

**A Study of the Professional Role Identities of
Experienced University Instructors of English for Speakers of Other Languages**

by

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Abstract

Little is known about how experienced university instructors of ESOL in the United States construct their identities as teachers. Due to their administrative tasks and their *de facto* positions as a service provider to other academic departments (Auerbach, 1991; Breshears, 2004; Johnston, 1999), these instructors' professional role identities (PRIs) are distinct from those of post-secondary instructors in other disciplines and academic settings. Their affiliation is often with an intensive English program (IEP), which is usually independent from an academic discipline or department (Pennington, 2015). Employing narrative inquiry, I elicited instructors' stories regarding their experiences as language learners, employees of a university's IEP, and their personal practical knowledge as it related to language teaching. Four university instructors of ESOL, each with at least five years of experience teaching ESOL in a university, participated in this study. I obtained data about their PRIs through semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and follow-up interviews in which they reflected on their classroom actions. Drawing on the idea that knowledge is socially constructed, I read their stories with the aim of linking the instructors' professional role identities with their personal practical knowledge (PPK). The narratives were always grounded in the instructors' community of practice: a research university's IEP. Results showed that the instructors enacted three main professional role identities: classroom manager, preparer for the academy, and advocate. Each role contained related sub-roles. The framework of personal practical knowledge (Connelly, Clandinin & He, 1997; Elbaz, 1983; Golombeck, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014) illustrated how the instructors drew

upon personal experiences to inform their PRIs as enacted in the classroom and in related student service activities. The findings indicated the need for further qualitative research in order to understand the PRIs of experienced instructors of ESOL in settings such as private language companies, private colleges and universities, and community colleges.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Rayford and Shelby Fowler, my parents and first teachers.

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List of Abbreviations

EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of other Languages
IEP	Intensive English Program
PPK	Personal Practical Knowledge
PRIs	Professional Role Identities
TEFL	English as a Foreign Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In considering the oftentimes amorphous space that instructors of ESOL occupy in a university, teacher educators of instructors of ESOL can improve training and professional development of instructors (Farrell, 2011) by guiding them in reflections on their professional role identities (PRIs) in the context of their place in the university hierarchy. Do the instructors see themselves as academic teachers? Do they have multiple PRIs as one would expect for an instructor who also has administrative and service responsibilities? Furthermore, if such inquiry focuses on experienced instructors, university administrators and teacher trainers can gain a better understanding of how these instructors have persevered in their profession. I believe this line of inquiry can best be explored by studying instructors' PRIs within the context of their community of practice: an Intensive English Program (IEP).

As it relates to PRIs of instructors of ESOL, a community of practice describes how they actively construct identities with others (Wenger, 1998). According to Wenger (1998), a community of practice connoted not just doing an activity but also the historical and social contexts that provided a structure to what individuals' activities in a community:

[Practice] includes the language, tools, documents, images, symbols, well-defined roles, specified criteria, codified procedures, regulations, and contracts that various practices make explicit for a variety of purposes. But it also includes all the implicit relations, tacit conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb, recognizable intuitions, specific

perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, and shared world views. Most of these may never be articulated, yet they are unmistakable signs of membership in communities of practice and are crucial to the success of their enterprises. (p. 47)

In short, Wenger (1998) believed practice was “always social” (p. 47). He emphasized that an individual’s concept of practice included actions and thoughts that were both explicit and tacit.

In carrying out teaching activities in a community of practice, the instructors of an IEP develop a “blurred” (p. 62) interplay between reification as described by Wenger (1998) and participation. Reification occurs when participants in communities of practice turn abstract ideas, such as stories, terms, and concepts, into concrete forms such as documents or procedures. Procedures in the classrooms, as they related to the professional roles of instructors of ESOL, were one of the emphases of this study. Wenger noted that participating in a community of practice allowed participants to negotiate what the reified objects meant and how those related to their roles as participants in an IEP. Instructors may only tacitly understand their professional roles because they have reified them into procedures. Entering into daily practice, experienced instructors in particular have routinized their classroom performance and subject matter knowledge into a level of automaticity (Berliner, 1986, 2001). Due to their time in the profession, they may not easily articulate their roles and related knowledge bases. However, by reflecting on their PRIs, instructors can provide narratives that give rich, detailed descriptions of their experiences as teachers.

Such narratives are needed as few studies have focused on the classroom identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL in the United States. Researchers have looked extensively at K–12 teacher identities and knowledge (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004;

Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Danielewicz, 2001; Lasky, 2005; Volkman & Anderson, 1998; Walkington, 2005). Likewise, much work has focused on the professional identities of non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST) of ESOL at the tertiary level (e.g., Amin, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Varghese et al., 2005). However, these studies did not emphasize the narratives of experienced instructors.

Farrell (2011) studied the PRIs of experienced Canadian university instructors of ESOL. In his doctoral dissertation, Fraser (2011) examined the role identities of university instructors of ESOL in a Japanese university and included both native English-speaking teachers (NEST) and non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST). What is lacking in the literature is narrative inquiry into how experienced university instructors of ESOL in the United States construct their PRIs as teachers within an IEP. Because of their administrative tasks and their position as service providers to other academic departments (Johnston, 1999), these instructors' PRIs and their related stories offer detailed insight into their lived experiences as university teachers.

