is the way the class IS…I LECTURED – much as I hate to do that, but they don't seem to be doing the reading and I am determined to get through this. I will include a panic filled e-mail to T [Professor of *C and A II*] about this class…neither K nor I know what to do to engage them.

A teacher in a self-contained elementary class wrote:

> When students didn't understand something, I tried other methods of instruction. We had an open dialogue, and I encouraged them to be a part of their own education.

A middle school teacher talked about the need for flexibility in teaching second language children. She says:

> **Flexibility is key –** This is a favorite saying of [BG][a fellow student], and is very true in teaching ESL. You have to recognize and take advantage of the teachable moments. You have to balance content and language. You have to draw from multiple resources rather than a set curriculum. You have to know when to slow down and when to push forward. You have to be willing to set you plans aside to be sure the class "gets it". You have to think on your feet all the time. No wonder ESL teachers are often tired!

Several students commented on the value of the feedback from students and the professor in the Curriculum and Assessment course. This comment exemplifies this view:

> The alignment of the C and A course with the Clinical Experience was very valuable. I had to develop a curriculum anyway, and the steps outlined in the book

gave me something concrete on which to base my ideas. The courses gave us the opportunity to create, apply, and evaluate in a real environment. The [classes] gave us time to bounce ideas off one another.

The integration of the *Curriculum and Assessment* and the *Clinical Experience* was clearly the most successful aspect of the revisions to the program in that students were able to receive feedback on the content of their curriculum prior to its execution. This gave student-teachers confidence that their curriculum projects would meet the needs of their students.

From a supervisor's standpoint, whereas previously, the *Clinical Experience* was more focused on language-teaching and lessons were presented in isolation without specifications as to how they fit into larger instructional goals, these student-teachers had clear long-term curriculum goals which integrated the state frameworks for the different content areas and the new ESL standards. These curriculum projects were more purposeful, reflecting a deeper philosophical concern for how they would advance the overall educational attainment of the students. The clinical experience became more relevant because the projects met challenges specific to the student-teachers' own classrooms.

The Teams

The next series of questions posed to the student-teachers concerned the effectiveness the team's collaboration. When asked directly about the team work, all but two of the seven student-teachers reported an "excellent" or "ideal" relationship with their cooperating teacher. Here are some representative samples of their comments: "[N] is great! She was always encouraging, helpful and supportive. She made me reflect on the lessons each day before she commented. We were able to talk over many issues and we collaborated together." A student-teacher who worked in her own classroom had two fellow teachers as cooperating teachers. She said: "I got along great with both of them – supportive and cooperative – mutual respect. We appreciated each other's talents and dedication." Another student-teacher described her relationship with her cooperating teacher this way: "I felt that K was a mentor and collaborator – we planned together – she never insisted on her way – everything we did, we did together – I relied on her experience and track record with this age group. She was *so* supportive."

Despite generally good rapport among student-teachers and cooperating teachers, the collaboration seemed to center around day-to-day classroom activities and interactions and not on the development or implementation of the curriculum project itself. A clear theme emerged to this effect when the questionnaire was analyzed in its entirety. Respondents commented that there

wasn't enough time set aside to observe other teachers, and to plan and confer with the cooperating teacher. One student-teacher describes her relationship with her cooperating teacher in this way: "We worked well together on plans and actual classroom teaching. I would have liked to have more advice and guidance from her – perhaps it was the fact that I am older and already have some experience…I sometimes had to catch information on the fly…I felt that I sometimes 'held down the fort'." Finally, a teacher in a self-contained classroom felt that she was "on her own" during the practicum. The collaboration between the student-teachers and their cooperating teachers thus varied from real mentoring to loose professional relationships.

The inconsistency in the time spent with the cooperating teacher may have been because some of the student-teachers were already seasoned teachers who were certified in other areas of education and completing their practicum on the job, while others were new to ESL teaching in the public schools. Several student-teachers mentioned that they didn't feel that they got much feedback on the curriculum project from anyone other than the Curriculum and Assessment Professor and only during the choice and development phase of their projects. Two student-teachers mentioned that they wanted more sharing of experience by fellow students. Three felt that more feedback from the college supervisor would have been beneficial. Although not stated directly by any of the students, it is clear from their commentary that there was not much of a sense of "teamwork" although some of the team members' input was reflected in the high quality of the projects.

From a college supervisor's perspective, feedback and conversations with the team members, both the student-teacher and the cooperating teacher, took place during the few minutes between classes and were never thorough enough. These were later followed by written feedback, but this one-way communication proved unsatisfactory to both student-teachers and the supervisors. Additionally, the observation forms, developed for language teaching and heavily focusing on linguistic issues, proved inappropriate for the new emphasis on content-based instruction. Finally, there were inconsistencies in the amount and type of feedback student-teachers received from the college supervisors.

Awarding professional development hours to the cooperating teachers was challenging because of the great variation in their involvement. One orientation session and written guidelines were clearly not enough to ensure that everyone was committed to the teamwork. A major weakness in the evaluation process was not being able to incorporate more of the cooperating teachers' perspective.

The Second Round

As a result of this first cohort's experience, further changes have been made to the *Clinical Experience* course. In an effort to establish real team work and ensure that all are aware of their roles in those teams, all team members attend a seminar together in October which replaces a separate meeting for cooperating teachers in January. In the fall seminar, participants take part in teambuilding activities, and all participants receive written guidelines and are led in a discussion of their roles in the team and the requirements of the Clinical Experience and the action research projects. Secondly, the requirements for meeting, planning, and discussion time were extended to a minimum of 22 hours. Cooperating teachers and student-teachers now meet for at least 5 x 30 minutes, or 2 1/2 hours. College supervisor and student teacher meet for at least 2 hours, and all three meet for at least one hour. College supervisors make 4-8 observation visits depending on need. Additionally, new observation forms based on Danielson's framework (1996) were adopted that better reflected current teaching practices. The forms focused specifically on the culture for learning in the classroom and on the delivery of instruction. Each visit culminated in a longer feedback session. Students were also asked to reflect, in writing, on their perceptions of their success in delivering the lesson to be handed in to the college supervisor. Student-teachers met with the college supervisor for five two-hour seminars during the spring. These seminars were designed to establish a common understanding of what constitutes "exemplary practice" (Danielson, 1996, p. 6) by working through Danielson's text and critiquing video clips of students teaching. Student-teachers also bring specific classroom challenges to the group for discussion and devise action plans to address those issues. Finally, attendance at another three seminars on classroom management and professional issues is for student-teachers without certification in other areas

Conclusion

Does the revised program prepare teachers better for low incidence teaching?. Most of the first group of students haven't graduated at the writing of this article, so the long term effects are not clear. However, the general impression of the professors is that this group of students has more confidence and a clearer sense of their role than previous students did. They are unafraid to tackle challenges that they perceive as hampering their students' learning and are much more vocal about what is appropriate and acceptable in terms of equal educational opportunities for their students. One student has already presented her curriculum project on reading strategies at a regional conference and area teachers have expressed interest in her program. For other M.Ed. candidates, who are completing a capstone based on their curriculum projects, we hope that presenting their

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capstone to a group of peers (a requirement for graduation) will encourage the new second language teachers to become more involved in the advancement of their profession and empower them to have a say in how their students are educated.

The next phase of the revisions will involve strengthening the action research component of the program. Currently, the dire need for instructional materials for diverse, low incidence classes has dictated the choice of curriculum projects. However, in order to encourage teachers to find solutions to perceived challenges in their classroom and make "research a central part of teaching" (Freeman, 1998), teacher development must include making available to students the methodology to meet those challenges in systematic ways. This means integrating the research into all the course work allowing students more options in their choice of action research projects. Rather than focusing on curriculum development, students can choose any area of second language teaching and learning.

For the last several years, graduates of the Notre Dame College TESOL Program, in an effort to continue the support and collegiality provided through the program, have established an active professional network open to all ESL educators (Arnbjörnsdóttir et al., 1996). The "Network" has made strides in providing meaningful professional development opportunities for local itinerant second language teachers. It sponsors informal monthly meetings where teachers can go for support and exchange of ideas and materials. With the assistance of the NH Department of Education, the New Hampshire ESL Teachers' Network has created a directory of second language teachers so that teachers may contact each other, a monthly newsletter, and a listserv supported by the LAB at Brown University. The newsletter and the listserv are used to disseminate information of interest to the members. The Network has also compiled and published a handbook for itinerant teachers. The handbook, or "Toolkit" contains materials pertaining to administration, instruction and assessment in rural second language programs. The network also produced an informational video for parents, mainstream teachers, administrators and others about the nature of second language programs in New Hampshire. The video has been used to convince local taxpayers at town meetings to include funds for second language programs in their annual budgets. (Arnbjörnsdóttir et al., 1996).

These efforts have been mounted at the grassroots level by teachers wanting to meet the challenges of their profession. The program revisions described in this report were informed, in large measure, by the members of the New Hampshire ESL Network and their efforts to have a voice in how second language teacher preparation programs are constructed.

There are itinerant second language teachers in all the states in the US and all over the world. For the last ten years, the author has worked with the government of Iceland on issues pertaining to the education of bilingual children in that country. The challenges of educating bilingual children in rural areas and towns in Iceland are almost identical to the challenges faced by teachers in New Hampshire even though the target language is different. Including the challenges of the low incidence educational context will inform the theoretical discussion on second language teaching and second language teacher development.

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Professional Development as a Site for the Conceptualization and Negotiation of
Bilingual Teacher Identities

Manka Varghese

Introduction

This study is part of a field of research that seeks to differentiate the paths of identity formation that professionally, language teachers experience, and to highlight the singular contexts by which these teachers' professional identities (as they are referred to in this study) are surrounded. Although there have been a number of studies relating to ESL, bilingual, and foreign language teachers' professional identities (Moran, 1996; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, 1997), they have never been grouped together as a subtopic in the larger field of language teacher education.

The present study examines a site for the professional development of bilingual teachers and describes how this site became a locale for the articulation, negotiation, and understanding of bilingual teachers' identities. I show that instructors, administrators and teachers expressed, contested and negotiated the specific knowledge base of bilingual teaching (what bilingual teachers should know) and the professional identities of bilingual teachers (what bilingual teachers should be) during a professional development series. Moreover, the way the content was delivered and responded to, tellingly illustrates the various conceptualizations of bilingual teacher identities from the perspectives of teachers and implementers. This study shows that there is not an abstract and uniform knowledge base and notion of professional identity for bilingual teachers. In fact, local and dominant discourses, as well as the process of delivery between teachers and instructors during the PDI, reflects and partially contributed to a non-uniform and contradictory notion of bilingual teacher identities.

Background

The approach I adopt in this study is based on theories of cultural production and practice theory (Giddens, 1979; 1984). In the last twenty years, sociocultural theory has transitioned from the perspective of cultural reproduction where individuals are seen to be deterministically reproduced, to one of cultural production. Levinson and Holland (1996) describe cultural production as follows: "through the production of cultural forms, created within structural constraints of sites such as schools, subjectivities form and agency develops" (p. 14). Moreover, in

the more recent understandings of identity formation and cultural production, it is becoming increasingly important to examine sites where identities are played out and somewhat produced in settings of formal education as Levinson, Foley & Holland (1996) advocate. Importantly, the focus on local sites enables researchers and educators to escape possibly simplistic understandings of individuals being influenced, and possibly subjugated, by dominant discourses and thereby look at the local meanings created by agents.

The same volume on sites of cultural production described above includes a study by Eisenhart (1996), who looks at the production of scientists in two different contexts, a university biology department and a corporation dealing with bio-diversity. She observes how the individuals and their contexts influenced each other, producing specific scientist identities that either emulated or resisted the mainstream scientist identities that were at the disposal of these two groups of scientists. My study also looks at how bilingual teachers escape abstract or mainstream notions of their identities, and how their professional identities are shaped by specific local contexts. But in addition, it emphasizes some of the contradictory understandings that become part of their professional identities.

Since this study involves a site for teaching and learning for bilingual teachers, I borrow specifically from research on situated learning as well as research from mainstream teacher education. The notion of learning is approached by researchers involved with situated learning in a similar way to researchers of cultural production. It is viewed as an interaction between an agent and his or her context rather than as a process within the individual (Rogoff & Lave, 1984; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Kirshner & Whitson, 1997). Lave and Wenger's (1991) watershed work, *Situated Learning*, suggests that learning and understanding occur as people participate in activities where they increasingly become participants. They define 'legitimate peripheral participation' as learning that occurs while belonging to a certain community of practice and acknowledge that participation can take the form of different levels and ways of engagement in this community. The community of practice in this framework is not a well-defined entity, but rather, "an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Learning is not viewed in terms of internalization (although they do not deny that internalization exists) but as an "evolving form of membership" (p. 53) which is not completely internalized nor externalized.

The advantages of using the framework of legitimate peripheral participation outlined by Lave & Wenger for this study are significant. The first strength of such a framework is to see learning not as a process of cultural transmission but rather emphasize the situatedness of learning

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(Kirshner & Whitson, 1997). As Lave (1997) articulates, "processes of learning and understanding are socially and culturally constituted…what is to be learned is integrally implicated in the forms in which it is appropriated" (p. 18). Therefore, what are emphasized are the conditions in terms of content and form for full access and identification to occur. With regards to the importance of form, research in mainstream professional development has also contributed to views of teacher learning that conclude that "the ways teacher learn may be more like the ways students learn than we have previously recognized" (Lieberman, 1995, p. 592).

Second, (and closely linked to the first point) this perspective allows educators to place importance on the sociopolitical context of the learning. Researchers in teacher education have also been advocating that all such factors "between external policy variables, and micro-contexts shaped by individuals' and groups' commitments, histories and politics" (Little, 1993, p.142) be taken into account in teacher professionalization. In their comparisons of different types of apprenticeships, Lave and Wenger (1991) highlight the sociopolitical organization involved in each type of apprenticeship and how this organization contributes either to increased or decreased access of newcomers to the community of practice. This view is especially relevant in the highly politicized and debated arena of bilingual education and bilingual teacher professionalization.

Third, researchers in situated learning make explicit the interrelationship between learning and identity formation. They assume that when a learner is becoming a master, or a novice is becoming an expert, it is mainly a process of increased identification with a community and a professional role.

Teacher Identities

Teacher education has been at the forefront of an experiential view of professional identity (Bullough & Baughman, 1997). In the area of language teacher education, Duff & Uchida (1997) and Johnston (1997), among others, have started to study English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers' roles. Duff & Uchida (1997) conclude with the following conceptualization of ESL teacher identities in their study: "the identities and ideologies that become foregrounded depend in large measure upon the institutional and interpersonal contexts in which individuals find themselves, the purposes for their being there, and their personal biographies" (p.452). This definition makes clear the notion of language teacher identities as products of complicated interactions between different factors. Galindo (1996) makes connections in his definition of bilingual teacher identities between "a certain identity that links past biographical experiences with a current professional role" (p. 1) by using the term, *bridging identity*.

The purpose of my larger study is to extend these studies of bilingual teachers' lives to include not only their biographical experiences but to also account for their connections to and understandings of the structures within which they teach, and also within which they learn. This particular chapter does not explore their biographies. It looks at a site where bilingual teacher learning is both framed and implemented, where bilingual teacher identities are articulated and questioned. I suggest that by investigating a site where bilingual teacher professional development is addressed, insights can be developed into the perspectives of different participants on bilingual teachers' professional identities, and the dominant and local structures in which they participate and learn.

Methods And Setting

This research study was approached ethnographically in order to understand a professional development series through the local perspectives of the different participants, the teachers and implementers, in Urbantown[1], a city in the northeast of the United States. The professional development series will be referred to here as the PDI (Professional Development Institute). The major implementers I refer to are Dr. Valdez, the grant writer and a significant player in Urbantown's Latino educational community, and two university professors, Dr. Martinet and Dr. Loera, the two main instructors of the PDI. I was a participant observer during the first two sessions of the PDI starting in May 1996 and ending at the end of July 1996. The third session was an action research project where three groups of teachers met three times to discuss their projects. Dr. Martinet was in charge of the first session, Dr. Loera of the second, and in the third session, I followed the action research group headed by Carmen, the graduate assistant of the PDI. I took an ethnographic approach to the data collection and analysis by writing field notes and interviewing participants, and then triangulating the data, and writing vignettes and quotes of critical incidents and interviews.

Before proceeding to the study itself, I would like to provide additional background to the site. The first and foremost issue for bilingual teachers in Urbantown was the state's lack of certification in bilingual education. However, paradoxically there were teaching positions in many schools for bilingual Spanish/English teachers as well as for several Asian languages. Therefore, the protocol to become permanent bilingual teachers was to take a Spanish/English language test after being certified. A few of the teachers involved in the PDI were in the situation I just described, but most of them were apprentices, and therefore had not completed all their certification courses yet.

This chapter is based on a professional development series for apprentice/provisional bilingual (Spanish/English) teachers which was offered to redress the lack of bilingual preparation for many of the teachers. This institute which I refer to as the PDI was only part of a federally funded grant co-written by the Office for Latino Students and the Cluster B Office of the Urbantown School District. Significantly, the PDI was the first time since 1969 where professional development for bilingual teachers was formally addressed in the district.

In addition to problems related to bilingual teacher certification (recruitment and retention) the teacher preparation for bilingual Spanish/English teachers has mirrored the fragmentation of professional development for teachers in Urbantown. This makes the focus and importance of the PDI altogether more critical. In fact, it is important to view the PDI and the grant it was based on in relation to other reform efforts of the district of Urbantown. The main changes have involved the district's decentralization of administrative duties to 'clusters' and organizing schools into 'learning communities', (see Office of Standards, Equity and Student Services, 1996 for more detail). Most of the teachers involved in the PDI were part of two neighboring clusters which I refer to as Cluster A and B.

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[1] Pseudonyms are used throughout the study.

The Study

Negotiating bilingual teacher identities through the content of the PDI

The knowledge base of bilingual teachers

A framework for the preparation of bilingual teachers put together by the National Association for Bilingual Education (1992) provides a useful heuristic for the knowledge base for bilingual teachers. The purpose of these standards is described as follows: "to assist institutions of higher education and other educational institutions in the design, implementation, and evaluation of programs for the preparation of bilingual/multicultural education teachers" (p. 6).

The following list illustrates the major points contained in the framework.

- Institutional resources and coordination
- Recruitment and retention
- Coursework, including history, theories and practice of bilingual education, second language acquisition, methods, curriculum, assessment
- Language proficiency and ability to teach in both languages
- Practicum/field work

The major categories stem from a strong focus on what separates bilingual teachers from other teachers: for example, a background in bilingual education, issues around language, from language acquisition to language use, etc. The emphasis on the contexts in which this learning and teaching is taking place is also strongly expressed here.

Bilingual teacher identities

Although the connections between the knowledge base of bilingual teaching and the professional identities of bilingual teachers have not been made explicit in the past, it seems that it is necessary to do so. I argue that implied in the discourses of groups and individuals of the knowledge base of bilingual teaching, are particular orientations to the conceptualization of identities of bilingual teachers. Therefore, what the implementers and teachers discussed and viewed as important for what bilingual teachers should know, tells us a lot about how they view their roles.

In relation to the bilingual teacher's knowledge base, I point out that what comes out most strongly in the perceptions is the difference of the knowledge base for bilingual teachers as compared to other teachers. The next section will show that although teachers and implementers

stressed the importance of bilingual-specific content for teachers' professional development, the interpretations of "bilingual-specific" vary according to roles, and among individuals.

<u>Contextualized and decontextualized notions of professional identities</u>

The major differences between the implementers' and teachers' conceptualizations of bilingual teacher identities seemed to lie in the contexts both groups experience – the instructors came from a more academic and decontextualized environment while the teachers viewed their identities as rooted in the classroom and district setting.

Most of the teachers felt a greater need for bilingual-specific professional development both because they had not had it before, and because they sought further clarity in terms of their professional identity. They especially looked for and envisioned the bilingual-specific knowledge in terms of classroom strategies and language use. Two significant observations need to be made about the implementers' view of the bilingual-specific dimension of the bilingual teaching profession. First, bilingual-specific knowledge in their eyes meant a mixture of a background in the history and models of bilingual education, theories of language acquisition, and a practicum experience for teachers to implement what they had learned. The salience of theory for the implementers, especially in Dr. Loera's case will be a point that I will return to and focus on more in detail. What was also notable in terms of the instructors' view of bilingual teacher identities was that they did not relate local contexts (or even knowing these contexts) to bilingual teacher identities. Therefore, a background in bilingual education for the implementers meant courses that were not necessarily related to the settings of the teachers, but that were more general in nature. Second, the implementers emphasized the importance of teachers getting nine credits for the professional development, as well as retaining the teachers for the program. This shows the concern of administrators in Urbantown in retaining bilingual teachers and relates to the standard of recruitment and retention included in the NABE standards. In fact, Dr. Martinet, who also planned the courses in the PDI, described the development of the PDI sessions in the following way:

> We need people who have 9 credits towards elementary education, so we're looking, at, ok, what credits do we have in elementary education that we can use for this program but we wanted to adapt it to, uh, the bilingual group because, you know, this was not, this is a more generic course and it was not like, specifically for bilingual education so what happens then is that we look at, what is it that these teachers need. (Dr. Martinet, Interview,10/24/96)

The teachers sought far more in terms of bilingual-specific content during the PDI than what they felt had been offered. In the action research session, the third session of the series, the interpretive community that I followed had a spirited discussion that verged occasionally on

despair and frustration, on this topic. On the last day of this session, the discussion started with the facilitator, Carmen (the graduate assistant), asking the three teachers who worked in schools in Cluster B for feedback for the first two parts of the PDI. The teachers explained that they would have liked more activities and content specifically related to bilingual education. One teacher said,

> So much of our job is just trying to figure out what we're doing because we want to have bilingual/biliterate students someday, that *I would have preferred something that pertains specifically to that.* (Teacher, Audiotaped observation, 11/22/96)

When the teachers were given the opportunity to talk about their teaching situations and expand on these, many related the bilingual-specific content that they were seeking to possible solutions to district problems, such as the lack of guidelines and materials. At many points throughout this discussion, the teachers' attempts to interrupt each other and the spirited tone of the conversation were direct manifestations of the personal involvement they felt for the topic of the district. The teachers related their confusion over their role ("I wonder what, what am I doing here") to their specific teaching situation, as the following excerpt shows:

> Teacher 1: My, my problem with what I'm doing, I wonder what, what am I doing here, the-, I don't see how, cause bilingual, ok the bilingual education program is nine years old out here [Teacher 2: hhm] but there's no structure to it, there's no guidelines, and you know, which school, and then the excuse is well, we have different populations and the needs at Little Wood are different than the needs at Lewis. We're teaching bilingual students [Teacher 3: right] and I don't see how the need [Teacher 3: how much different].
>
> Teacher 2: (interrupts) Plus what happens so often is that the PT students become the Lewis students [Teacher 1: EXACTLY!] I mean, they move [Teacher 1: Oh!] all over the place [Teacher 3: right!].

In the ensuing sections, I take three different topics as examples of areas that both teachers and implementers emphasized and framed differently. The next section expands more fully on the example of language use that the teachers were seeking and which contributed closely, especially in their eyes, to their professional identity as bilingual teachers. In fact, the issue of language use was one that they grappled with daily in their classrooms and schools. The section after that shows how the role of theory figures largely for implementers' conceptualizations of bilingual teacher identities, and although teachers saw its importance, they also partially contested it. The last section, before I focus on how the form of the PDI enlightens us about the notions of the teachers' identities, is the role of advocacy. Advocacy is a topic that is implied strongly in the identities of bilingual teachers, like in many forms of minority education. Once again, differences exist.

Teachers tended to link advocacy to their classrooms and students, while implementers framed it as a general trait that is intrinsic to bilingual teaching.

The role of language use

One of the major preoccupations for teachers was the area of *language use* in the classroom. The knowledge and security involved in knowing what languages to use and to what extent played a strong part in how secure the teachers felt in their professional identities. Naturally, it also affected how they saw themselves in their role as bilingual teachers.

The two following quotes from teachers demonstrated the concern most teachers had about how English and Spanish should be implemented:

> I don't quite know, like, you know, I still feel at a loss, like, how much English to introduce to them, what to do with the different levels of English in my room. (Teacher, Interview, 02/18/97)

> I liked last night, how to use languages…developed language, my language policy. I will go for partial separation, use 80% Spanish and 20% English. (Teacher, Fieldnotes, 09/20/96)

In fact, teachers had more questions, and were visibly most attentive (e.g., taking notes) when the topic of language use was addressed. This was also shown by the number of times questions were asked about it in teacher journals.

Institutional factors, especially in relation to language use/language policy in the district, were clearly a stronger component in bilingual teacher identities for teachers rather than for implementers. In fact, being university professors, the implementers did not seem to have much knowledge of this dimension of the teachers' identities. The teachers, on the other hand, were the most emotional and involved during all three sessions of the PDI in the few instances when the role of the school district in their schools' bilingual programs was brought up. For example, when Dr. Martinet initiated a discussion (06/14/96) about the district's language policy, it was one of the first times there was genuine 'teaching' from the participants' side because it was a topic they are more knowledgeable about. This discussion reflected both the perspectives of the teachers and of Dr. Martinet of how and why the two languages should be implemented, as well as the teaching realities of the teachers. The most salient issue that came out was the non-uniform ways languages were used across the district, specifically across the two clusters of which the teachers are part. It was also made clear in the discussion that there were significant differences in terms of language use between Cluster A and B. Teachers in Cluster A were not as worried about their professional identity in terms of language use and implementation because their cluster had been making steps towards institutionalizing a language policy. This was in sharp contrast with Cluster B's lack of

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articulation between schools and within most of its schools of a coherent language policy. This difference between the two clusters was confirmed to me by talking to other teachers and administrators during the following school year (1996-1997).

There was not a uniform understanding or belief in how the languages should be used or what the eventual goal of bilingual education should be in the PDI. For example, after Dr. Martinet found out about the varying ways languages were implemented in the teachers' classrooms, she mentioned over and over her worry that none of the teachers stressed the importance of learning English. She made clear what she envisioned as the goal for bilingual students – to mainstream by 7th grade. Her model of bilingualism was therefore more of a transitional one. The following are two contrasting views from the teachers. One teacher had been greatly involved in making sure her cluster, cluster A, made two-way bilingualism an overt goal, and another teacher wrote in her journal the following:

> Bilingual educators must not lose sight of the original goals. Personally, I *strongly* believe it is to teach the children the UNIVERSAL first language: English. (Teacher, journal entry, 05/22/96)

By the teachers' comments and explanations it was clear that the way languages were used in the classroom depended on various factors to varying degrees. As I learned throughout the course of the study, this seemed to depend on factors such as teachers' personal beliefs, the language policy in their school, the policy in their cluster, and the configuration of students in their classrooms (whether they were Spanish or English dominant).

<u>The role of theory</u>

The implementers, especially the instructor in Session 2, Dr. Loera, regarded theory as an essential component of the bilingual teacher identities. She brought up the connection between theory and practice many times both implicitly and explicitly. For example, she became slightly impatient when a teacher did not describe the relationship between theory and practice in one of her presentations while she expressed excitement when a teacher used the term "scaffolding". On several occasions, she emphasized the significance of making the links between theory and practice. She said, "You see how to integrate theory and practice…you see you're doing it already but you don't know you're doing this."

Moreover, the one teacher who was the most enthusiastic of the whole PDI explicitly articulated her desire for theory. As she later described to me, "I got what I wanted out of it." In fact, she could be observed talking to the implementers after sessions, and asking questions about language acquisition and constructivism in her journals.

Interestingly, I observed some teachers starting to incorporate theoretical terms such as "scaffolding" and the notion of "activating prior knowledge" in their classroom discourse as the PDI progressed. An important focus of the community and becoming a member is described by Lave and Wenger (1991) as learning to "talk within" (p. 109). As one learns to do and talk, the participant's sense of identity as an expert increases and this interacts with his/her motivation. This is important because this moves the central activity of program goals from changing the individual to having increased "co-participation in practice" (p. 112).

However, the use of certain terms and specific types of performance are often demonstrated by teachers on a superficial level. These behaviors may be because implementers expect certain types of responses. A study by Lave (1997) where she compares a Math lesson for third graders and Weight Watchers' program participants 'doing Math' can shed light on this observation. An important difference between the two groups, she notes, is the "activity-motivating aspects". In the latter the learners 'own' the problem and in the first the motivating features are seen as blame-avoidance and performance. As a result, Lave observes, the practice of the two groups is shaped by what motivates the activity. Lemke (1997) makes a similar point, by stating that "performing the practices…does not count toward membership unless there is evidence that the practices are performed from the proper motivation." (pp. 44-45). He also makes the distinction between individuals constructing their identities in connection with their practices, and the act of superficially performing the practices. Being a participant observer, I was privy to things they would not understand and about which they would not ask for clarification due to a fear of 'looking stupid.'

Related to the issues of theory and practice is also how teachers were making the links between them. Often it was not so easy to make such links and moreover, teachers did not completely espouse a single theory. Although certain theories were embraced by instructors, teachers did not fully grasp these theories, and they were not necessarily going to subscribe to these theories in a completely reproductive fashion. However, the implementers approached the series as if teachers would be able to put theories "immediately" into practice as an excerpt of the original grant mentioned (Office of Latino Students & Cluster B Office, 1995, p. 45). This shows that the instructors of the PDI assumed an unproblematic and automatic view of teaching and learning, one where what is taught is immediately learned. This is a manifestation of traditional models of education and learning which involve ways of thinking of learning as transmission, and which seem prevalent in the actual teaching taking place during the PDI.

The role of advocacy

Many of the teachers felt strongly that they were role models or expressed that one of the major reasons they had entered this particular profession is to help Latino children. In a survey that I conducted after the PDI, four out of eight bilingual teachers wrote that the meaning or importance of being a bilingual teacher was to be a role model to students or families or provide equitable access to them in education. For example, one teacher in the PDI wrote the following in a journal entry:

> We have to lift their spirits and reinforce them time after time because they are the reflection of our community, a community in desperate need of reconstruction. (Teacher, Journal entry, 05/17/96)

Interestingly there were also some differences of opinion about the extent and manner in which teachers should act as cultural brokers for students in their classes. One telling incident was when Dr. Loera initiated the topic of critical literacy during Session 2 (field notes: 07/17/96). A discussion unfolded where teachers argued about the appropriateness of being overtly political in what is taught in the classroom.

The instructors strongly voiced the advocacy or initiator role for their conceptualizations of bilingual teacher identities. However, this once again was viewed as an automatic process. Dr. Loera passionately conveyed her perspective that,

> We are preparing bilingual teachers to not only *teach* in a classroom but become *advocates* of bilingual education because it is so very debated, in the United States, so making it a point to train teachers not just to teach; they need to know the background, the law, the history, the methodology so that if asked, if pressured, you know, they can, you know. (Dr. Loera, Interview, 04/22/97)

The need for advocacy was expressed also by both Dr. Valdez and Dr. Martinet. In an interview with Dr. Valdez, she told me about an incident when a teacher called her up in her office and asked her in an accusatory manner what their office was doing about some of the deplorable things that had been happening in the bilingual educational community. She continued by saying,

> And so I turned around and said, well, I've known of course of those issues for many years and have been trying to do a lot about them without any help, now, what are you, the teachers out there, going to do about it cause you are the ones who have to organize it and so I said, I challenge you to start an organization where there's an advocacy going on for some of these issues and I will help support it. (Dr. Valdez, Interview, 10/96)

There was a sense I got when talking to the implementers that advocacy and was often viewed as innate, and even if it was not innate, it could be automatically engendered through

increased knowledge on a particular topic. It seems that the notion of advocacy needs to be questioned and cannot be assumed in ESL and bilingual teachers to the extent that it is.

Negotiating bilingual teacher identities through the form of the PDI

As I intimated in the introduction to the article, the way teaching and learning were shaped and processed during the PDI reflected and partially contributed to the contradictory and disparate notions of bilingual teacher identities. This was especially the case in the way that the relationships between the instructors and teachers were framed and established. Minick, Stone and Forman (1993), quoted in Kirshner and Whitson (1997), remark that the relationships and nature of the relationships developed in face to face interactions during situated learning need to be studied more closely. They call for studies of,

> real people who develop a variety of interpersonal relationships with one another in the course of their shared activity in a given institutional context. Within educational institutions, for example, the sometimes conflicting responsibilities of mentorship and evaluation can give rise to distinct interpersonal relationships between teacher and pupils that have important influences on learning. For example, appropriating the speech or actions of another person requires a degree of identification with that person and the cultural community he or she represents. (p.7)

I would like to focus on these "conflicting responsibilities" and "the degree of identification" that surfaced in the interactions of the teachers and instructors.

In terms of teachers identifying ethnically with the instructors, Dr. Martinet and Dr. Loera were both Puerto Rican. This was mentioned by some of the teachers as a plus. For example, one of the teachers wrote in her journal, "I'm very thankful and honored to be taught by a Puerto Rican scholar" (06/22/96). Both Dr. Loera and Dr. Martinet occasionally used Spanish as an in-group marker during the PDI although their main language of instruction was English. Teachers also felt comfortable writing and speaking in Spanish during both sessions.