Farrell (2011) described teachers' PRIs as "how teachers recognize their roles within their world and...their beliefs, values, and assumptions about teaching and being a teacher" (p. 55). His definition of PRIs focused on the on-going process in which teachers "construct and reconstruct (usually tacitly) a conceptual sense of who they are (their self-image) and this is manifested through what they do (their professional role identity)" (p. 54). Thus, teachers' PRIs originate in an intrapersonal process that results in actions in the classroom. However, PRIs are not formed in solitude.

Emphasizing the importance of social context to understanding PRIs, Schultz and Ravitch (2013) noted, "People construct professional identities in relation to context and experience and in relation to one another" (p. 37). Although Farrell (2011) was thorough in his exploration of

roles that experienced instructors reported enacting, he did not elaborate on how the instructors' experiences informed their roles nor did he observe them enacting the roles in the classroom. However, his examples of the common roles for instructors of ESOL seem particularly apt: "entertainer, cross-cultural expert, oral interviewer, language expert, language model, disciplinarian, counselor, curriculum planner, curriculum evaluator, story teller, team builder, materials developer, friend, surrogate parent, interaction manager, needs assessor and joke teller..." (p. 55).

Some research has focused on PRIs of experienced instructors of ESOL outside the United States, specifically in Japan (Duff & Uchida, 1997) and China (Tsui, 2007), but did not address the instructors' personal practical knowledge (PPK). In her observations of novice instructors of ESOL at a U.S. university, Golombek (1998) looked at how their PPK related to their image of themselves in the classroom. While discussing the teachers' reflections on their classroom practice, the aforementioned researchers did not seek to connect the PRIs of the instructors with their PPK. Drawing on the ideas of Clandinin (1985) and Clandinin and Connelly (1986), I suggest that PPK is essential to a discussion of instructors' PRIs because it encompasses their experiences inside and outside the classroom. By understanding how instructors incorporate these myriad experiences into their positions in a university, leaders in the profession of TESOL can adapt and improve professional development, training, and mentoring for future instructors, both in the U.S. and abroad.

Statement of the Problem

This study addressed the paucity of research concerning the narratives of experienced university instructors of ESOL, particularly as they pertain to the formation of their PRIs. These instructors have weathered difficult job markets and persisted in careers that are marked with

uncertainty. According to Longmate (2010), the difficulty in finding full-time teaching positions for some TESOL professionals who want to continue a career in the field will prove to be too much. These individuals will leave the field for other types of jobs (Longmate, 2010). Eliciting experienced instructors' stories of developing PRIs will provide a detailed record of their perseverance in their profession.

This study also addressed concerns from national organizations that support the teaching of ESOL. In 2014, members of the TESOL International Association Research Agenda (IARA) underscored the importance of understanding ESL instructors' identities by calling for research on this construct among the domains of the individual, community, and society. The association's guiding board provided specific questions that explored the personal agency of ESL teachers. Among their questions, two are related to this study. First, what roles do teachers take in shaping their own professional development as language teaching professionals? Second, what motivational partnerships do teachers form with supervisors, peers, and/or language learners to develop classroom practice? (TESOL International Association, 2014). In my research, I addressed variations of these questions by concentrating on the narratives of experienced university instructors of ESOL as they negotiated their PRIs in a university's IEP. I planned my inquiry with the belief that teachers construct their identities and the knowledge and experiences that undergird them in a social context (Bruner, 1991). In order to connect the social with the personal, I looked at how the instructors' personal practical knowledge (PPK) influenced their understandings of professional experiences.

In addition to filling the gap in the literature, the information from this study offers suggestions that may shape the training of instructors of ESOL and add to the knowledge base from which mentors and trainers of novice instructors draw. By examining the link between

instructors' PRIs and PPK in training programs, one can learn how university instructors of ESOL can build on their professional strengths. Through this process student learning will likely benefit.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how experienced university instructors of ESOL developed their PRIs. As Walkington (2005) noted:

Teacher educators, whether they are university lecturers/tutors or mentoring teachers in the workplace, must seek to continually encourage the formation of a teacher identity by facilitating pre-service teacher activity that empowers them to explicitly build upon and challenge their experiences and beliefs. (p. 63)

Walkington's reference to teachers' identities is firmly rooted in their professional development. I view his discussion of teacher identity as leading to questions about specific professional role identities rather than questions about broad categories of teacher identity.

Drawing on Walkington's recommendations for teacher educators, I sought to understand how experienced instructors' knowledge from previous academic and professional experiences influenced their formations as teachers and their concomitant expressions of PRIs. To this end, I focused on obtaining narratives that reflected their experiences as learners, a process akin to apprenticeships of observation among K-12 teachers (Lortie, 1975), and academic and career trajectories (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). By emphasizing the history of the instructors' PRIs, I also brought attention to their personal practical knowledge as it informed their roles in the classroom (Clandinin, 2013; Elbaz, 1983; Golombek, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014).

Research Questions

This study addressed the following question: How do experienced university instructors of ESOL construct their professional role identities? Three additional questions expanded on the main research question:

1. What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?
2. How did past experiences influence the instructors' professional role identities?
3. How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

I iterated these questions, during semi-structured interviews, in my observations of instructors in their classrooms, and in my data analysis and reporting.