Professionally, both instructors had a background in bilingual education and had also been K-12 teachers in their past. However, they found it somewhat difficult to reconcile presenting themselves simultaneously as collaborators and instructors. This conflict was shown in the actual classroom discourse used by the instructors. On one hand, Dr. Martinet, when presenting the lesson plan activity in Session 1, first said, "I want you to end up with." But then she corrected herself by saying, "we want to end up with," including herself in the goal of the activity, rather than being directive about it. On the other hand, she was, in fact, very aware of, as she put it, "only putting her

agenda," as she confessed to me on the train on the way to the second day of Session 1 (05/28/96). For example, on the first day of class, she stated,

> The model of this training is a collaborative model. You are working with us; therefore we are creating the goals together. (Dr. Martinet, field notes, 05/27/96)

Later on, at the first mentor meeting, on the last day of Session 1, she also made it a point to warn the mentors that, "you are not the knowers."

Although unsure about their role, the university professors in most instances were explicitly directive in their approach. This was especially clear when comparing the discourse of Dr. Loera and Dr. Martinet with that of the graduate assistant, Carmen, of the PDI. Carmen was the facilitator of the interpretive community for the action research that I followed. A table of these differences in the discourse is below. For example, in contrast to the professors who focused on asking questions such as, "Do you understand?" and IRE (initiation, response, evaluation) type questions, the graduate student tended to ask more genuine questions, such as "What do you mean by this objective?" The implementers responded to teachers' reactions by stating "That's correct" or instructing them by stating, "I want you to…" while Carmen used modals used for requests, such as "You may want to…", " Have you thought of…". The different discourses are naturally also a product of the type of information that was being provided or negotiated, as in the case of the action research compared with the 'informational' lectures of the first two sessions.

Table 1: Differences in instructors' classroom discourses

Session	Topic/Participant nomination (I = instructor) (T = teacher)	Implementer questions	Implementer responses	Teacher questions and responses	Peer talk
1 and 2	I	"Do you understand?"/ or IRE (initiation, response, evaluation) format	"That's correct"/ "I want you to end up with…"/evaluation or reconceptualization (theory)	Nodding/ "Can you repeat the definition?"	Share stories (but less than 3 and closely related to topic)
3	I	"What do you mean with that kind of objective?" (genuine question)	"You may want to.."/" Have you thought of…?"	"Is this a personal thing or a fact?"/ "This is really hard for me"	Suggestions to each other. Share stories not closely related to the topic

Carmen framed the beginning of her first interpretive community meeting with a story of another teacher doing action research, and said,

> I just thought, that just kind of struck me because I think that's the way some of you may have been feeling, um, as you go through this process. That's the way I

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sometimes feel as I'm trying to put research questions together. (Carmen, audiotaped observation, 10/96)

As we can see, she put herself in the position of the teachers, and the use of 'may' denoted how she was careful not to make assumptions about the teachers' response.

As I mentioned earlier, many teachers seemed anxious about performing during Sessions 1 and 2. For example, in the first session, the teachers were tested about certain theories about second language acquisition with a traditional exam format. During the pre-test activity, I sat with a group of teachers and assisted them (06/14/96). Some teachers expressed confusion and a teacher remarked, "It seems like she (the instructor) doesn't want to know what we know, she wants to trick us". Of course this was not the case, but Dr. Martinet was giving a test in a format that she was used to but that the teachers did not seem to relate to. In Carmen's action research group, on the other hand, the teachers seemed to feel more free about admitting their fears, for example, in relation to writing their final paper. An example is provided below:

> Teacher: It scares me that I'll make some kind of statement…
>
> Carmen: It scares you in what way? Like it couldn't be valid or what is…
>
> Teacher: That it wouldn't be right, that I'm just saying something that I really don't have proof of…

This dialogue and the sharing of stories the teachers did helped most of them in the group (3 out of 5) to finish their action research paper. When talking to two of the teachers who were part of this group, they talked a lot about the difficulty of this session, after finishing it, and about the numerous times they felt like abandoning their action research project. However, they claimed that having each other and being part of the group, as well as having their facilitator, Carmen, made them get through it.

A last point I would like to discuss about the form of the PDI, and the classroom discourses used by the instructors, are the conflicting responses both the teachers and instructors explicitly expressed about didactic and collaborative teaching. Dr. Martinet's contradictory feelings were mentioned earlier where she openly expressed her uneasiness with being didactic. However, in some instances she showed frustration with 'progressive' forms of education that she felt could be taken to an extreme. During the action research project, in Session 3, she told me about a disagreement she had with Dr. Loera about how the meetings for the interpretive communities should be run. Dr. Loera had decided that some meetings could go on without the facilitator/professor, and Dr. Martinet described her thoughts about this in the following way,

I told her that I thought that was, I did-I didn't think it was a good idea because students have to feel that we are the people in the program that we need to, you know, overlook it, so that's what really, what we talked about…I think we need to help these kids through the action research itself…I know that's what action research is, you know, you just get a lot of information from other students, but that may not have all the necessary information to really help with the design…I just think that students talking and someone else just sharing, that's not, that's not really going to be helpful if we are not working very specifically…

Her conscious awareness that she may have been 'interfering' was made clear when she later added,

I know it sounds like I am appropriating their, their, their work but this is not my intention, my intention is to be clear on what they are doing, and whether it's feasible and doable and etc.

In a similar way as the instructors, many teachers also viewed the benefits of the instructors during the PDI using didactic lecture styles. Especially in the case of Dr. Martinet, the teachers responded to her extremely positively as the formal evaluations of Session 1 demonstrate. Her expertise was something they value, as the following comment in a journal shows: "Dr. Martinet knows her stuff" (Teacher, journal entry, 06/30/96). Another teacher who gave a qualified opinion of Dr. Martinet said that she was excitable and did not let the teachers talk much but at the same time she was very knowledgeable. However, many of the teachers did not respond as positively to Dr. Loera's lectures and this may be, as a few teachers told me, because they felt she was less knowledgeable of the material relating directly to bilingual education.

Overall, the teachers seemed to be seeking on one hand, expertise from an instructor whom they saw as having bilingual-specific knowledge, and on the other, a discourse which did not position them as the complete novices and which let them admit their fears and doubts. The following dialogue between Carmen and a teacher who was trying to form her research question for her action research project showed the need teachers had to ask an expert for some answers, but also be able to acknowledge their doubts as to what they were supposed to be doing.

Carmen: Your action plan is, you know, to do whatever you have to do, to talk to teachers, or to observe teachers or to read…
Teacher: And we include? Oh ok –
Carmen: That's part of the process, I mean, it can be…
Teacher: Cause I just thought we were supposed to come in with this knowledge…

In this short exchange, Carmen was clarifying that all the strategies of talking and observing teachers are part of the documentation of the action research. The teacher confessed that

she thought she was supposed to be an expert in her research topic, for her to be able to conduct the action research project. However, Carmen qualified her own expertise as seen in the third line of the exchange above. She added, "I mean, it can be" to a statement, "that's part of the process," that on its own could have seemed non- negotiable.

Interestingly, studies of classroom discourse involving children have raised concerns about contradictory models of teaching (Lave, 1997; Cazden, 1988; Heath, 1983) where the importance of collaboration is articulated but traditional practices of transmission actually prevail. In the same way as questions have been raised about the identity formation of these students due to such contradictory models, I would like to emphasize the need to raise similar questions about adult learning. In the case of bilingual teachers' professional identities, I am not necessarily suggesting a model of complete 'equality.' In fact, I would like to suggest that studies that have unproblematically assumed that teachers need to feel that they are complete equals in all instances, should be re-examined. It seems that in cases where professional identities are under constant tension and doubt, as for bilingual teachers, they need an expert with whom to interact but they also require certain configurations of equal status and participation.

Conclusion

This study possibly raises more questions than it answers. It first suggests that when describing (or prescribing) the knowledge base of bilingual teachers during professional development, we need to be aware that what we may be actually involved in is the more complicated process of conceptualizing a professional identity for these teachers. Moreover, due to diverse contexts of participants and implementers involved in the professionalization of bilingual teachers because of individual personal histories and professional contexts, it may be difficult to refer to a community or a uniform identity for these teachers. This study suggests that many assumptions need to be unpackaged, among them, about communities of practice, professional identities, knowledge bases, and collaborative models of teaching. Understandings of local contexts and influences that acknowledge variation and tension for agents are even more necessary for the complicated and politically debated identities of bilingual, ESL, and foreign language teachers.

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Perceptions of Professionalism Among Elementary School ESL Teachers

Tina Scott Edstam

Introduction

In the public school arena, the research domain of English as a Second Language (ESL) has primarily encompassed curricular and instructional issues and the ways in which these address the particular needs of students who are learning a second language as they pursue their academic development. While many studies have concentrated on the programmatic features of ESL in the public schools and on the English language learners served, research on K-12 ESL teachers themselves and their unique perspectives is one aspect of this domain which has received little if any attention (Young, 1990). One specific area of concern to all ESL teachers highlighted in two different national TESOL surveys is their own professional status (Blaber & Tobash, 1989; Brown, 1992). What is it about where they work, who they work with, who they teach, and what they teach that makes their professional status, their sense of professionalism, such a major concern?

Professionalism in ESL

The issue of professionalism is not a new one for ESL. Harold Allen touched on it when he cited the year that TESOL was founded as the "emergence of professional status for the teaching of ESOL" (Wright, 1988, p. 23). A review of the results of two national TESOL surveys mentioned earlier indicates that the issue of professionalism remains an ongoing source of concern to its members. The first survey of ESL teachers was made in 1988 when the TESOL Committee on Professional Standards conducted an "Employment Concerns Survey" and found that the issues of major concern among members were related to professionalism (Blaber & Tobash, 1989). In fact, 77% of the 523 respondents felt that being viewed as a professional was 'extremely important' to them.

This theme was reiterated in a 1992 questionnaire sent out by the TESOL Research Task Force to 1,800 of its TESOL members, asking them to identify what the single biggest problem facing ESL teachers was at that time. From the questionnaires returned, one of the three top problems listed was the issue of respect which was identified with terms related to professionalism such as "recognition" and "acceptance" (Brown, 1992). Since this questionnaire was not sent directly to the elementary ESL interest section but to a random selection of the membership, one can only

hypothesize as to the number of elementary school ESL teachers who did in fact respond. So it is important to ask whether elementary school ESL teachers also shared the concerns about professionalism voiced by the respondents, and if so, how that would be expressed.

In the same year, when TESOL's new Executive Board members were queried as to the "one burning issue in the profession today," new member Donald Freeman replied that "we are not yet a profession; what we do is still regarded as a job" ("What is the burning issue", 1992, p. 4). Thus once again (marking twenty-five years after the founding of TESOL), the theme of professionalism was so problematic that this new board member chose it as his paramount issue.

More recently, the issue of 'professionalism' has been referred to in an ethnographic study of ESL teachers representing K-12, college, and adult levels in Massachusetts, describing "uncertainties of professional place" among the many uncertainties related to ESL teaching (Young, 1990). Another study (Johnston, 1995, 1997) examined the professional lives of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers in Poland and whether they perceived of their jobs as careers. Johnston called the question of whether EFL/ESL can be considered a profession "one of the most urgent issues facing the field at the present time" (1995, p. 213). He also noted that, to his knowledge, no one has ever asked the teachers themselves about their own views on professionalism. This keenly noted shortcoming in the literature provided me with an opportunity to fill this academic void with the voices of elementary school ESL teachers.

To further emphasize this focus on ESL teachers in the public schools, one must ask if the issue of professionalism is of concern and interest to public school language teachers in general? According to a nationwide foreign language survey conducted in 1982 which asked foreign language high school teachers and supervisors to list their concerns in order of importance, practitioner responses did not include references to professionalism, status, or respect in the ranking of the respondents' top twenty issues (Cooper, 1985). It seems clear that the public school language teaching experience itself is of a very different nature for foreign language teachers than it is for English as a second language teachers in the United States. This underscores the importance of determining what factors contribute to such different perspectives among elementary school ESL teachers.

A Brief Historical Glance at Professionalism in Education

Before examining the current perceptions of professionalism among elementary school ESL teachers, it is important to give some historical context to the concept of professionalism in the public schools. Up until the late sixties, public school teaching in general was termed a 'semi-

profession' (Etzioni, 1969) because of its shorter training period, its less legitimate status, its less established right to privileged communication, its less specialized body of knowledge, and its lesser autonomy from supervision and control compared to the 'true professions' of law, ministry, and medicine. Others pointed to teaching's female labor force as a deterrent to full professional status due to women's characteristic low career commitment, less ambition for advancement, and general unorganizability (Caplow, 1954; Geer, 1966; Leggatt, 1970; Lieberman, 1956). Given this picture of teaching, it is no wonder that the teaching world began looking for ways to make itself look more professional in the eyes of the public.

The revival of professionalism in teaching came upon the heels of the release of the first of the educational reform reports of the 1980's, *A Nation At Risk,* whose findings regarding teaching indicated major shortcomings in the quality of teachers, teacher preparation programs, and teachers' professional lives as a whole (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). The report stated that the recommendations were intended to "make teaching a more rewarding and respected profession" (p. 22). The voices of those who agreed with this pursuit were clearly reflected in the second wave of educational reform reports of the 1980's such as *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the Twenty-First Century,* from the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy (1986), and the Holmes Group (1986) report *Tomorrow's Teachers;* these reports also called for the professionalization of teaching.

There were, however, dissenting voices who, for reasons ranging from androcentric bias to quest for status to 'de-skilling' of teachers, criticized the whole occupational strategy of 'professionalizing' teaching (Apple & Jungck, 1992; Biklen, 1987; Burbules & Densmore, 1991; Herbst, 1989; Labaree, 1992; Laird, 1988; Noddings, 1992; Tabakin & Densmore, 1986).

Ultimately, it was not the educators to whom I turned for more clarity while grappling with the concepts of 'profession' and 'professionalism' in the field of teaching. It was to a sociologist, Richard Hall (1968, 1975, 1979), a major contributor to the understanding and definition of the terms 'profession' and 'professionalism,' whose initial work on professionalism and professional values outlined the scope of what was considered a profession. Hall (1985) made the paradigmatic leap from focusing primarily on the traits or characteristics of a profession to examining the attitudes and values held by professionals themselves. As much as Hall's (1967) classic Professionalism Scale offered a perspective on how to measure professionalism, Hall (1985), himself, conceded almost two decades later that "The images [of professionalism] used by professionals have multiple dimensions, many of which do not correspond to conventional stereotypes" (p. 227). He told of his dilemma in filling out a personnel evaluation form for non-

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faculty university personnel in which he was asked, "Is his/her work carried out in a professional manner?"

> How was I to respond to this question? On the one hand, my sociological background and familiarity with the literature on the professions and professionals cried out that these people were not professionals. After all, they had not had special training to become an assistant or associate dean or grants administrator. They also had relatively little autonomy in their work. On the other hand, and this is the hand that won, I "knew" what acting professionally meant, just as the other nonsociologically trained vice presidents did as they evaluated personnel. In this case, acting professionally meant the ways in which individuals carried out their work. . . .In other words, we had an image of what professional behavior was and was not. (p.227)

Hall (1985) contended that the attributional approach to professionalism which was so widely used in the past had been replaced by the power approach. This is the approach alluded to by Larson (1977) who pointed to the shifting emphasis on power and privilege rather than on commitment and altruistic ideals in defining a profession. Nevertheless, even with this power approach, Hall felt that, "for the average person in interaction with a professional person or a wider profession, the point is moot. If we defer to a professional on some matter, we are granting professional status" (p. 234)

I highlight Hall's comments at this point to preface my own findings on professionalism among elementary school ESL teachers. At the design stage of this study, I was anxious to use Hall's Professionalism Scale because his sociological work on the professions had been highly touted (Benveniste, 1987). Hall's survey enabled me to begin my research from the more classic approach to professions which specified certain attributes as indicative of professionalism. As the literature review grew, so did my own understanding of the historical, social, and educational threads of this topic. Was it no wonder that a debate ensued among so many educators on how to redefine teaching as a profession? Many thought that by acquiring certain attributes, the occupation of teaching could model itself after medicine and law and be recognized by the public as having the same status and privileges. The reform reports of the 1980's supported this contention by "calling for substantial structural changes in school organization and policy making procedures" (Murray, 1992, p. 496). Yet, not a single school teacher had contributed his or her thoughts to these reports. Where were the voices of the classroom teachers? My decision to include a qualitative component in the research design allowed me to access those voices missing in the historical review of the literature.