Significance of the Study

This study gives voice to the stories of experienced instructors of ESOL in a university. Farrell (2011) noted that while much research had focused on the identities of novice teachers of ESOL, both native English-speaking and nonnative English-speaking (Amin, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Varghese et al., 2005), little work had been directed at understanding the professional role identities of experienced instructors of ESOL at the university level. Farrell (2011) wrote:

Understanding teacher professional role identity is an important aspect of supporting experienced language teachers as they engage in professional development because these role identities are central to the beliefs, assumptions, values, and practices that guide teacher actions both inside and outside the classroom. (p. 54)

The relationship between PRIs and the teachers' beliefs, assumptions, values, and practices is complex. However, I argue that the latter components and PRIs are mutually influential.

Beliefs, values, and practices shape an instructor's PRI; likewise, the instructor's PRI limits or expands his or her enactments of beliefs, values, and practices.

In this study, professional role identities emerged from the instructors' positions in the university hierarchy and IEP. Pennington (2015) noted that the role identities of experienced instructors of ESOL were indeed linked to being members of an ill-defined department and discipline:

A TESOL educator's disciplinary identity is also related to the type of department or other academic unit that she is affiliated with. Affiliation with a department such as English or Linguistics representing a recognized academic discipline confers greater academic legitimacy and power than non-disciplinary affiliations, and it also affords more opportunities for research to enhance academic status. (p. 21)

University instructors of ESOL must negotiate their PRIs within an environment in which administrators and colleagues question the legitimacy of their contributions. Keeping this work context in mind, I looked at the instructors' narratives to understand how their teaching experiences in a marginalized department influenced their negotiation of PRIs.

Theoretical Framework

In order to provide effective training for second language instructors, teacher educators need an understanding of the instructors' PRIs (Farrell, 2007, 2011; Farrell & Ives, 2015).

Professional role identities of instructors of ESOL are complex constructs (Varghese et al., 2005), and I sought to understand them through gaining a history of the instructors' work as teachers and observing their current practices in classrooms. For this study I viewed PRIs as

socially constructed. Rossan (1987) considered professional identity as a role identity held by an individual. Moreover, this identity is clearly formed socially through professional and personal relationships (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Taken together, these two descriptions of the origins of PRI indicate that one must take others' perceptions of his or her actions in a social role (MacCall & Simmons, 1978) and from those individualize a professional identity. Following these researchers' ideas, I assert that the PRIs of experienced instructors of ESOL are formed at both the individual and communal levels.

To explore this process of developing PRIs, I relied on the instructors' narratives of becoming and being teachers. Through recounting past experiences and reflecting on their activities that I observed in their classrooms, the instructors related stories that explained how they formed and were forming their PRIs. These personal tales contained characters, institutions, and plots that explained how the instructors were teaching and understanding their PRIs in classroom actions.

Social Constructivism

The overarching theoretical framework I used to answer the research questions was social constructivism. Drawing on Bruner (1987, 1991), I approached this study with the belief that knowledge is formed in social interactions and mediated in large part by language. Social constructivism allowed me to understand how other theories, such as identity trajectory, personal practical knowledge (PPK), and symbolic interactionism, explained PRIs as a social construct. In short, the instructors negotiated their PRIs with past, present, and future voices in their personal and professional lives.

Identity Trajectory

Professional role identities involve an interweaving of individuals' personal agency with demands made by influential figures in their lives. Thus, by applying identity trajectory theory, I was able to understand instructors' career paths in terms of how their personal imperatives interacted with the professional demands of a university (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). Looking at instructors' professional decisions made in light of past and imagined futures underscored their exertion of personal agency within contexts such as job searches, negotiation of university policies toward IEP activities, and even prevailing national and international policies. The instructors made decisions to work in an IEP out of consideration of family needs, professional opportunities, and personal factors.

Personal Practical Knowledge

To understand the nuances of PRIs, I focused on the theory of personal practical knowledge (PPK). Elbaz (1983), Connelly, Clandinin and He (1997), and Golombeck (1998) applied this theory in their studies of teachers' professional narratives. Sutton (2009) lauded the ideas of PPK as a useful bridge in connecting conceptual understanding of teacher beliefs and knowledge. Likewise, I used PPK to interpret how the instructors constructed PRIs vis-à-vis their experiences with students, colleagues, and the university hierarchy, thereby grounding the study in social settings.

A nuanced understanding of teacher identity obtained through narratives of personal experiences often explains what occurs in the classroom with regard to teaching. Emphasizing the past experiences of teachers as critical to their PPK and identity, Clandinin (1992) found that the PPK of teachers as expressed in classroom practice relied on their prior knowledge. Golombeck (1998) characterized personal practical knowledge by personal philosophies,

metaphors, rhythms of teaching, and narrative unity. She further explained the meaning of personal practical knowledge as:

...a teacher's theory about teaching that is contextualized in experience and represents unity among that teacher's beliefs, values, and actions. Metaphors used in narratives structure the way teachers think about teaching and the way they act. Unity represents the thread that ties a narrative together, whereas rhythm is the way teachers know the cyclical temporal patterns of school. (p. 448)

I used personal practical knowledge to connect the narratives of the instructors with their formation of PRIs. This connection, which has not been explored among experienced instructors of ESOL at the university level, can elicit the details that may seem "lost" as instructors have routinized their experiences into classroom roles or PRIs.