As I examined all the data, I observed that the question of whether teaching was or was not a profession did not enter the discussion. The elementary school ESL teachers were more concerned with how professional they felt and how professionally they were treated, but not with how their work ranked on the profession continuum. This fact seemed to reinforce the conclusion Hall came to almost twenty years after his initial research in the literature on professions: we all have our own image of what professional behavior is and is not. I wanted to discover what this image was for elementary school ESL teachers and those with whom they worked. For me, whether teaching was indeed a profession was, as Hall suggested, a moot point.

Research Design and Questions

This paper reports on a study (Edstam, 1998) which explored the views of elementary school ESL teachers, focusing specifically on the dimension of professionalism and the teachers' perceptions of it as it related to their daily work and their interactions with students and school staff. The research design encompassed both qualitative and quantitative methods with the hope that using both in educational research would allow for a richer and fuller explanation when human behavior is involved in a social setting. This paper will focus only on the qualitative component. The research questions this component addressed are the following:

1. How do elementary school ESL teachers perceive of themselves as professionals?
2. How do they define professionalism for themselves?
3. What are their perceptions about how other school personnel view them professionally?
4. How do other school personnel (mainstream teachers / principals) view the professionalism of their ESL staff?

Qualitative Data Collection

To initially collect data, a packet containing a cover letter noting district approval, a participant information sheet, six open-ended questions, a stamped addressed envelope, and a return postcard indicating a desire to further participate in a focus group or an individual interview was sent out to all the licensed elementary school ESL teachers in a large midwestern urban public school district. This garnered a 51% response rate (53 out of 104 teachers) representing 83% (35 out of 42) of the elementary schools in the district which had ESL programs.

Attempted contact by phone to the 23 teachers who returned postcards for further participation resulted in two focus groups of seven elementary school ESL teachers each

representing 14 elementary schools. At the conclusion of each focus group, teachers were asked if they were willing to participate further by becoming part of a triad interview. For purposes of triangulation, two triads needed to be formed, each containing one elementary ESL teacher, a collaborating mainstream teacher, and a principal from the same school. It should be noted here that the two elementary ESL teachers from the focus groups who volunteered to be individually interviewed (along with their collaborating mainstream teacher and principal) were chosen because 1) they self-identified as feeling very positive about their teaching situation and, 2) they had both a mainstream colleague and a principal who felt very positive about them. Two additional elementary school ESL teachers who returned postcards but had not taken part in the focus groups, were not influenced by those comments, and did not self-identify as feeling positive were also interviewed individually. In all, there were eight interviews which lasted between one and two hours each and followed the characteristics of the standardized open-ended interview (Patton, 1990).

Data Analysis

Content analysis was used for the written responses to the six open-ended questions. Categories identified through the frequency of occurrence of particular themes were able to "capture relevant characteristics" of the content (Merriam, 1998, p. 160).

Analysis of focus group data began with a careful transcription of the tape-recorded sessions and incorporated Krueger's (1994) suggestions to pay special attention to unexpected comments which could "provide enlightenment" and "lift the level of understanding to a new plateau" (p. 135). Having already completed the content analysis, I was then able to integrate what Morgan (1997) calls *a priori templates* to the coding of the focus group transcripts and allow new codes to emerge from the focus group data themselves.

A similar procedure was followed for the analysis of the individual interviews. There was a continuing search for patterns and recurring themes, a refinement of the coding categories, and attention to the inter-relationships of the individual narratives among triad participants and between triads.

Professionalism Defined

In their attempts to define professionalism for themselves, elementary school ESL teachers related the term to specific people or attributes. Their written responses were categorized by four dimensions and are presented here in order of greatest frequency. The largest group related

professionalism to the way in which mainstream teachers and principals treated them, feeling respected if seen as equal members of their staff and as real and effective teachers whose work and experiences were legitimized and valued. The second group related professionalism to themselves in terms of the act of teaching. This group focused on the need to be well educated and trained in ESL, and committed to further self-improvement as well as to ongoing educational development. The third group also related professionalism to themselves but focused more on personal attributes of teaching such as a sense of self-respect, sense of responsibility to one's job, and appropriateness of manner in carrying out one's job. The final and smallest group related professionalism to their students in terms of serving them to the best of their abilities, guiding them, and encouraging them to do their best.

One particular definition written for the open-ended questions captured all four dimensions:

I define professionalism as having the training, knowledge, and specialized skills for the teaching of students who are learning ESL. I care deeply about the future of the students with whom I work and, as a professional, feel it is my responsibility to continue to expand my knowledge by taking classes, reading books and journals, and meeting with other dedicated professionals in my field. I consider myself part of an educational team of teachers from a variety of disciplines who need to work together to help the students. I respect those teachers for their expertise and would like to be respected by them.

This definition seemed particularly poignant since the writer's use of the term 'would' in the final sentence reflected a desire for respect from mainstream colleagues, a respect that was not reciprocated. (It should be noted that all 53 participant responses were number-coded to preserve teacher anonymity.)

Perceptions of Professionalism: Themes Emerging

When elementary school ESL teachers discussed their own perceptions of professionalism, they articulated various factors and circumstances which made them feel either respected and recognized as professionals or marginalized and diminished in some manner. The many themes which emerged from the open-ended questions, the focus groups, and the individual interviews are highlighted below.

Themes related to mainstream teachers

Collaboration

Elementary school ESL teachers earnestly wanted to collaborate with their mainstream counterparts but were rarely given the time or the opportunity to do so. They sought participation

through team-teaching and group curriculum planning but often to no avail. ESL teachers wanted to be asked for advice and suggestions regarding the English language learners but found that their willingness to share was not always met with a willingness to listen.

Understanding Second Language Acquisition

ESL teachers felt that mainstream teachers lacked the most basic understanding of SLA issues, specifically the BICS/CALP distinction, thereby perpetuating their own language learning myths and fostering unduly high or unduly low expectations of their English language learners. The lack of SLA knowledge also seemed to impact mainstream teachers' awareness of what the ESL teacher role encompassed and created a sense of distance and negative feelings among staff.

Devaluation of the ESL teacher role

Many ESL teachers balked at terms such as "glorified aides," "tutors," and "non-teachers" which were frequently used by mainstream teachers to describe the ESL teacher role. The teaching of small groups of ESL students was seen as a "really cushy job" and created what one ESL teacher called the "small group envy" phenomenon. These comments occurred even in school settings where the ESL teacher load might have been ten or eleven small ESL groups of twenty to thirty minute duration with multiple lesson plan preparations to address the diverse needs of each group.

Themes related to school principals

Setting the tone for staff and students

Elementary school ESL teachers derived a positive sense of professionalism from principals who demonstrated a strong team orientation, offered ongoing support, and provided staff workshops to help increase everyone's understanding about second language learning and multicultural issues. These principals were said to exhibit a very welcoming attitude towards their English language learners, the ESL program, and the ESL staff. They also encouraged ESL teacher participation on all school committees as well as advocacy for their students. As one ESL teacher said, "The staff takes its cue from the principal."

Providing physical space

The subject of providing adequate physical space for teaching ESL was a theme reiterated throughout the ESL teachers' narratives and became a tangible symbol to many of how they were viewed professionally. When they had a classroom that was roomy, easily accessible, and properly prepared, they felt that their own presence as well as that of their students in the school building

was not only recognized but welcomed. The corollary was therefore seen to be true as well: when these basic teaching conditions were denied them, a sense of unwelcome was perceived.

Recognizing the ESL teacher's role

This theme manifested itself in several guises. In one guise, this district's substitute teacher shortage often led to the use of ESL teachers as classrooms subs, with their own ESL classes canceled for the day. The two interviewed principals who were held in high esteem by their ESL teachers rotated this burden among all teachers. Other principals imposed this duty only on special service teachers, which included their ESL staff. In another guise, ESL teachers were used as testing aides in mainstream classrooms during the first six weeks of class when standardized tests were being given. This often resulted in a delay in the testing and placement of English language learners (ELLs) such that English language services were not made available until much later in the fall. The final guise appeared to be manifested by a lack of interest, initiative, or willingness on the principal's part to observe and evaluate the ESL teacher in her classroom. Many ESL teachers who had never been formally observed by their principals had come to believe that 'what' and 'how' and even 'whom' they taught in the ESL classroom didn't appear to be valued enough to be formally evaluated, despite district guidelines obliging principals to do so. One ESL teacher said that her principal's response to her request for an evaluation was that the teacher's demeanor in the hallways was indicative enough of her teaching abilities. A backhanded compliment?

Themes Related to English Language Learners

Comments regarding discrimination or bias against ELLs were slow to emerge in the focus groups and individual interviews but met with group agreement when they were discussed in the former. These topics were either obliquely alluded to or specifically mentioned in the open-ended surveys as well.

Subtle signs of discrimination

ESL teachers felt that their students were seen as an undervalued population whose gifts and talents were not being recognized. Quite often these students' good behavior and quiet demeanor allowed mainstream teachers to ignore their needs so that full attention could be focused on disciplining disruptive mainstream students. It was termed "benign neglect" by the ESL teachers, who saw it manifested in another manner as well. They felt that often their difficulties in scheduling and then actually pulling their ESL students out for class were hampered by mainstream teachers who wanted to keep this core of well behaved students in class as discipline buffers.

ESL teachers also felt that many mainstream teachers had lowered their expectations of ELL students, often in a paternalistic way, accepting "brightly colored pictures" rather than more serious academic work. One ESL teacher found that the only mainstream teacher on her staff who really pushed her ELL children and demanded more from them was a Vietnamese woman who had been in an ESL program herself. Another subtle sign of discrimination was the use by mainstream staff of terms such as "handicapped," "limited," or "remedial" for these English language learners.

<u>Blatant signs of discrimination</u>

The issue of inadequate physical space was identified as a blatant sign of discrimination by ESL teachers, pointing out that classroom space for the gifted and talented students always seemed to be found. It was said that these latter students' parents would not have tolerated anything less. At the time of this study, though this is no longer true, this district allowed ESL teachers to teach ELL students in self-contained ESL classrooms (as opposed to pull-out classes) despite the fact that these teachers had no K-6 elementary license; the requirements for K-6 foreign language immersion teachers who taught mainstream students in a self-contained classroom required a K-6 license as well as fluency in the foreign language. This double set of standards caused a great deal of resentment at that time. Another district rule, based on a court case, which is still in practice allows students of one particular language background to get preferential treatment by enabling them to receive ESL services based on a higher cut-off score on a particular language test than that for the other groups. Many ESL teachers viewed this as an equity issue among all ELL students since it discriminates against the majority of these students in the district.

ESL Teachers Viewed by Mainstream Teachers and School Principals

Both mainstream classroom teacher interviewees had established positive working relationships with the interviewed ESL teacher at their respective schools and collaborated with them through team-teaching. One ESL teacher was described as someone who "goes to bat for the kids, a real advocate for them." The other ESL teacher was appreciated for the time she spent in curriculum planning with the mainstream teacher. Both ESL teachers were praised for their willingness to share their expertise at staff meetings and workshops. Other ESL teachers, in contrast, were criticized for not being knowledgeable enough about grade level expectations or basic elementary school curriculum.

Both elementary school principals were extremely supportive of the ESL teachers, spoke highly of the work done by them, and encouraged all forms of teacher collaboration. The ESL teachers' interpersonal skills were touted as was their ability to provide leadership. Also noted was

their skill at building rapport with classroom teachers and being seen as team members. These ESL teachers were praised for their active participation on school-wide committees, ESL related or not, and for their willingness to offer their own ESL expertise within the school as well as within the local community.

Implications for elementary school ESL teachers

These aforementioned themes which emerged from the data reflected the many school situations or incidents in which elementary school ESL teachers felt either recognized and respected as professionals or marginalized and diminished in their roles.

With the added input from the triad interviews with the two elementary school ESL teachers who saw themselves as professionals as well as the laudatory comments about them from their mainstream teachers and school principals, a picture of ESL professionalism at the elementary school level began to take shape. It became clear that certain attributes, certain actions, and certain attitudes on the part of the elementary ESL teacher fostered a positive image of an ESL professional not only within herself but in the minds of her school staff members. A more professional teaching environment seemed to be created as well.

What can elementary school ESL teachers do on their part to not only feel professional on the inside but to appear professional on the outside? Based on the voices of these 53 ESL teachers, there are a number of positive steps which appear to have worked for many.

1) One such step is to become an articulate ESL spokesperson. By being knowledgeable about the field and being able to share this knowledge, an ESL teacher has the opportunity to explain who she is and what she does on a professional level. Active participation on school committees, at parent-teacher meetings, and in the community can ensure that the ESL perspective is not only heard but also understood. ESL teachers might consider organizing workshops for mainstream teachers in their building to help the latter increase their understanding of ESL issues. While still recognizing that they usually become the ultimate advocates for English language learners, ESL teachers need to find ways to share this role with school staff.

2) A second step is to collaborate with a mainstream teacher. Collaboration strengthens the connections between the mainstream classroom curriculum and the ESL one and it benefits both ESL and mainstream students through more meaningful classroom experiences. Examples of collaboration include joint curriculum planning, team-teaching, student evaluation, or specific committee work strategizing long term goals. ESL teachers also need to create allies or at least "sympathetic ears" who will be supportive of ESL issues, open to discussion and exchange of ideas,

and willing to learn how they can more effectively address the needs of English language learners in the mainstream classroom.

3) Continuing to be a learner as well as a teacher is important. Many elementary school ESL teachers do not have the formal education required for basic K-6 licensure. As extensive as an undergraduate or graduate education might have been in ESL, there are many aspects of elementary school teaching which are often not a part of the ESL knowledge base for licensure. It is really incumbent upon elementary school ESL teachers to learn as much as they can from mainstream colleagues regarding elementary school curriculum, materials, grade level expectations, and other pedagogical aspects which provide more insights into preparing ELL students for success in the mainstream.

4) It is also critical for ESL teachers to take a pro-active stance regarding ESL issues. Public schools are ipso facto bureaucratic systems which are difficult if not impossible to change easily. Nevertheless, if an ESL teacher finds, for example, that the way in which the ESL program is structured is antithetical to best practices, it is her professional responsibility to lobby for change. ESL teachers should also try to work with both the principal and the mainstream teachers in creating a school schedule which more smoothly encompasses the need for pulling students out for special services.

The amount of time that children are pulled out of their mainstream classroom on a daily basis has become a very real issue which cannot be minimized. A recent article which explored the problem of scheduling disruption in elementary schools causing such great fragmentation in the school day cited a national study which found that the average urban classroom is interrupted 125 times per week (Peterson, 1998). By taking a pro-active stance in discussing this problem, ESL teachers along with others might find better ways to structure the school day so that ESL services, rather than disrupting mainstream class time, are scheduled when all students in that classroom are making special choices and leaving for different reasons. Instead of having ten sessions of thirty minutes each per day, longer (45 to 90 minutes) and fewer sessions could be scheduled allowing more focused time on task and limiting the number of mainstream teachers with whom ESL teachers need to interact.

5) Finally, ESL teachers need to recognize the importance of good interpersonal skills on the job. Both principals interviewed for this study cited this factor as the most critical feature in defining professionalism for their ESL teachers on staff. The ability to get along with other teachers and maintain collegial relationships despite philosophical differences cannot be underscored enough. The two mainstream teachers interviewed for this study were impressed with the

professionalism of their ESL counterpart as much for their excellent interpersonal skills as for their ESL knowledge and experience. Moving beyond issues of popularity and social acceptance, good interpersonal skills create positive work relationships, which in turn foster a sense of professionalism.

Conclusion

Elementary school ESL teachers find themselves in a unique position from an educational, sociocultural, and political perspective. They are situated at the vortex of many swirling issues which confound not only the American public school system but the country as well. From the ESL teacher's vantage point, questions raised within school rooms seem to reverberate in living rooms around the nation. Perhaps it is not surprising that those who teach ESL are particularly sensitive to these issues, for it is often said that they come to the field with a missionary zeal. Theirs is, however, a mission to save educational souls, not religious ones. These are the teachers who have chosen their field of teaching far more for the dynamic multicultural nature of their students than for the allure of the subject matter itself. It is indeed a self-selected group which revels in the wonderful diversity of the students, seeing within each of them great gifts and talents that could as easily be wasted as developed. For many language minority students entering our public schools, the elementary school is the first stop on their educational journey. With a successful experience there, the English language learners will acquire an educational road map which can carry them on their journey through secondary school. Their ESL teachers are there to help them fill in as many linguistic, sociocultural, and academic gaps as possible. It stands to reason, then, that the more empowered elementary ESL teachers become to carry out their jobs professionally and to be seen as professionals, the more empowered these English language learners become to learn to their fullest potential.

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Creating a Framework for the Professional Development of Lecturers: The Berkeley Model

Linda M. von Hoene & Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl

Introduction

Over the past several years, increased attention has been paid to what is now commonly referred to as the "professionalization" of foreign language instructors. While much of the research in this area is focused on teacher preparation and training, a gradual shift in interest can be noted toward a more comprehensive view of professional development of teachers. Johnston (1997), for instance, notes that there is a change from the more short-term perspectives on teacher development and that "there are the beginnings of interest in larger scale, long-term matters of professional development." In this paper, we are concerned with language teaching professionals in postsecondary institutions. In the United States, language departments often draw a sharp line of demarcation between the lower division language courses, which are usually taught by lecturers[1], and upper division literature instruction, which is generally handled by the tenured or tenure-track faculty (see Patrikis, 1995; Chaput, 2000).

What "professional development" means depends in great part on the perspective and agendas of the speaker. For a Dean, for example, the call for professionalization may be driven by institutional and budgetary needs for stricter assessment procedures for rehiring, promotion, and downsizing. This approach, influenced by corporate rhetoric, generally focuses on outcomes and top-down assessment. For the directors of language centers, often faculty whose research specialties are second language acquisition or applied linguistics, the mandate to professionalize lecturers can provide an opportunity to productively – and somewhat subversively – rethink this term as a collaborative process of intellectual development among peers.

In this article we discuss a framework for working with lecturers that has been developed at UC Berkeley. Our paper has four parts: First, we will examine what the term professionalization connotes as applied to lecturers, bringing to light what might be called its colonialist underpinnings. Drawing on feminist, postcolonial, and recent pedagogical theory, we will then briefly sketch out alternative ways to approach the professional development of lecturers.

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[1] The title lecturer refers to non-tenure-track faculty Though some institutions may grant tenure to lecturers, the more common employment scenario is a 1-3 year, part or full time contract. Within the University of California system, the titles 'Lecturer' and 'Senior Lecturer' with or without 'Potential Security of Employment' fall under the Non-Senate Instructional Unit. For an in-depth discussion of lecturer profiles and professional development needs, see Van Deusen Scholl, von Hoene, and Moeller-Irving, 1999.

In the final two sections of this paper, we will discuss specific components of Berkeley's program and explore what can be said about the outcomes thus far.

The Colonial Discourse of Professionalization

Ironically, when the topic of "professionalization" is discussed in regard to lecturers, the conversation rarely includes the very voices of those who will be the object of this process[2]. Edge (1988; cited in Moeller, 1996, p. 61) makes a distinction between, on the one hand, teacher education or training as "something that can *be presented or managed by others*" and teacher development on the other, as "something that can be *done only by and for oneself*." If one were to ask lecturers their associations with the concept of professionalization, many would feel highly insulted at the condescension implied by the term. For what does this term assume? That lecturers are pre-professionals, that they have been given positions that they are professionally not prepared for? Might the same not be said, for example, of faculty in regard to their preparedness in many areas they are asked to teach? If we were, however, to say that faculty need to be "professionalized," we would be accused of imposing a corporate straitjacket on intellectual and scholarly pursuits. The fact that the use of this term is sanctioned for lecturers but not for tenure track faculty indicates yet another line of demarcation and site of differential privilege between these groups: lecturers are considered sub-professionals who teach language courses and must be carefully monitored while faculty are scholars pursuing intellectual work under the protection of academic freedom. Moreover, as Richards and Lockhart (1994, p.40) point out, language teachers themselves may feel ambivalent about their status as professionals because of the negative attitudes surrounding their work:

> Language teaching is not universally regarded as a profession – that is, as having unique characteristics, as requiring specialized skills and training, as being a lifelong and valued career choice, and as offering a high level of job satisfaction.

Similarly, Phillipson (1992), in discussing the historical context of the English language teaching profession, notes the demarcation between the experience of language teaching, only relatively recently subsumed under the discipline of applied linguistics, and the theoretical approaches to language, as defined by linguistics.

What is at stake here can be further illuminated by comparing the phrase "professionalization of lecturers" to images and concepts that have been studied extensively in colonial theory (see, for example, Said, 1979; Todorov, 1987). For if we consider the trope of the

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[2] It should be noted that both authors of this paper, one a lecturer and the other an academic coordinator, hold non-tenure track academic positions and speak therefore from a position of first-hand experience with these matters Both authors have worked closely with the BLC in developing programs for lecturers.

native or savage Other imagined and constructed in colonial literature, one can easily see the parallels to how institutions view lecturers.

The native, in the eyes of the colonizer, is also seen as immature, undeveloped, even childlike. Much the same can be said of the often infantilizing way that institutions treat lecturers. They are generally considered immature in their knowledge and not quite sophisticated enough to be considered faculty. And like children, more often than not, lecturers are given very little say in decisions that affect their professional lives.

Like the native peoples described in colonial literature, lecturers are also seen as a monolithic group. In spite of the great differences that characterize this population, there is a tendency to lump lecturers together, overlooking the specificities of their positions and their intellectual and professional development needs. Some have taught for two years, others for 30; some supervise TAs, others do not; some have complete autonomy in designing curriculum, others are given pre-set lesson plans.

Similarly, the native Other of colonial literature is never seen as having a history. So too, the histories and backgrounds that lecturers bring to their positions are often obliterated or leveled. There are lecturers who are native speakers and those who are nonnative speakers, there are those with Ph.D.s and those with B.A.s. There are those who have degrees in literature and those with degrees in foreign language teaching or ESL. There are those who have published books and those who are not interested at all in research.

The natives of colonial discourse were never given a voice. It was assumed that they could not or should not speak for themselves. Similarly, lecturers and their needs are defined and articulated from above, from the perspective of those with much more institutional power. Rarely are they given the forum or opportunity to speak up, to speak out, and certainly not, if they want to maintain their positions, to speak back.

Finally, the native, from the perspective of the colonizer, was seen as a savage who needed to be tamed or "civilized," much like the lecturer must be "professionalized." And, on top of that, as if to ward off any possible state of dissatisfaction or potential rebellion, lecturers, like the native peoples of colonial literature, are imagined as ultimately being grateful for that which the colonizer imparts to their existence.

By drawing these parallels, we are in no way trying to say that lecturers actually experience the same hardships and oppressions that colonized peoples do. Instead, we hope to demonstrate that the current discourse that surrounds lecturers resonates with these dynamics and that many institutions, deans, and tenure track faculty members contribute to this discourse. Lecturers, one

might argue, become scapegoats and sites of literal and phantasmatic displacement through which academic institutions attempt to consolidate and secure their own identities at a time of instability.

In sum, the term "professionalization" understood as a top-down, outcome-oriented process has colonialist overtones. It entails a process where those who will be impacted do not have an adequate voice; it fails to recognize the heterogeneous nature of the group; and it does not acknowledge the very different histories and needs of the individuals that constitute this particular population.

Rethinking Professionalization through Feminist Theory and Reflective Pedagogy

If this approach is not serving us well, how might we construct an alternative? If one looks at the discourses that have profoundly influenced both teaching and research in departments of foreign languages over the past two decades, one can construct an alternate approach to working with lecturers. In contrast to the top-down, colonialist model, this approach might draw on feminist and postcolonial theory, and principles of collaborative learning and reflective practice.

Feminist theory and postcolonial theory stand in direct contrast to the characteristics of colonial discourse that we have just mentioned. Perhaps one of the key concepts that defines these two discourses is the bringing forth of the voices of women and colonial subjects, to enable, as postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (1995) has put it, the subaltern, or the native, to speak. Along these lines, it is crucial to enable lecturers to articulate their intellectual and professional needs. A language center interested in promoting the intellectual development of lecturers might consider, for example, including lecturers on committees and in the decision making process that guides the direction of its programs. At Berkeley, lecturers serve on the executive committee of the center, are represented on the annual fellowship review committee, contribute to the newsletter, and actively participate in town meetings with the dean. Using the terms of bell hooks (1984), one could say that a concerted effort has been made by the BLC to bring the lecturers from "the margin to the center." By doing this, a language center can assist in bringing to light the contributions that lecturers can make to the university and the distinct talents, histories, and abilities that characterize lecturers but which are, for the most part, overlooked.

Fueled primarily by the writings and work of women of color, (see, for example, Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981; Anzaldúa, 1990), feminist theory has also been vigilantly concerned with bringing forth the differences that exist among women. The concept of woman – which in the early days of feminist theory was implicitly defined as white, middle class, and heterosexual – has been problematized by women of color to demonstrate the differences that exist among women along

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the lines of race, class, ethnicity, age, etc. Using these shifts in feminist theory as a model, a new approach to working with lecturers would make more complex the concept of "lecturer" to bring forth the multiplicity of differences and backgrounds that exist in this group. The professional development and intellectual needs of lecturers are directly related to these differences. One size does not fit all.

As von Hoene (1995) has elaborated in an article on TA development, feminist theory and in particular the work of the Bulgarian born French psychoanalyst and linguist Julia Kristeva has been instrumental in showing us that subjects are not necessarily static but are involved in an ongoing process of change. Kristeva captures this in her term, "sujet-en-proces" ("subject-in-process" or "subject-on-trial") (1984). For Kristeva, what this means is that individuals can redraw the boundaries between the conscious and unconscious self by calling themselves into question, putting themselves on trial, and participating in a process of critical self-reflection. What Kristeva is advocating is, in many ways, very similar to what Donald Schön (1987), Stephen Brookfield (1995) and others suggest in their work on becoming critically reflective practitioners. This type of formative professional and intellectual development can provide an antidote to the top-down, outcomes-oriented and quantitatively-driven, summative models.

There may be some readers who would argue that many lecturers do not want to develop professionally and that they do not want to be "subjects-in-process." And in some cases, this may be true. However, just as it is the role of a good educator to provide the context in which learning can occur, so too it is the responsibility of a language center to construct the conditions under which lecturers can reflect upon and rethink the practices, approaches, and the assumptions that guide their work.

Reflection of this sort cannot be done in isolation. It requires collaboration and the opportunity to participate in productive dialogues with peers for the purpose of intellectual development. Because many lecturers find themselves quite isolated, it is crucial to construct an interdepartmental forum in which lecturers can participate in a critical exchange, a community of reflective practice with peers.

Many of the characteristics of feminist theory that we allude to here are familiar to us through the pedagogical practices that we have come to refer to as collaborative or active learning in an inclusive classroom. We know, for example, that student learning is augmented by group work and collaborative projects. We are attentive to differences among students and the knowledge that accrues from the dialogical interplay of these differences. We have come to understand that fostering a community of learners where all voices are heard provides an opportunity for the productive exchange of ideas that is crucial for intellectual growth. Whether we approach this from

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the perspective of feminist theory or from recent work in pedagogical theory, these are indeed the qualities that need to underpin the professional development of lecturers: the inclusion of voices, an attentiveness to differences, the construction of community and sites of intellectual exchange. In essence, instead of "professionalizing" lecturers we should simply construct the conditions in which lecturers can be challenged to articulate and address their intellectual and professional development interests and needs. With these thoughts in mind, we now discuss how the Berkeley Language Center has attempted to construct this type of collaborative framework for the intellectual and professional development of lecturers. We will first outline the major functions of the Berkeley Language Center and describe some of the programs that have been particularly effective.

BLC Programs

The Berkeley Language Center (BLC) was created in 1994 as a resource for lecturers in language departments[3]. Lecturers are appointed and retained by their respective departments, not by the language center, a fact which has allowed the BLC to maintain a facilitative rather than a top-down monitoring function in the professional lives of language teachers. This avoids the conflict of interest that some language centers may encounter if they are simultaneously responsible for hiring and firing decisions and for promoting the professional interests of lecturers. The mission statement of the BLC clearly articulates its role in promoting the professional development of lecturers:

> The mission of the BLC is to improve and strengthen foreign language instruction on the Berkeley campus by keeping teachers informed of new developments in the fields of language pedagogy, second language acquisition, and applied linguistics. The BLC promotes and facilitates the use of new language learning technologies in the classroom. The BLC is particularly interested in helping lecturers develop new materials, attend conferences and in-service training workshops, and publish their ideas and materials. It has modest funds to help lecturers attend professional meetings and develop new teaching projects. (BLC Brochure, Spring 1998)[4]

To accomplish this, the BLC offers various programs and activities to lecturers and graduate student instructors in foreign language departments. These programs are intended to foster the

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[3] The impetus to create the language center came from several sources The founding director, Claire Kramsch, had already begun to offer workshops for lecturers and, as an outside reviewer at Stanford, had made the recommendation for such a center at Stanford. Berkeley's Dean of Humanities subsequently expressed interest in a language center to support the professionalization of lecturers, and external reviewers of a language department at Berkeley also made a recommendation for such a center. Ultimately, a task force of faculty, lecturers, and staff was created to draw up the plan for the center. While the center would not be what it is without the extraordinary vision of its director, Claire Kramsch, one of the hallmarks of the center has been the inclusion of many voices, including those of lecturers. For example, the programs of the BLC are guided by two advisory boards consisting of faculty, lecturers, graduate students, and staff. Funding for the BLC comes from the College of Arts and Humanities and from the International and Area Studies Center. Research fellowships are funded by the College of Arts and Humanities and by the Graduate Division.

[4] The mission statement and further information about the Berkeley Language Center can be found on its web site at <www.itp.berkeley.edu/blc/new_pages/>

type of reflective practice mentioned above. In this section, we will focus on those components that show particular potential for addressing the research and professional development interests of lecturers: the BLC Fellowship Program, research interest groups, professional development workshop series, lecture series, and town meetings.

BLC Fellowship Program

The BLC Fellowship Program provides financial support to a limited number of lecturers and graduate students to undertake research on instructional development projects. The fellowships, according to the BLC Fellowship announcement, "enable language teachers to work on special projects related to the theory and practice of foreign language learning and teaching to improve the quality of language instruction at UC Berkeley or to strengthen their understanding of second language acquisition"[5]. Among the types of projects that are considered for support are: "research in theoretical aspects of second language acquisition; design and development of language learning software and other instructional materials; development of handbooks on specific aspects of language instruction; curricular innovations; empirical classroom research," and other related endeavors.

Each year one or two lecturers are selected for the program and awarded partial release time to pursue a curriculum innovation project. Assistance is available for one course release time per semester, which constitutes one-third of the teaching load of a lecturer with a full-time appointment. In principle, a lecturer could be awarded a fellowship for the entire academic year, although in practice the award has generally been shared by two lecturers who each are given a one-course release (out of a six-course yearly teaching load). After completion of their projects, fellows present their work to their colleagues, publish a short summary in the BLC Newsletter[6], and are encouraged to make results available to a wider audience through publication in professional journals.

A recent survey among lecturers by the BLC (Van Deusen-Scholl, von Hoene, & Moeller-Irving, 1999) indicated a growing interest in the application of instructional technologies to language teaching, which is reflected in the types of projects that have been funded. Twenty projects have been funded over the past three years, of which seven were awarded to lecturers and thirteen to graduate students.[7] These projects represent a variety of language departments and programs, including many of the less commonly taught languages such as Tagalog and Afrikaans.

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[5] The complete text of the announcement can be found at <wwwitp.berkeley.edu/blc/new_pages/fellows.htm>

[6] Back issues of the BLC Newsletter are available on the web at <wwwitp.berkeley.edu/blc/new_pages/newsletter.html>

[7] A complete list and a description of the projects funded thus far can be found on the BLC web site at <wwwitp.berkeley.edu/blc/new_pages/fellows.htm>

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This year's projects continue this trend toward bringing in a diversity of languages and include projects on, among others, Finnish, and Welsh. Approximately half the projects each year are technology-based and involve the development of web sites or CD-ROM-based instructional materials. Four of the seven lecturer projects have involved the development of computer-based classroom projects. This has been particularly effective for Chinese, which is creating innovations in its curriculum to move some of the time-consuming literacy acquisition tasks (e.g., learning the stroke order for characters, converting characters to their simplified form, preferred in mainland China) out of the classroom and into the computer lab in order to spend more time on communicative activities. The weekly meetings of fellowship recipients provide an opportunity for dialogue and the critical exchange of ideas. Lecturers who apply for the fellowships tend to be motivated by specific curricular needs or classroom-generated questions or problems and generally seek some course release to develop their ideas. Most graduate students, on the other hand, perceive the fellowships to be more generally beneficial to their future careers, in that – in addition to the prestige of the award – they gain valuable research experience and exposure to instructional development issues. Thus, while the two groups share in the same weekly discussion sessions, their initial goals and objectives are very different. For many of the lecturers, however, the fellowships have become a catalyst in an ongoing process of professional development that continues beyond the term of the award. Several of the lecturers, for example, have continued their projects for additional semesters, and have obtained additional funding from other on-campus sources to support their work. Others have become involved in the other BLC programs, such as the portfolio workshop or the heritage language group.