Symbolic Interactionism

I also relied on the idea of role identity formation being based in symbolic interactionism. Using symbolic interactionism as a lens to view role identities, Stets (2006) wrote that roles encompassed "all of the *meanings* that a person attaches to himself..." (p. 89). Employing this understanding of role identities in his dissertation that focused on a novice second language teacher beginning a practicum, Martel (2013) found that in some cases, role identities' of novice teachers originated from the expectation that others "foisted" (p. 21) on them. He referred to these roles as received roles. In my study, I conceptualized role identity as the internalized expectations that an individual placed on himself or herself to perform a particular role in the context of working as a university instructor of ESOL (Burke & Stets, 2009; Martel, 2013). Thereby, I was able to integrate the social and psychological components involved in developing a PRI.

Research Methods

I interviewed four instructors three times each and observed each one teaching for at least three hours. My teaching observations of each instructor occurred over a period of a week. In the interviews, I used a semi-structured format as described by Brinkman and Kvale (2015). I conducted each initial interview with the aim of eliciting the instructor's biographical information and his or her reflection on training and current practices. A second interview allowed participants and me to expand on their previously described experiences and prepare for the next phase of research in which I observed the instructors in their classrooms. As preparation for my classroom observations, the second interview consisted of discussions of the instructors' ideal classrooms and their teaching philosophies among other topics related to classroom practices (see Appendix A for my interview guide). Following the second interview, I conducted observations of each instructor in the classroom. Observations depended on the participants' and my schedules. I observed two participants teach the same class with the same students on two different days. With a third participant, I observed her teach two different classes on the same day but with different subject matter and students. One class was for international teaching assistants, and the second was an academic writing course. I observed the fourth participant in three classes over a two-day period. All three courses were focused on academic writing for students of ESOL. Two of the classes I observed contained the same students.

My initial observations served to obtain information without a focus on a particular theme or question and followed Creswell's (2013) recommendation to start observing "broadly and then concentrate on research questions" (p. 166). In subsequent observations, I focused on taking notes about critical incidents (Brookfield, 2004) and noted how each instructor engaged in classroom activities, conversations, and choices of materials. My goal was to take notes that I

could use in a follow-up interview to understand how the teachers enacted PRIs in the classroom and what beliefs and thoughts informed those behaviors.

Mackey and Gass (2005) suggested classroom observations as useful sources for collecting in-depth information about what occurs in second language and foreign language classrooms. Borg (2015) also recommended classroom observations to “provide a concrete context for the subsequent elicitation of cognitions” (p. 198). As a non-participant observer I recorded data without direct involvement with the classroom. My aim was to obtain data to help formulate questions for my follow-up interviews with the instructors about her or his classroom actions. After the observations, I conducted a third semi-structured interview in which the instructors and I discussed the practices and critical incidents I had observed in their teaching. I posed questions about specific actions in the classroom and the instructor’s interpretation of them. In many cases, these questions elicited participants’ comments related to their identity and PPK. This interview also served as a member check to confirm the accuracy of my interpretations of a classroom event’s significance and meaning.

Following the interviews, I transcribed verbatim the recorded conversations. During the observations, interviews, and transcriptions, I used the practice of memoing to focus on emerging themes (Creswell & Miller, 2000). After data collection and analysis, I constructed a grounded survey based on the data and provided it to the four participants. Their responses to this survey served as a second member check on the emerging and axial codes I had created (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998).

My approach to analyzing the narratives of the four participants used sensitizing concepts. Brinkman and Kvale (2015) suggested researchers use theoretical concepts to guide “the direction in which to look, rather than definitive, defining what there is to see” (p. 273).

They encouraged researchers to allow impressions formed from theory to guide their review of data. In this study, I used sensitizing concepts from my literature review on PRIs of teachers of ESOL to form *a priori* categories for my data analysis and interpretation. For example, using symbolic interactionism, I interpreted the instructors' narratives through how they made meaning from symbols, such as pedagogical methods, classroom space, and student responses in the classroom. Drawing on suggestions by Farrell (2011) and Andrzejewski (2008) concerning teacher role identities, I led the participants in a discussion of how these *a priori* roles applied or did not apply to them. In some cases, the participants and I negotiated our own terms based on suggested PRI descriptors. For instance, most participants rejected the role category of parent but preferred the terms of mentor or empathizer. Although my suggested PRIs were grounded in previous research, I allowed the participants to modify the terminology so that it fit how they understood their actions.

Credibility

To lessen the possibility of researcher bias and to increase credibility, I sought to obtain thick, rich descriptive data. According to Ponterotto (2006), thick description is the researcher's task in describing and interpreting observed social action (or behavior) within its particular context. I also used member checking in my third interview and follow-up surveys that were grounded in the collected data. I maintained a reflective journal along with my audit trail in which I bracketed my reactions and thinking as I made research and interpretive decisions. Finally, I debriefed with my dissertation committee co-chair at various intervals of the data collection and analysis process. To a degree, my own experiences as a second language instructor influenced how I viewed the data provided in interviews and classroom observations. Although my experiences influenced my interpretations, I argue they equipped me to approach

this study with knowledge and insight into teaching a second language that others would not have had.