Research Interest Groups

One way to bring lecturers with similar interests together in smaller groups has been the formation of research interest groups around particular themes. One such group is the Heritage Language interest group that is devoted to the concerns of heritage language teaching. In recent years, foreign language instruction at secondary and postsecondary institutions in the United States has undergone a shift from the traditional European languages, such as German and French, toward the – what used to be called – less commonly taught languages, such as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean, which form part of the linguistic and cultural heritage of a growing percentage of the students enrolled in these language courses. The primary objectives of the heritage research group at Berkeley are to gain insight into the concerns of the language departments and programs and to provide them with a forum to share their experiences in heritage language instruction. Participants include lecturers from a variety of departments that serve heritage students (e.g., Chinese,

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Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Vietnamese, Tagalog, etc.). The group convenes several times per semester to discuss issues of common concern. Topics have included, for example: administrative issues (e.g. whether or not to institute two-track programs), curricular change (e.g. the development of a specialized curriculum for heritage language students in Tagalog), classroom problems (e.g., multiple skill levels among native and nonnative speakers), and issues specific to a particular language. Instructors reflect on pedagogical problems and classroom practice and have begun to seek constructive solutions to these problems that are informed by current research in language pedagogy and applied linguistics. The first step in this process has been to problematize the issues and to compare them across languages. A preliminary report on the work of this group can be found in a recent issue of the AILA Newsletter (Van Deusen-Scholl, 1998) and the BLC Newsletter.

Professional Development Workshops

Based on interest expressed in a comprehensive survey of the professional development needs of lecturers, the BLC has offered a professional development workshop series for lecturers on developing a teaching portfolio for the past two years. The goal of the workshop series has been to work collaboratively over the course of the semester on various activities that will both enhance teaching and learning and enable lecturers to begin working on their teaching portfolios. Activities have included critical reflection on course syllabi, objectives and materials; analysis of student feedback on teaching; peer observation and feedback; the development of statements of teaching philosophy. The series is intended for lecturers who would like to improve their teaching, assist graduate students in developing portfolios, or begin to work on documenting teaching for the renewal of their contracts. Over the two-year period, 12 lecturers from 7 different language programs have participated in the workshop series. The interdepartmental nature of the group has enabled lecturers to break down the barriers that often exist among language programs and to become aware of the multiple differences that characterize each language program. The response to the series has been very positive with one lecturer suggesting that this series be required of all new lecturers in foreign languages.

Lecture Series

One of the most successful programs in terms of the number of participants per session has been the BLC Lecture Series. Each semester the BLC invites a number of distinguished guests in the area of applied linguistics, language pedagogy, sociolinguistics, second language acquisition, and other related fields. This past year, for example, topics have included: Intercultural

Communication, Growing up Bilingual, Academic Language Proficiency, Content-based Instruction, and many others.[8]

In addition, at the end of each semester, the BLC Fellows participate in the Instructional Development Research Project presentations to discuss their projects. This has been a very rewarding experience in that these projects generally directly benefit particular departments on campus and may contribute to the improvement of the language curriculum. It is also an opportunity for Berkeley language teachers to share innovative ideas and demonstrate technology that may be of interest to lecturers and graduate students in other departments who are interested in the application of technology to language teaching.

Town Meetings

Town Meetings are held once per semester and constitute an open forum where lecturers can voice their concerns, share ideas, and exchange information with peers and administrators. At a recent meeting, for example, the incoming Dean of Humanities met with the lecturers to get acquainted with a constituency that often lacks a connection to the administrative structures beyond the departmental level. It was quite heartening to see how forthright the lecturers were in articulating their needs and concerns. For example, several of the lecturers spoke up about the ways in which their course loads are calculated, which often results in appointments that are reduced to less than 100% time. Other concerns pertained to the transition from yearly to three-year contracts (called ominously "the eye of the needle") and the need to gain greater clarification in this process. The willingness to articulate these issues and problems may derive directly from the sense of community that has been built through the BLC programs.

Outcomes

While the initiatives of the BLC are relatively new, some immediate, positive outcomes can be noted. It must be cautioned that to a great extent the benefits of a professional development program cannot be – and, arguably, *should* not be – quantifiable or directly measurable. Among the less tangible, though no less rewarding, outcomes are exposure to new ideas among a widening circle of language teachers, building a sense of community and cohesion across departmental divisions, increased peer interaction, renewed commitment to effective teaching practices, increased familiarity with current theoretical and methodological insights, and application of those insights to teaching practice. Obviously we cannot claim success for each individual in each department; yet there has been a noticeable increase in the amount of interaction and sense of

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[8] For a complete list of speakers and lecture topics, please refer to the BLC web site at

collegiality across departments. At the same time, individual benefits can also be noted: for some, the new insights gained have led to more reflective teaching practices, as evidenced by the development of statements of teaching philosophy or compilation of a teaching portfolio; others have made or are in the process of making innovations in curriculum design or have begun to incorporate new technologies in the language classroom, while yet others have begun a program of research and/or publication. Several of the lecturers and graduate students who had been involved in BLC activities have been able to secure tenure track faculty positions on the basis of the expertise they gained (e.g., developing a teaching portfolio or gaining familiarity with instructional technology).

Such outcomes may also not necessarily be observable in the short term. We have observed a gradual increase in the number of people who participate regularly in the various programs, and this may have a cumulative impact on the overall level of commitment to teaching and research among the Berkeley lecturers. While some activities, such as the Lecture Series, draw large numbers of participants, other, more time-intensive programs may only see a handful of people who are willing or able to commit a significant amount of time and effort to such activities. Yet, we are seeing the development of a core group of lecturers who are becoming increasingly involved in improving language instruction and strengthening their commitment to their profession. This has led to a cross-fertilization of ideas among the various groups. For example, one lecturer who initiated the idea for the heritage language research interest group has since then been granted a BLC Fellowship to develop a heritage language curriculum. She has also participated in the portfolio workshop and will be giving a presentation on her work at an upcoming professional meeting.

Among the more tangible outcomes of the professional development efforts of the past few years are the publications, curricular innovations, and technology projects. The BLC Fellows are asked to report on their work in the BLC Newsletter, a biannual publication for the language teaching community on campus. For many, this is a first opportunity to make their ideas available to a wider audience and is intended as an incentive for additional dissemination of the outcomes (e.g., through conference presentations or contributions to professional journals). Several of the fellows have indeed presented their work at national or international conferences, or have published the results.

Several of the technology-related projects have resulted in web pages or CD-ROMs that are currently being incorporated into the instructional program. For example, the Chinese Fan-jian character conversion program is available in the language lab to beginning students and has

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<www.itp.berkeley.edu/blc/new_pages/workshops.html>

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generated commercial interest as well. The Spanish culture CD-ROM became a collaborative project with students and raised many interesting questions on the use of technology and the critical representation of culture through electronic media (see Kramsch, A'Ness, & Lam, in press).

The collaborative process has been central to the BLC Fellowships and has contributed to a deepened understanding of the more complex questions of language pedagogy and L2 acquisition. Thus, while many of the projects have started out with trying to provide practical solutions to specific needs, they often lead to larger questions of a more theoretical nature. This was the case, for instance, with the Spanish CD-ROM project mentioned above. Similarly, the Tagalog project was initially primarily intended as a means of addressing the problem of multiple skills in a heritage classroom, but was gradually transformed into a more general framework for heritage language instruction that can be of relevance to other languages as well.

Conclusion

In general, one can say that the BLC programs are fostering an intellectual community of lecturers, many of whom had previously been rather isolated. The increased dialogue and familiarity with lecturers from other departments has enabled lecturers to realize the many differences that exist among the language programs at Berkeley and in the various teaching traditions that characterize each language. Perhaps most importantly, the program has enabled lecturers to feel invited to pursue teaching and research interests in a supportive and respectful environment. In contrast to the top- down, outcome-oriented approach, the BLC is supporting the intellectual development of those teaching languages from the bottom up.

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Non-native English Teacher Educator's Response to Prevailing Sociocultural Conditions: Implications for TESOL Education Programs

Mae Lombos Wlazlinski

Introduction and Overview

Growth in the number of non-native speakers (NNSs) graduating from TESOL programs in the U.S. invariably results in the increasing presence of NNS English language educators in professional circles. In this situation, it is essential for TESOL education programs to address the needs of the NNS teacher-trainees (currently reported to be 40% of total enrolment in U.S., Britain, and Australia by Liu, 1999) and define their role as English teachers in an asymmetrical society where the teaching of English is traditionally allocated to native speakers (NSs). Jacinta Thomas (1999) deplores challenges to the credibility of NNSs in society, the classroom, and the profession, resulting much from the native/non-native speaker dichotomy and the "native language fallacy" (Phillipson, 1992 as cited in Braine, 1999) which promotes the assumption that native speakers make the best teachers.

In a colloquium in the 1998 TESOL convention, several questions were raised to address the challenges to the legitimacy of English spoken by people of color and the sociopolitical implications of such challenges. A few of the questions asked were 1) what makes one a native speaker? 2) what makes one qualified to teach? 3) what are the perceptions toward World Englishes and Ebonics? (Nero, 1999). In the face of exclusionary preference for NSs over NNSs regardless of training and education (Braine, 1999), and "very little information regarding how teacher preparation programs are incorporating curricula related to non-native professionals in the field" (Kamhi-Stein, 1999) it is important to ask: how can TESOL education programs and curricula prepare NNS graduates for situations where their linguistic and cultural identity is questioned and their professional credibility impugned because of their NNS minority status? How can these programs help their teacher-trainees get past the struggles and attain success or validation as an expert at the end? How can programs enable NNS teacher-trainees to avoid the discrimination they often face in the profession for which they are trained? Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999) describe a TESOL program that offers a graduate seminar in which NNS students read about and discuss issues related to NNS in the profession. Similarly, Kamhi-Stein (1999), implements a cross-curricular intervention measure whereby NNS-related issues are integrated for discussion in the syllabi of selected courses.

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Need for Teacher Action Research

One of the most effective ways to study professional problems, and continue to improve and develop as teachers and teacher educators is through reflection on our professional practice through action research. This process involves identifying and framing a problem, initiating an inquiry, gathering data systematically, analyzing results, thinking of our analysis, and evaluating our action plan for fit as we go through a new cycle of reflection, implementation, and analysis (Fischer, 1996). The idea for this approach was spawned from 1) my own experiences as a non-native TESOL teacher educator of color in a predominately white university in the South (evidenced in student comments on the university faculty evaluation instrument and my informal observations of student behaviors), 2) the opportunities and constraints that state-mandated policies, curricula and materials afforded my ESOL teacher-trainees (both graduate and undergraduate levels), and 3) the linguistic and culturally diverse populations in the schools.

1. TESOL Education Program

I teach in a regional state university in the southwestern part of Georgia. Through its Department of Curriculum and Instruction, it offers graduate and undergraduate endorsements in English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). The undergraduate sequence, comprised of three courses, is available to those students enrolled in the Early Childhood Education program administered on a selected campus. These students complete the endorsement courses as part of their course work for their undergraduate degree; hence, they receive the endorsement along with their initial certificate. The inclusion of the endorsement courses in this program resulted from the large influx of children from Mexico, South and Central America into the area schools. The ESOL graduate endorsement is for previously certified teachers to "add on" to their certificate. These teachers may or may not be enrolled in graduate programs at the Master of Education or the Specialist in Education levels while they take the three required ESOL courses. These courses are offered via distance education, Georgia Statewide Academic and Medical System (popularly known as GSAMS), and with some online component from the main campus to a number of rural school sites where teachers remain unserved by traditional course delivery.

The content of the three courses: Applied Linguistics, Methods, and Culture and Education in the undergraduate sequence and Issues in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition, Teaching English as a Second Language: Methods and Materials, Language-Minority Education and Culture in the graduate sequence is based on the outcomes for ESOL Endorsement prescribed by the state of Georgia. At the time of this writing, there are no Quality Core Curriculum

specifications (QCCs) developed specifically for ESOL instruction. Teacher educators guide their teacher-trainees to use appropriate grade-level content-area QCCs and the P-12 Teachers of English as a Second Language (TESOL) national standards in the development of unit plans. The success of the ESOL Endorsement Program in producing competent undergraduate and graduate candidates is continually challenged by several sociocultural and programmatic factors which will be discussed in a later section.

2. Sociocultural Context – the Setting

In Georgia, language minority population totals grew from 16,214 in 1990 to 34,605 in 1996, an increase of 113%, whereas limited English proficient students went from 6,122 in 1990 to 15,242 in 1996 equating to an increase of 148% (1990 and 1996 figures were released by the State Department of Education). The continued growth in the Hispanic population is notably visible in Dalton City and Gainesville where some P-12 classrooms may have as high as 85% Hispanic composition. Other language minority groups in addition to Hispanics comprise half of the student population in some schools in Metro Atlanta.

Needless to say, in my school's service areas, sociocultural factors continually challenge the success of the ESOL Endorsement Program. The society at large is monocultural; positions of status and power are held by Anglo-Americans; teachers have been increasingly monocultural and monolingual (the picture across the state is not much different). Neighborhood communities are close-knit relations of families and friends which are mostly long established and permanent and are generally not welcoming of outsiders, including Anglo Americans. This impermeable closed network is clearly exhibited in the tension between the students and myself, their teacher as I have previously alluded to. Every time I teach the course: Language-Minority Culture and Education, white NS teacher-trainees get provoked. Because of the nature of the course, which is premised on providing equity of access to education and closing in the gap between mainstream students and minority students in terms of academic success, classroom discussions of inequitable and unjust practices in society are often times construed as condemnation of them. Consequently, I find myself navigating uncharted feelings, beliefs, attitudes towards "otherness" every time. Several students (or teacher-trainees), undergraduate and graduate, in the program relate that they have not left their small towns since birth, have not associated or gone close to any person of color. They described growing up in all-white neighborhoods, going to all white schools, shopping in all white grocery stores, etc. In class discussions and in their journals, some argued that they, much less their students, would never have to interact with diverse people. Not surprisingly, three undergraduate

students disclosed that I was the first Asian with whom they had closely interacted. As a matter of fact, so much was the discomfort of many students in one undergraduate class that they did not ask or approach me and diverted their eyes during the whole quarter.

Disconcerting are the following excerpts from mid-course student reflections from a graduate class: "My main concern is while we are teaching the non English speakers, the English speakers will fall behind in their studies." "I don't have a need for multicultural education because our school population is 100 percent white." "You can teach ESL children for as long as you speak English natively." "It is unfair for native speaking children to be with ESL children because ESL children pull the class down." "Why can't they just learn English." Particularly disturbing is this blunt self exposure from an inservice teacher who when her turn came to describe her heritage proudly declared: "I don't know my ethnic background. I'm from the South, and I really don't care. I am a redneck. Everything you've heard about a redneck, I am that. I believe all children are children, minority or majority as you describe them – it doesn't make a difference!" Further, several students wrote that they were offended by the "one-sided portrayal of minority students as unfairly-treated victims of racism and discrimination." Personally, I do not doubt that these graduate ESOL teacher-trainees care about their students and are well meaning towards their ESOL (also referred to as ESL) students. Perhaps, highly-charged topics like discrimination must not be tackled directly.

In addition to the challenges to the ESOL teacher education program posed by sociocultural factors are challenges from educational programmatic failures – many of Georgia's ESOL students still do not meet state competency requirements for high school graduation, yet there is low recognition of the expediency and urgency in addressing the social and academic needs of ESOL students; there is inconsistent state-wide support for ESOL P-12 education in terms of funding and services; and there is lack of interest for ESOL training among content area teachers, particularly in areas where there is low incidence of ESOL students. In many instances, schools lose their ESOL students to local industries before then finish high school. It is not inconceivable that programmatic deficiencies may have "pushed out" these students to early work experience.

My Classroom Research: What I Set Out to Explore:
Non-native Teacher Educator as Researcher

Tired of being treated as an "outsider" and afraid that students' attitude was getting in the way of effective delivery of instruction, I became more and more determined to find a viable means

to reach my students. I reflected on ways to make adverse situations work for me, e.g., make my students accept me for my expertise regardless of my "otherness."

Teachers and students bring to their classrooms their experiences and their life stories which, in great measure, influence the dynamics of teaching and learning. In the case of immigrant minority teachers and students, particularly those of color, they wear a badge that visibly distinguishes them from others – their ethnic identity. This could be self-ascribed or imposed upon them by the mainstream society, and in the latter case, more divisive than inclusive. This is also my story. Since 1996, I have become a TESOL teacher educator of color in a predominantly white Southern university – I am the "other." My "otherness" has brought on different reactions. Correctly predicting when I cease to be the teacher educator/facilitator before the students regard me as the "other" is unreliable. In their faculty evaluations, students' hostilities towards me were disclosed as they typified me as "the stranger in the village." Students wrote the following: "Why should we be damned for what our ancestors had done?" "I hate the book, and the professor agrees with the author." "She only focused on linguistically and culturally diverse students to the exclusion of Caucasians." "It is not my fault that these children come to this country and find school difficult. They should learn English quickly." "The professor is biased." "She is Asian, so she does not know what course expectations are realistic." "You don't have a right to write comments about my use of English because you are only an ESL speaker."

I am well aware that how I respond to my students' attitude towards me and the rest of the "others" impacts my teaching. Therefore, I go in every class I teach guided by three principles: 1) teaching is learning, 2) all students can learn, and 3) knowledge leads to understanding, which in turn leads to action. Accordingly, my teaching practices undergo several metamorphoses in and outside of the classroom as I respond to my students' responses to my teaching.

Teacher educators are "agents of curriculum change" (Kamhi-Stein, 1999). In this capacity, I seek out ways to ensure relevance and efficacy of my school's TESOL teacher education program. Under the existing societal and educational conditions and the teacher educator's NNS status, I raise the following research questions: (1) How can I use the sociocultural conditions to work for the success of the endorsement program? (2) What comprises a relevant knowledge base for these ESOL language teachers in terms of instructional practices to successfully teach their linguistically and culturally diverse students, given the limitations of a three-course endorsement program?

This paper describes my teacher action research which resulted from the challenges to my role as English language teacher educator, largely due to my minority NNS status. Presently, it is going through another cycle of reflection, implementation, and analysis. The action research

project: *The Promise of Contextualized Course Materials: Best Practices in their own Backyards*, addresses the larger theme of the processes of language teacher education which incorporate sociocultural contexts. It explores the efficacy of a curricular response to sociocultural challenges in language teacher preparation by a NNS teacher educator. It discusses an approach to designing and constructing contextualized course materials and establishing curricular and instructional criteria for language teacher education. Such an approach aims to provide an engaging way in which the knowledge base in language teacher education is conceptualized and operationalized, particularly in contexts where teaching ESL students K-12 is less than promoted or rewarded.

Reporting my preliminary findings, I intend to provide additional evidence for TESOL education programs to include NNS-related issues in their curricula and to create opportunities for teacher-trainees to have first-hand practice in situation management through classroom action research projects while they are in training. This way, they have immediate access to "experts" for advice.

My Action Plan

The Development of a Survey Instrument and Teaching Videotapes

To support student learning and personal development, I decided to practice what I preach: design instruction that consistently displays sensitivity to students' diverse background experiences, dispositions, understandings, and interests. In this case, the production of a series of ESOL teaching videos. Because of the closed nature of local communities, the videography project was based on the assumption that if pre-service teachers recognized former teachers or their children's teachers on video demonstrating strategies and activities, they would be more accepting of theories and pedagogical practices in the ESOL endorsement courses. The lessons, will therefore, take on the stamp of sponsorship by the local community. In a way, the local community grows and trains its own teachers. I will return to the video project later.

The action research plan includes several stages that feed into one another. I began by establishing contacts with principals and administrators in our service area, getting support from them, and asking them to nominate regular classroom teachers who are successful with ESOL children, in particular. I informed these administrators that the project included collection of survey data from teachers and video data of their classroom instruction. Accordingly, school principals identified and selected their successful teachers. Some principals arranged special meetings with their faculty, so I could discuss my research with them. Others talked to their faculty and gave me the names of those who were willing to participate.

While the arrangements were underway, I was concurrently designing the survey questionnaire. I read literature on best practices for linguistic and culturally diverse students (August & Pease-Alvarez, 1996; Lucas, 1997; Brisk, 1998; Thomas & Collier, 1996; Sadek; Garcia, 1988, 1991) and culled strategies and approaches that were shown to be effective with children from diverse backgrounds. I had two goals. One, I would like to develop a survey questionnaire on effective practices that has content validity. Second, the survey responses would provide a database on effective strategies and practices which the classroom video project would zoom in on, resulting in the teaching demonstration video series.

The survey questionnaire comprised two sections: demographic and classroom practices of 38 items on designing and delivering instruction. The questionnaire was piloted for content, clarity of language, and feasibility of administration in my graduate level Methods of Teaching ESOL class. With some minor revisions on phraseology, the questionnaire was ready for distribution.

In January 1998, the survey was either individually or group administered in specially arranged meetings. Individuals turned in their surveys to school secretaries who held them for me until I picked up them while some faxed or mailed their forms to me. A total of 86 teachers completed the survey.

The survey data were analyzed. First, reliability tests run on the 38-item scale yielded an alpha of .8252. Second, high frequency strategies/practices were determined using descriptive statistics. Third, factor analysis was run to search for structure among the 39 variables and to limit the number of successful practices and attributes of successful teachers (results of factor analysis are not included in this paper). These results were used in establishing criteria for prioritizing the knowledge base and forming the basis for a locally contextualized and validated set of standards that the knowledge and skills base should include or set of criteria against which requirements in the three-course sequence can be measured. As a matter of fact, I had already revised my syllabus to include "favored" ESL strategies. Moreover, this set of standards was going to ensure exit competency for all our candidates congruent with local conditions.

The second stage of data collection was the videography. Since this was time-intensive, from the 86 teachers, I selected 30 participants on the basis of their school location. I later met with them to arrange my classroom visits. Last, I sent home parents' permission letters in Spanish and English with the students of participating teachers.

Once the parents' permission forms came back, videotaping schedules were firmed up, and the second stage of data collection began. Videotaping, which averaged 90 minutes per teacher (I videotaped 5 teachers more than once on different days because they were exemplary), was carried

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out from January to July 1998 in five public schools K-12 in Northeast Georgia. Here, the Hispanic population from nearby Mexico has grown tremendously in the last 3 years, and the "White flight" has left some schools with a White minority (20%-25%). Educational reforms are taking place, and some attempts at transitional bilingual education is practiced to ameliorate the position of recent immigrants' and temporary workers' children in the public schools.

The collected video data are still undergoing analysis. Video production involves several steps which are ongoing. First is the selection of video clips from eighty-six 90-minute recordings of teachers for the demonstration video series of successful practices. Second is video editing and production, field testing in my graduate and undergraduate Methods class, and collecting viewers' feedback to determine validity and appropriacy of the demonstration video materials, and most important, of my assumption that using local role models of successful teaching in my demonstration videos will lessen the "us/them" mentality and the "native language fallacy."

In the next sections, I present highlights of my findings. These are tentative due to the cyclical nature of action research.

Results

Effective Strategies of Successful Teachers and Teaching Videotapes From Survey Data

The survey tapped into five issues: content of lesson plan, teaching strategies, language use in the classroom, use of diverse cultural backgrounds, assessment and evaluation. One of the important findings in the survey is that these teachers, who were identified by their principals as effective, incorporate their students' language and culture in their classrooms, use cooperative group work, hands-on activities, and demonstrations which are all noted in the best practices literature.

While demographic questions provided me with personal information about the teachers, more important were the questions on classroom practices which asked teacher-participants to rate on a scale of 1-5 how often they include language, academic content, culture, and learning objectives in their lesson plans (4 items); how often they use teaching strategies such as word banks, bilingual peer tutors, etc. (20 items); degree of belief in the use of the child's first language (4 items); degree of belief in acknowledging students' culture in their classroom (4 items); and last, degree of importance in the use of different assessment and evaluation measures (6 items).

The survey data provide relevant information on what should be part of the knowledge base that our TESOL program should impart to teacher trainees and criteria for selecting and

prioritizing instructional strategies that will be included in the development of contextualized demonstration video series of successful area teachers.

I now report highlights of the survey questionnaire results. In examining the instructional practices means, I asked the question: *"Do the successful teachers in my study practice the strategies and techniques identified in the literature as effective, and if they do, how often and how important are these practices to them?"*

In terms of frequency of use, the lowest means are those of using bilingual reading materials (2.67) and lowering standards for ESL students (2.74). Means are high for use of gentle correction strategies (4.52), sheltered English instruction (4.53), academic content objectives in lessons (4.59), reading aloud (4.59), modeling (4.62), accepting different learning styles (4.63), constantly monitoring student activity and progress and providing feedback (4.64), tapping into students' prior knowledge (4.69), and including learning objectives in lesson planning (4.70).

In terms of importance, setting high expectations (4.80), recognizing individual characteristics, ideas, and personal interests (4.85), acknowledging personal experience as knowledge (4.85), and giving praise often to all students (4.85) are considered "extremely important," and those with low importance are the use of criterion-referenced tests (2.65) and norm-referenced tests (2.67). It is noteworthy that academic content objectives (4.59), language objectives (4.32), and learning objectives (4.70) in instruction are all considered important by the teachers.

The responses to items on lesson plan objectives indicate that teachers consider the combination of language skills and academic content important (4.50). Such integration of language development and content area instruction is underscored in recent research documenting effective practices used with linguistic and culturally diverse students in the United States. Short (1991) suggests the use of such integrated approaches where students are taught to use English as a tool for learning subject matter, hence bridging the gap between language mastery to full academic proficiency. In contrast is the lesser degree of importance assigned by teachers to teaching U.S. culture (culture objectives = 3.40). This is disappointing because minority children must learn the democratic values of American society, i.e., freedom, equality, and individuality, so they can fully participate in the exercise of these values. Cultural theorists believe that teachers must provide the settings that will help minority students gain power, status, recognition, and control over their lives (Spindler & Spindler, 1987).

Presently, there are several video clips of successful practices that are undergoing field testing. Initial student feedback appears below.

Student Feedback

The first field testing of video materials involved 60 ESOL teacher-trainees, all members of my graduate level Teaching English as a Second Language: Methods and Materials classes. To focus the viewing of these teacher-trainees, they were asked the following questions: 1) Was (or wasn't) the teacher effective and successful in providing a literacy-rich environment? 2) What language skills were taught? Was there an integration of skills? If there was, what specific skills were integrated? Which activity accomplished that? 3) What did you like best about the techniques/strategies the teacher used? To test my hypothesis that use of contextualized demonstration video materials would be favorably received by the teacher-trainees, which possibly might lead to a more positive relationship with me, I included the question: *Being that this was a classroom in our own backyard, did it affect your reception of the instructional video?* The recurring themes gleaned from 60 video critiques are: 1) it is not canned or staged, very spontaneous; there's no perfection in the real classrooms; 2) teachers used student-directed and skill-integrated activities, and 3) they are impressed with Georgia teachers. The following teacher-trainees' responses support my hypothesis:

> Knowing that this was a 'real' classroom in Georgia made the video interesting and believable. In a commercially prepared video, everything is 'cut and dry"; there is not a 'realness' involved. In this video there was no editing out parts that might have been mistakes... I enjoyed and appreciated this video because it was realistic and was made in a real classroom in Georgia, not in California or New York.

> I have the privilege of working with the teacher in the demonstration video. I know her as highly creative in her teaching and one whose students are generally enthusiastic. One of the wonderful aspects of Elaine's teaching is that she teaches universal values such as sharing, respect for others, and stewardship of the earth. I do believe videos such as this have much more credibility than those commercially produced. I think teachers can identify with spontaneous comments by students and the teacher's need to respond without a script.

> Isn't it wonderful to see our Georgia teachers doing such a superb job in the classrooms! A video such as this one makes me proud of our educators and our educational system in Georgia.

> Most definitely! It shows me that it can be done and is done right here in the Southeast, not in California where the experts are. It also proves that we are moving along as far as quality ESOL instruction is concerned (in GA).

> It helped me to know this video was filmed in Georgia. I was able to identify more with the lesson.

> I think the credibility of the video may have been enhanced since it was not commercially prepared. The video appeared very realistic…The student responses were very spontaneous…With some commercially prepared videos, it is difficult to

determine if the students or teachers have been professionally directed to behave in certain situations.

The children looked and acted no different from mine. A commercially prepared video is too structured and everybody becomes actors with rehearsed lines.

Certainly! I am reassured that the classroom is real. I am curious though where this teacher gets her money for materials.

The evidence of the children's learning, participation and enjoyment is what makes a situation more credible to me, not much the setting.

This video proves that a special 'canned' program is not necessary for effective and appropriate language instruction. I like the fact that this was a real-life video. I think I had to pay attention more to pull out the details, hence I had the chance to think and decide for myself. Unlike commercially prepared ones which tell you the details.

The one thing that impressed me most was that this ESOL class has taught us to work with others that are different. The instructor was different due to her dwarf size. This video shows that students can appreciate individuals regardless of ethnicity or physical characteristics.

Discussion

Reflections from a NNS Classroom Teacher-Researcher

Throughout this adventure, I was hopeful that I was going to find the best way to reach all my students, undergraduate and graduate. In my desire to understand my students' resistance to acknowledge me in my role of teacher educator, I learned as much as I could about local conditions. In my efforts to show my sincere recognition of my students' community's values, traditions and culture, I definitely listened to and acknowledged their view points regardless of their opposition to mine. The final test of my resolve to decrease the gap between my teacher-trainees and myself was when I sought teachers in the community, who many of them knew or recognized as either their children's teachers or members of their churches. Using these teachers as my local "talents" to demonstrate strategies in the video materials I have tried to demonstrate that I am willing to cross over the "boundary" – that I am willing to bridge "my" culture and "theirs". More important, that I appreciate and recognize "what is good in their community."

Although inconclusive at this point, I have observed favorable changes in class dynamics. For example, there is definitely a significant increase in the volume of e-mail messages I get from my graduate students on various topics: how much they have enjoyed last night's class, issues and questions they would like to open for discussion, suggestions I should give them on how to deal with unsupportive and "uninformed" supervisors or help with strategies or resources to share with their county. Also, the number of faxes I receive has increased as noted by the department

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secretary. Most noteworthy is the lowered degree of resistance to homework from the graduate teacher-trainees. Finally, I am happy to note the friendlier atmosphere at the on-campus site. All these may be coincidental, but the video materials may have broken the ice, so to speak.

Implications of the Action Research Results to the Issue of NNS Teachers

As I reflect on the happy turn of events, I draw the following implications for English language teacher education. NNS teachers of English may be able to steer themselves into legitimacy and acceptance with strategic maneuverings. Teacher education programs must prepare NNS teacher-trainees to address possible undue discrimination and prejudice because of their non-native status. Curricula or courses must include NNS-related issues for discussion. Practice in situation management while in training may provide NNSs with skills and experience to prevail over marginalization and extended isolation.

Had I developed some survival skills while in-training, I could have spared or armed myself against marginalization, isolation, and challenges to my credibility. As it was, I learned the hard way and made mistakes. On all counts, a strong case may be made for inclusion of NNS-related issues in TESOL education programs, in this case, providing the training for NNS TESOL professionals to reflect, plan, and take action, as evident in my success with locally contextualized materials. Certainly, this initiative will inform the TESOL profession but more important, it will impact teaching and learning.

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The "Foreign" in Foreign Language Education

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In this paper, it is my aim to demonstrate how the native/foreign dichotomy has manifested in ways detrimental to foreign language education. The encounter with the native-foreign dualism is at the very heart of foreign language study. Foreign language study is a learning process that defines and is defined by the differentiation between the native and the foreign. The native/foreign binary is for many the thread that holds foreign language instruction and learning together. This binary has shaped foreign language education within and beyond the context of the classroom. On the one hand, it enters into teaching methodology, the learning experience, and the course curriculum, and on the other hand, it influences the overall core curriculum and the valorization of languages and cultures in the community and the society at large. I propose that one needs to rethink the relationship between the native and the foreign in the foreign language classroom just as it is necessary to do so beyond the classroom. The intensity of this antagonism has often resulted in a loss for foreign languages and for both the foreigner and the native. I hope to show this through three different perspectives. At first, through a historical perspective, I will highlight four major periods when a native-foreign antagonism existed outside of the classroom. Secondly, I will look inside the classroom and point to the ways in which foreign language instruction promotes a conflictual relationship between the native and the foreign. And finally, I will offer some excerpts of different first-person narratives to illustrate how individuals experience and live this tension between the native and the foreign identities.

Historical context

At the end of the nineteenth century, a positive climate for foreign language study had clearly been established. The rapid expansion and prosperity in the US played a major role in this upward trend. The peak years of immigration were from 1840 to 1920 and as the immigrant population steadily rose schools sought to expand their curricula to meet the needs of the increasing size and diversity of the population they served. Immigrant communities sought to reaffirm their own languages and cultures and thus supported foreign language programs (Chastain, 1980; Grittner, 1969). The support for foreign language study became more widespread and its rising importance was seen by those outside of immigrant, bilingual communities as well. Unfortunately, this favorable atmosphere was about to change with the advent of unprecedented

world conflicts that would intensify the tension between the native and the foreign and more heavily pose the foreign as a threat to the native.