Researcher Reflexivity

In this study, I as the researcher was the primary instrument for data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Merriam, 1998). This role required me to recognize and bracket my related experiences (Tufford & Newman, 2010), which I did through maintaining a reflective journal and audit trail that chronicled my activities, research decisions, and reflections on my experiences during the research. I will now briefly explain my background as it relates to my involvement with this topic.

I became interested in teacher identity when I worked as an instructor of Spanish for university students and members of the armed forces for five years. I was not a native speaker of Spanish but had studied it at the graduate level as part of a master's degree in education. Although I had the requisite graduate training to qualify as a university instructor, I questioned my expertise as a Spanish instructor. What others thought of me in my teaching role mattered greatly. Was I more of a language and culture expert or more of an expert on teaching the language? Although I did not know many highly technical words in Spanish, and was informed of this and my other linguistic shortcoming by native speakers, I felt sufficiently competent at speaking Spanish with native speakers and in planning lessons that interested and involved the students.

In spite of my comfort in managing the classroom, I struggled to align my teaching beliefs with classroom practice. Personally, I was more comfortable with the traditional grammar translation method because it was the way I had learned Spanish and my students seemed to prefer it as well. However, in the classroom I practiced what was to me a new

approach of teaching. This involved teaching toward communicative competence by using authentic language learning activities with students. Moreover, my supervisors required this approach.

I questioned my professional duties even further as I negotiated my place as an instructor among tenure and tenure-track professors in the department. My duty was to teach lower level Spanish courses. In carrying out this duty, I did not have any connection to research in my field. Furthermore, I could not assert my own preference for a teaching style due to the fear of negative evaluations by my supervisors.

I also struggled to balance advising students who brought academic and personal problems to my attention with my clearly delineated job descriptions as an instructor of Spanish. I eventually came to see myself as an ad hoc advisor to students. At the end of my Spanish teaching career, I viewed myself professionally as an advisor, counselor, occasional parent, and teacher.

After working as both a part-time and full-time instructor for five years, I left my job to obtain a second master's degree in social work. Although my jobs over the ensuing 15 years remained in academic settings within a university, I did not work officially as an instructor. My work responsibilities entailed working with international students and scholars to edit theses, dissertations, articles, and presentations. As I edited, I worked with the students to identify points of grammar that caused them confusion. As an editor, I drew on my knowledge of English grammar that I learned during my Spanish language study and teaching. I was not teaching in the traditional sense, but I felt some familiarity in my role as editor with the teaching profession.

At this time, I began to research approaches to teaching English to speakers of other languages as a way to help me in advising students on their writing and presentation skills. In my reading, I found that teacher identity was a topic of discussion among researchers on second language teaching and learning, especially as it related to teacher identity among NNEST. I recalled my experience as a non-native Spanish speaking teacher and how I and others had questioned my legitimacy as a teacher. As an editor working with international students, I wondered about my identity as an expert in English language. Was it solely based on my identification as a native speaker? I realized my native speaker status was not sufficient to explain the subtleties of academic English to my colleagues. My status as a native speaker did not give me an explicit knowledge of grammar rules. To address this concern and prepare for a future career change, I enrolled in a graduate certificate program in teaching English as a second language as a part of my doctoral studies in adult education.

Between presenting my proposal for this project and receiving Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, I was offered an adjunct teaching position in the IEP of South Tech University (pseudonym). I had not actively sought the position and learned of it through a classmate who held a graduate teaching assistantship in the IEP. I applied and received the job of teaching advanced listening and speaking for one term.

My employment as an instructor continued past the first term. During the second term, I taught an additional class of low intermediate reading and vocabulary. In the middle of this term I received IRB approval to conduct my study.

When I initially accepted the employment offer I decided to maintain distance from department activities until I had completed the interviews and data analysis. I was able to do this as I was working full-time in an unrelated department and part-time (10 hours a week) as an

instructor. I did not attend staff meetings until I had completed the interviews. Further, I did not maintain an office in the department, and I kept my interactions with potential participants to a minimum.

My position in the department allowed me to build rapport with participants and to establish credibility as a “new instructor learning the ropes.” This positioning was evident when I phrased some interview questions by saying “I am wondering about this practice or habit of students. What would you advise?” During all interviews, it was clear that I was conducting research about PRIs. However, I acknowledged my status as a newcomer and researcher when my question was related to my own lack of experience in a classroom for ESOL.

One other event influenced this study. In my advanced qualitative research class, which I took one year prior to conducting this study, I piloted my study with a member of a local university’s IEP. These interviews and observations did not focus on PRIs. They did encourage my interest in learning the rich stories of IEP instructors and informed my inclination to look at their work environment as one at the edges of the academy.

These experiences served as supports and challenges in my study. As a strength to my study, I had the capacity to relate to the struggles of the teachers and present myself as a novice to the field of ESOL. Furthermore, I could draw on second language teaching experience from my years as an instructor of Spanish. The downside was that I struggled not to impose my experiences onto the instructors’ stories, whether in forming and guiding the interviews or interpreting data. Moreover, I approached the study with more theoretical knowledge than practical knowledge as it related to teaching ESOL. Yet, that varying degree of knowledge allowed me to recognize when I was offering leading questions that were based on theory and correct those questions.

My experiences allowed me to gain the trust of the participants more quickly. I feel I gained credibility in their eyes due to my knowledge of daily life as a language instructor in a university setting. This knowledge also affected what I saw as critical incidents in the classroom. In our follow-up interviews after classroom observations the participants and I often nodded our heads in agreement as we recognized similar classroom management issues. Although we had similar experiences in the classroom, I was always the novice and in many situations that status led the experienced instructors to answer questions as if they were giving me advice.

Assumptions

In conducting this study, I made the following assumptions:

1. The participants answered the questions honestly and to the best of their ability.
2. The experiences and challenges of participants varied due to their past experiences and particular training.
3. The instructors' past experiences affected how they described their current experiences in their jobs.
4. My own experiences as an instructor of ESOL influenced my observations of the classroom.
5. My own experiences as an instructor of ESOL influenced my approach to interviews.
6. Data from observations and interviews were credible representations of the phenomena that I studied.

Limitations

Because I conducted this study over a three month period, the results are only a snapshot of the instructors' professional role identities. The results of this study are specific to a time and place. They emerged from data provided by four experienced instructors at a major research university during a time of organizational change, and this milieu of uncertainty about their futures was in the background of each participant's answers to my questions. The university was in the process of outsourcing the IEP to a private company and the instructors' future employment was in doubt. From this place of anxiety, they questioned whether the university valued their positions and contributions. Thus, their professional role identities were in flux, causing the results to differ greatly from what would likely be found among instructors in private companies, two-year institutions, and university IEPs that were not in transition.

I rooted my conceptual approach to creating identity labels and descriptions of knowledge to terms found in previous research. I added additional PRIs as I interpreted classroom observational data. These PRIs were somewhat arbitrary labels that I used as a basis to confer with the participants. Therefore, they were constructed in part with me as a guide in the interview. Ideally, I would have had the instructors form their own categories in metaphorical language like the images provided by the teachers in the studies by Sun (2012) and Chou (2008). Professional role identities might have been more detailed if I had asked instructors to reflect on their experiences in writing. However, the schedules of the instructors, their heavy workload, and the time frame of this project prevented such an approach.

I could have obtained more detailed descriptions of PRIs if I had observed and interviewed the instructors over a longer period of time. At the time of the study, this prolonged engagement was not possible as the participants and I were not sure how long the IEP was going

to continue. The time limit became more pressing when one participant, after agreeing to the study, announced plans to leave after the final months of the term. All participants completed the observation and interview protocol, but the time limit meant the study provided a quick and rough portrait, albeit a detailed one, as to what the instructors' were experiencing at a particular time and place in their university's IEP.

I observed two to three class sessions by each instructor. The students in the classes I observed had different levels of proficiency. Some classes' emphases were on reading and vocabulary skills and other classes focused on grammar and writing. One instructor taught an academic writing classes, and another instructed international teaching assistants. The other two instructors taught classes in which the students were studying at lower levels of language proficiency and had not passed the TOEFL. The variation in classes made some themes difficult to explore consistently across participants due to the different demands faced by the instructors. Thus, instructors' PRIs may have varied according to the skill levels of the students. However, all instructors shared the same community of practice, the university's IEP, and had taught all levels of proficiency at some point in their careers. Although they had experiences in common, the time away from teaching lower level classes may have affected how some of the teachers of more advanced classes recalled the formation of their PRIs.

Definition of Terms

Apprenticeship of Observation – This term describes the experiences over years as students that teachers have to observe classroom teaching. It is used to understand the assumptions that novice teachers bring to their classrooms (Borg, 2004; Lortie, 1975). In this study, it describes the memorable and impressionable experiences the instructors recalled as

learners. I use the term “experience as a learner” as a theme to refer to apprenticeships of observation.

Identity –This term answers the questions: Who am I in a particular context? How do I understand myself in this context? (Andrzejewski, 2008; Danielewicz, 2001; Lemme, 2002; Wenger, 1998).

Identity Trajectory – This concept refers to a view of identity that attends to individual agency by placing the academic identity within the personal identity. This theory incorporates instructors’ pasts as well as imagined futures (McAlpine, 2012).

Professional Role Identity (PRI) – For second language teachers, role identity refers to how they construct their own interpretations of enacting professional activities in which they participate as well as how others interpret these activities (Farrell, 2011). In discussing my results, I use this term instead of role identity.

Role Identity – Regarding teachers, role identity makes up the professional self-image. Role identity is a major component of identity that is balanced with the many roles teachers have to play or think they are expected to play (Volkman & Anderson, 1998). Walkington (2005) explained that the functional roles a teacher plays while carrying out duties are accompanied by the teachers’ feelings and beliefs about teaching and being a teacher and how these beliefs are shaped by the teacher’s philosophy of teaching.

Social Constructivism – Drawing on Bruner (1987, 1991), I approached this study with the belief that knowledge was formed in social interactions and mediated in large part by language. This is a macro view of how knowledge and meaning are constructed and understood and is an epistemological approach (Andrews, 2012).