After World War I, Americans reacted with contempt against anything foreign and consequently, foreign languages suffered greatly and enrollment rates dropped drastically (Chastain, 1980; Grittner, 1969; Simon, 1980). German was the first to feel the demise of foreign language study. In some cases, the treatment of the German language was harsh. For example, in Indiana, the teaching of German was prohibited in the elementary and high schools by the state legislature for four years from 1919 to 1923. However, German was not the only language to be the victim of such drastic measures. In Nebraska, during this time, it was against the law to teach any language other than English. Later in 1923, the Nebraska law was annulled by the United States Supreme Court and Anti-German laws were also rescinded (Wooley, 1948). The strong anti-foreign, especially anti-German sentiment that erupted after the First World War had drastic implications for the study of foreign languages. The percentage of high school students studying German dropped from 24.1% in 1915 to 0.8% in 1922 (Wooley, 1948). As if on the same sinking ship, French and Latin also experienced a dramatic decline in enrollment. Only Spanish had increased enrollment. By the 1950s only 20 percent of the high school student body was enrolled in a foreign language as compared to 80 percent prior to WWI. The value of foreign languages as a mental discipline was no longer apparent (Chastain, 1980; Grittner, 1969). Consequently, this gave rise to a contradiction between the post-World War United States context and the American schools. In 1948, the then President Emeritus of Columbia University, N.M. Butler, said this of the post-WWI period: "It is astonishing that while the decades since the First World War have drawn us into ever-closer communication with foreign peoples and put on us an ever-increasing responsibility in world affairs, they have also been marked by a steady decline in the study of foreign languages" (Butler, 1948, p. v).

The second historical moment that I would like to highlight is the era of the inter-war years. During this period the native-foreign antagonism pervaded. While world conflicts fought beyond our national borders incited native-foreign conflict and the demise of foreign language education, other social factors within our borders also contributed to this calamity. Throughout this period, foreign languages were subject to hostility both inside and outside the school. Perhaps the most pervasive influences during this period were the social implications surrounding the immigrant communities. While immigration significantly decreased, this decline was by no means an indication that the difficulties associated with the immigrant population were thus able to subside. In fact, the ways in which American society dealt with the first wave of immigrants proved to be extremely harmful toward foreign languages as a field of study and a mother tongue. The

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rampant melting pot analogy proceeded to discourage the development of bilingual communities as well as the maintenance let alone the promotion of foreign language programs (Chastain, 1980; Grittner, 1969; Simon, 1980). Americanization through acculturation and anglicization shaped how Americans viewed, interacted with, and understood foreigners and their cultures and how immigrants and following generations valued features of their own cultural heritage (Simon, 1980). An American was equated with someone who spoke standard American English. To have spoken any other language was a source of shame rather than distinction (Simon, 1980). In this way, because of its contradictory position with an American ideology that closed the doors to foreign languages and cultures, support for foreign language study was wanting. Such forces of Americanization and in particular, anglicization did not dissipate.

The two final periods I would like to mention differ from the first two in that they demonstrate how a native-foreign conflict may manifest on one level, while support for foreign language education can develop on another. In this instance, the native-foreign tension did not imply lack of support for foreign language education, in fact, quite the contrary. In 1957 with the launching of Russia's Sputnik, not only was education placed at the top of the national agenda, but specifically the study of foreign languages. As competence in foreign languages was perceived as integral to national security interests, a new positive light was shined upon them. Consequently, the fifties and early sixties brought in a favorable climate for foreign languages with an increase in funds for foreign language programs in conjunction with the increase in student enrollment (Boyer, 1983; Chastain, 1980; Grittner, 1969).

A similar climate reappeared approximately two decades later. During this time the publication of two government educational documents brought attention to the dire situation that foreign languages had fallen into during the sixties and seventies: The report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies, *Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U. S. Capability* (1979) and the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk* (1983). In framing the study of foreign languages as a national security issue these documents suggested a native-foreign conflict while expressing strong support for foreign language study. Here is a passage taken from the introduction of *Strength through Wisdom*:

> Nothing less is at issue than the nation's security. At a time when the resurgent forces of nationalism and of ethnic and linguistic consciousness so directly affect global realities, the United States requires far more reliable capacities to communicate with its allies, analyze behavior of potential adversaries, and earn the trust and the sympathies of the uncommitted. Yet, there is a widening gap between these needs and the American competence to understand and deal successfully with other peoples in a world in flux (pp. 1-2).

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Or in other words, foreign language education would help in maintaining national security as it was a means for mastering relations with foreigners. In this way, a certain opposition towards the foreign provided an impetus behind the support for foreign language programs so to further ensure the country's national security (i.e. its position vis à vis foreign powers).

Inside the Classroom

For this second section I would like to bring attention into the foreign language classroom where the language learner travels the threshold between the boundaries of the native and the foreign. The learner is both the native contending with the foreignness of a new language and also the foreigner who is striving to achieve the native identity in the target culture. This movement points to the limitations of a fixed and binary framework of native and foreign identities in foreign language study. While foreign languages is a discipline defined by the "foreign," the "native" is always present. Consequently, alienation becomes an inherent part of the learning experience. The *strangeness* of a foreign discourse trespassing upon one's (mother) tongue is the sensation experienced by the foreign language student. This foreignness is wonderfully illustrated in the following passage taken from Alice Kaplan's 1993 autobiography *French Lessons*. Recalling her boarding school days in Switzerland, she writes:

> In September my "r" is clunky, the one I've brought with me from Minnesota. It is like cement overshoes, like wearing wooden clogs in a cathedral. It is like any number of large objects in the world, all of them out of place, all of them obstacles. *Je le heurte* – I come up against it like a wall.

> So that feeling of coming onto the "r" like a wall was part of feeling the essence of my American speech patterns in French, feeling them as foreign and awkward. I didn't know at the time how important it was to feel that American "r" like a big lump in my throat and to be dissatisfied about it. It happened over months but it felt like it happened in one class. I opened my mouth and I opened up; it slid out, smooth and plush, a French "r." It was the sound my cat makes when she wants to go out: between a purr and a meow, a gurgling deep in the throat. It wasn't loud, it didn't interrupt the other sounds. It was smooth, and suave. It felt – relaxed. It felt normal! I had it. With this "r" I could speak French. I wouldn't be screaming my Americanness every time I spoke. "R" was my passport…That was what woke me up: absorbing a new reality, repeating it, describing it, appreciating it" (Kaplan, 1993, p. 54-55, italics in original).

What is this new reality Kaplan delights in? It is the reality of having achieved her goal, of having discarded her foreignness. In this way, as she evokes her memory of learning French, Kaplan illustrates how foreign language study may lead to the rejection of the foreign identity and thereby, the valorization of the native identity over the foreign.

In the study of foreign languages, tremendous emphasis is placed on the native identity and the native experience in the target culture. One could argue that the native is the target of foreign language study. It is interesting to note that the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages devised provisional cultural guidelines which measured proficiency according to the standard provided by the native (Higgs, 1988, p. 443). The highest two levels of proficiency were labelled as "Near-Native Competence" and "Native Competence." (Appendix 1: ACTFL Culture Proficiency Guidelines, in Al-Batal, 1988, p. 449). However, these provisory guidelines were ultimately not included in the 1986 revised ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (Byrnes and Canale, 1988, p. 443). Nevertheless, the absence of the native-speaker standard from the text of the ACTFL Guidelines by no means implies its absence in practice.

Although foreign language study is considered to offer valuable opportunities for self-discovery, self-definition and insight into one's own culture (Omaggio Hadley, 1993; Trueba, 1993; Zarate, 1986), it is still the rapprochement with the native identity and target culture which manifests most noticeably. Whether or not it is a movement originating with or including the students' discovery of their own cultural position is not always clear as it is most frequently only the one-way processes of stepping into and functioning in the target culture and identifying with the native that are highlighted (See, for example, Al-Batal, 1988; Omaggio Hadley, 1993; Seelye, 1993; Trosset, 1986). Pressure to identify with the target culture fosters fears of losing one's cultural identity and thereby, raises the resistance to language learning (Trosset, 1986; Nance, 1991). When foreign language study brings on a sense of threat in language learners it becomes counter-productive not only for the students' language development, but also their cross-cultural understanding, their overall learning process and the development of community within the classroom. For these reasons it is especially critical for foreign language teachers to keep in mind the fact that the experience in the target culture, the rapprochement with the native, is for the language learner, a *foreign* experience and thus, it is crucial that they take caution in how they frame the native-foreign relationship.

The prioritization of the target culture over the learner's own culture is not and should not be an inherent aspect of foreign language education. Rather than encourage the replacement of the learner's own frame of reference, it is more beneficial to foster the expansion of it. Language learning can be a means of extending the self rather than supplanting it (Sandin, 1994). Such a process of extension is more conducive to cultural development for "Environments that engender intercultural skills provide an atmosphere in which children can expand their repertoire of behaviors. No child is forced into an either/or position...Rather, the student is encouraged to use all behaviors appropriately" (Seelye, 1993, p. 288). The enlargement of one's own cultural repertoire

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as it overlaps with the foreign culture can help resolve the tension between the learner's native identity and the target foreign identity as it discourages a sense of hierarchy and conflict amongst the two different cultures. The language learner is no longer forced to choose one cultural framework over the other and thus does not position them against each other. Rather than pressure one to discard one's own cultural identity and thus promote a restricting notion of culture, this process of expansion encourages the growth of one's sense of self and one's conceptualization of culture by adding a new dimension to one's already existing cultural repertoire. The rigidity of the native-foreign dichotomy is no longer imposed. Instead, a new space of discovery, of insights and meanings can then open up for language learners and allow them to travel back and forth between cultures while simultaneously being in both.

Defying the Native-Foreign Dichotomy

Up to this point we have seen how the native-foreign dichotomy has manifested outside of the foreign language classroom in ways that have produced both negative and positive consequences for foreign language education. The examples of the World War periods and the ideologies of Americanization and assimilation demonstrated an inconducive environment for foreign language study. Meanwhile the national security cause for alarm evoked during the era of Sputnik and later by *Strength through Wisdom* (1979) and *A Nation at Risk* (1983) illustrated a supportive environment for foreign language study.

As we turned to the foreign language classroom, the native-foreign dichotomy manifested in a way that suggested that the native was valued more than the foreign. In learning a foreign language, the language learner is often encouraged to move away from his/her "foreign" identity. In this way, an important process in foreign language learning is the confrontation with the foreign and most importantly, coming to terms with it. I hope to have illustrated that coming to terms with the foreign does not imply discarding it. Language learning does not have to imply a choice between one's own native identity and a foreign identity. Instead, it can be an extension of one's native identity so to encompass the foreign. In this way, the self and ultimately the community become more inclusive.

In examining the implications that the foreign/native dynamic has had and continues to have on foreign language education in the United States, it has been my goal to not only point out the conflicts and tensions arising from this opposition, but most importantly, the need to move beyond it. A clean split between the native and the foreign no longer exists, but rather an ambivalent, complex, equivocating, in-between space extends itself as boundaries have become shifting and transitory. Today's reality comprises not only the fluidity and permeability of national

borders resulting from processes of globalization brought into effect through information technologies, world trade and migration, but also the blurring and precarious borders of identity, included, yet not limited to nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality and class. It is in this unsettling and unstable environment that the here and now is located. This is the "'unhomely' condition of the modern world" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 11). National boundaries have become increasingly less defining. Culture has become further grounded on the notion that foreignness has become a state (of being) with shifting and ambiguous borders. Homi Bhabha in his essay, "Narrating the nation" evokes this dominating characteristic of contemporary culture in his description of 'the nation':

> [T]he *liminal* image of the nation...is a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation, the language of those who write of it and the lives who live it. It is an *ambivalence* that emerges from a growing awareness that, despite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more *transitional* social reality" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 1, italics added).

This is what the foreign language student brings into the foreign language classroom today. Whether he is a native at home or she[1] is a native feeling foreign in her homeland, this is the culture they are both subjects and objects of. In these final pages I offer the first-person voices of those who live *in-between,* who travel within the threshold:

> [A]utobiography both as singularity and as collectivity is a way of making history and rewriting culture. Its diverse strategies can favor the emergence of new forms of subjectivity: the subjectivity of a non-I/plural I, which is different from the subjectivity of the sovereign I (subjectivism) or the non-subjectivity of the all-knowing I (objectivism). Such a subjectivity defies the normality of all binary oppositions including those between sameness and otherness, individual and societal, elite and mass, high culture and popular culture (Trinh, 1991, p. 191-2).

And to this I add native and foreign.

I have chosen three different texts which evoke this tension between the native and the foreign as they reveal the unsettling space of natives who experience foreignness in their homeland. These individuals defy the binary opposition of the native and the foreign because like the foreign language student they are neither native nor foreign yet simultaneously both. Their narratives also provide further insights into the historical moments of their lives: the interwar years, the late eighties and the late nineties.

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[1] I owe my usage of the feminine pronoun of the foreign native/the hybrid identity to Trinh Mihn-ha's feminine gendering of the "Insider/Outsider" in her provacative collection of essays, *When the Moon Waxes Red.* New York: Routledge.

Ronald Takaki (1989) in *Strangers from a Different Shore*, offers the voices of Asian Americans who speak of the struggles and frustrations of identifying and trying to identify with only one side of their hyphenated identity, trying to be that identity which is simultaneously who they are and who they are not. Trying to be "American."

> I sat down to American breakfasts and Japanese lunches. My palate developed a fondness for rice along with corned beef and cabbage. I became equally adept with knife and fork and with chopsticks. I said grace at mealtimes in Japanese, and recited the Lord's prayer at night in English. I hung my stocking over the fireplace at Christmas, and toasted *mochi* at Japanese New Year...I was spoken to by both parents in Japanese or in English. I answered whichever was convenient or in a curious mixture of both (Aiji Tashiro, 1934, in Takaki, 1989, p. 225).

As Takaki explains, "The Nisei were both 'Occident' and 'Orient,' but they felt they would always be Japanese and could never be American" (Takaki, 1989, p. 225). Another Nisei takes this point of being both native and foreign even further by making the following realization: "My life background is American…[but] my looks made me Japanese" (W.C. Smith, 1927 in Takaki, 1989, p. 225).

Some fifty years later, Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), in her book, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, expresses her experiences of living this native-foreign conflict. In her preface she asserts:

> I am a border woman. I grew up between two cultures, the Mexican…and the Anglo…I have been straddling that *tejas* – Mexican border, and others all my life. It's not a comfortable territory to live in, this place of contradictions. Hatred, anger and exploitation are the prominent features of this landscape.

> And yes, the "alien" element has become familiar – never comfortable, not with society's clamor to uphold the old, to rejoin the flock, to go with the herd. No, not comfortable but home (Anzaldúa, 1987, Preface).

It is this uncomfortable experience of home that is at the very heart of the native-foreign dichotomy. And it is in dismantling the rigidity of this opposition that the experience of home can perhaps offer more comfort to more people. After all, don't we all have the right to feel at home, at home? Must one leave one's homeland to experience "home"? The words of one of my former students offer a most poignant and troubling response to these questions. After graduating from her high school, she wrote this to me at the start of her first year in college thousands of miles away from home:

> But one thing I love is the way I can walk around and feel a comfort level with people. There are not many people that ask me why I don't look normal or what the hell am I anyway. I feel at home. …So far this has been really good for me. I really feel at home. (September 9, 1997)

Her voice, in echoing those before her (See Anzaldúa, 1987; Smith, 1927, in Takaki, 1989; Tashiro, 1934, in Takaki, 1989) highlights the tenacity of the binary bind and the ongoing struggles to free oneself from prevailing dichotomous constructions of native and foreign identities.

As the experience of being foreign in one's native land continues from generation to generation and one feels forced to choose between two identities, both of which define oneself, is it not clear that one must move beyond the native-foreign dichotomy? That it is not about choice, but rather expansion. Or perhaps even more to the point, it is about inclusivity. It is about including more of the world within ourselves without giving up who we are. This is what foreign language education should be. This is what we should be. We should be a more inclusive "we". Foreign language education can either further this endeavor towards inclusivity or it can hinder it. In providing an effective means for extending boundaries, it can foster greater inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness. Yet this is not a given. So how might we make it possible? First, we must step outside of the classroom context. Before we can develop new teaching strategies or practices, it is necessary to rethink the native-foreign framework which informs foreign language instruction and learning. In other words, as foreign language educators it is necessary to question our own worldview. How do we conceive of the "native" and the "foreign" and what are the implications of our own framework? Addressing the "how to" aspect of moving beyond the native/foreign dichotomy in the foreign language classroom can come only after the stronghold of this dichotomy has been brought into question in our own frame of reference. Only then can we begin to recognize and best serve those individuals, language learners and others, who find themselves in liminal spaces where borders are crossed and constantly shifting.

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