Symbolic Interactionism – This theory refers to the meaning that an individual gives to an object, which can be a word, speech, action, concept, or physical item (Blumer, 1969). While social interaction provides the context, the emphasis for understanding meaning is on the individual’s interpretation of the objects in the interaction.

Teacher Identity – This term refers to how teachers recognize the roles they enact within their lives. It involves the teacher’s “beliefs, values, and assumptions about teaching and being a teacher” (Farrell, 2011, p. 55). Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) explained teacher identity as an “answer to the recurrent question: ‘Who am I at this moment?’” (p. 108).

Acronyms

EFL-English as a Foreign Language. Usually, this term refers to teaching situations where the English language programs are provided in countries in which English is not the national language. At times it refers to some university programs in the United States in which international students study English and are likely to return to their home countries after finishing a course of study or work assignment (TESOL Organization. [N.D.] A Guide to Common Acronyms in the TESOL Profession).

ESL–English as a Second Language. This term is used in reference to English language programs in English-speaking countries where students learn English as a second language (TESOL Organization. [N.D.] A Guide to Common Acronyms in the TESOL Profession).

ESOL–English for Speakers of Other Languages. This term is used to describe elementary and secondary English language programs in the United States. For adults, this term is used to refer to ESL classes within adult basic education programs. It may also be a general

term for ESL/EFL (TESOL Organization. [N.D.] A Guide to Common Acronyms in the TESOL Profession).

PPK–Personal practical knowledge. In this study, this term refers to the knowledge of the participants along the domains of knowledge of context, instruction (pedagogy), self, students, and subject.

PRIs–Professional Role Identities. See definition above.

TEFL–Teaching English as a Foreign Language. This term is used to refer to teachers of English in another country where English is not the first language. Often used in reference to teacher preparation programs for teaching English abroad (TESOL Organization. [N.D.] A Guide to Common Acronyms in the TESOL Profession).

TESOL–Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. It is a professional activity requiring specialized training. It is also the name of the professional association Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (TESOL Organization. [N.D.] A Guide to Common Acronyms in the TESOL Profession.)

Summary and Overview

In this qualitative study, I used a narrative approach (Clandinen & Connelly, 2000) to understand how the instructors negotiated and continued to develop their professional selves in the context of a major university’s IEP. I approached my study with the view that identities are socially constructed ways of understanding who one is as a teacher (Bruner, 1969). This epistemological viewpoint allowed me to look at the various theories of PRI development. In doing so, I relied on identity trajectory, symbolic interactionism, and PPK to guide my data collection and interpretation.

I present this study in five chapters. In this chapter I introduced the study through a discussion of the need for this research, the research questions, significance of study, and the theoretical framework. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature on identity research, teacher's professional identity, and the theoretical approaches to studying identity. This review includes a discussion of research on how university instructors of ESOL are marginalized in the academy. Chapter 3 is a detailed discussion of the methods I used to conduct this study and includes further discussion of my theoretical framework. In Chapter 4, I summarize my research findings according to the PRIs and other themes, particularly PPK, that emerged in the data. Chapter 5 contains my discussion of the findings and their uniqueness in light of previous research. I conclude with recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview of Chapter

My review of literature begins with a focus on the concept of identity and its application to teachers. I reference studies of identity as explained by stage/developmental theories. In keeping with my epistemological focus on the social construction of identity and knowledge, I discuss literature related to how communities of practices and their social dynamics affect instructors' formations of professional role identities (PRIs) and knowledge. Calling attention to the position of the intensive English program at the edge of the academy, I emphasize the role that instructors have played in universities' ESL programs as a service provider. To address the research questions of how instructors have constructed their PRIs, I review literature on symbolic interactionism and its application to second language teachers' PRIs. I conclude with a review of studies that have focused on the second language teachers' personal practical knowledge (PPK) and how that knowledge is related to PRIs.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how experienced university instructors of ESOL developed their PRIs. As Walkington (2005) noted:

Teacher educators, whether they are university lecturers/tutors or mentoring teachers in the workplace, must seek to continually encourage the formation of a teacher identity by facilitating pre-service teacher activity that empowers them to explicitly build upon and challenge their experiences and beliefs. (p. 63)

Walkington's reference to teachers' identities is firmly rooted in their professional development. I view his discussion of teacher identity as leading to questions about specific professional role identities rather than questions about broad categories of teacher identity.

Drawing on Walkington's recommendations for teacher educators, I sought to understand how experienced instructors' knowledge from previous academic and professional experiences influenced their formations as teachers and their concomitant expressions of PRIs. To this end, I focused on obtaining narratives that reflected their experiences as learners, a process akin to apprenticeships of observation among K–12 teachers (Lortie, 1975), and academic and career trajectories (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). By emphasizing the history of the instructors' PRIs, I also brought attention to their personal practical knowledge as it informed their roles in the classroom (Clandinin, 2013; Elbaz, 1983; Golombek, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014).

Research Questions

This study addressed the following question: How do experienced university instructors of ESOL construct their professional role identities? Three additional questions expanded on the main research question:

1. What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?
2. How did past experiences influence the instructors' professional role identities?
3. How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

I iterated these questions, during semi-structured interviews, in my observations of instructors in their classrooms, and in my data analysis and reporting.

Significance of Study

According to reports from the Institute of International Educational Exchange, a data reporting division of the Institute of International Education, the number of international students enrolled in U.S. higher education in 2014–2015 was 974,926, a 10% increase from the previous year. This increase marked the ninth consecutive year of expanding enrollment for international students in U.S. higher education. International students constitute 4.8% of the approximately 20 million students enrolled in U.S. higher education. Of these, 46,170 students — 4.7% of the total number and an increase of 10.7% — were enrolled in intensive English programs (IEP) (Institute of International Education Exchange, 2015).

The increase in international student numbers was driven primarily by students from China who enrolled in undergraduate programs. Chinese student enrollments increased by 10% to more than 300,000 students, with an 18% increase at the undergraduate level. In 2015, students from India made up the second largest international presence on U.S. campuses with 132,888 students, an increase of 29% from the previous year. The increase was largely from graduate student enrollment. South Korea was third in country of origin for international students with 63,710 students, which was a decrease of 6.4% from the previous year. Brazil had the largest increase of 78% to 23,000 students (Institute of International Education Exchange, 2015).

A 2012 survey by TESOL International Association of instructors indicated that, of 479 respondents, 79% had worked in higher education for more than 6 years (Sahr, 2012). Only 7% had less than two years of experience. The majority of teachers of ESOL in higher education settings who responded had advanced degrees, either master's degrees or doctoral degrees in TESOL or related areas. The majority reported being from the United States (62%).

Respondents also described different professional roles in the higher education setting.

According to the report, they worked as researchers, teacher trainers, or instructors in Intensive English Programs (IEPs) and master's level classes and in private or public institutions as well as in universities and community colleges (Sahr, 2012).

These varied and complex roles depend on the location of IEP program, such as in community colleges, private academies, or universities, in which the instructors work. The setting of their work environment influences instructors' stories of how they developed their PRIs. By rooting the PRIs in the work context, one can understand the nuances of how instructors understand their roles under such broad terms as researcher or instructor (terms related to higher education settings), native speaker or non-native speaker (statuses that are often important among students in an ESL learning setting).

In order to provide effective training for second language instructors, teacher educators need an understanding of the instructors' PRIs (Farrell, 2007, 2011; Farrell & Ives, 2015). Farrell (2011) described teacher PRIs as "how teachers recognize their roles within their world and [how it] involves their beliefs, values, and assumptions about teaching and being a teacher" (p. 55). His definition of PRIs emphasized the on-going process in which teachers "construct and reconstruct (usually tacitly) a conceptual sense of who they are (their self-image) and this is manifested through what they do (their professional role identity)" (p. 54). Thus, teachers' PRIs come in part from an intrapersonal process that is evident in interpersonal actions in the classroom with students.

Although there is a lack of research on PRIs of university level instructors of ESOL, questions about role identity as it relates to the teaching profession at K-12 levels have been a focus of research in the 1990s and the early 21st century (e.g., Beijaard, 1995; Beijaard, Meijer,

& Verloop, 2004; Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005). Specifically, professional role identities have been researched carefully among student teachers (e.g., Gaudelli & Ousley, 2009; Sexton, 2008). Regarding second language teacher identity, much research has explored socio-cultural questions concerning non-native English speaking teachers (NNEST) (Amin, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). However, few studies have looked at experienced university instructors' PRIs. In weekly groups aimed at reflection on practice, Farrell (2011) examined the PRIs of such instructors by focusing on how they spoke of their identities. Using symbolic interactionism, Fraser (2011) studied experienced instructors of ESOL at a university in Japan by emphasizing how they interpreted symbols such as meetings, curricula, and office space in forming their teaching identities. Due to constraints specific to each setting and each study's research design, neither Farrell nor Fraser observed the instructors in classrooms. Likewise, Yesilbursa's (2012) study of the PRIs of Turkish university English language instructors did not include classroom observations but rather relied on instructors' reflections to elicit metaphors that described their roles.

Classroom observation is essential to a study of experienced instructors' PRIs because classroom teaching is a site for the enactment of professional roles. It is where teachers and students negotiate their respective identities vis-à-vis the teacher-student relationship. This idea is reflected by Pennington and Richards (2016) who noted that classrooms allow language teachers to construct their identities in response to students' cultures and to the methodological policies of the institutions in which they teach. Classroom practice is the place in which the institutional role of teacher is most often negotiated (Pennington & Richards, 2016).

Teacher Identity

The question of identity as an understanding of the self has an extensive history of inquiry. William James introduced the concept of the self as a significant influence on human thought, feeling, and behavior in his work *The Principles of Psychology* (1890). James was not the first to theorize the concept of identity as he drew on the philosophical ideas of Locke and his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and David Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature* (1739) (Gleason, 1983). In 1990 James and his student, Mary Whiton Calkins, were among the first to draw the subject of self into the realm of empirical research (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). In his review of the semantic history of the word "identity," Gleason (1983) noted that its use in western thought was rooted in the work of Locke and Hume who questioned the role of self in their philosophical inquiry into the unity and division of the mind-body. The term identity has numerous meanings, most associated with sociocultural categories such as ethnicity, nationality, and religion. Gleason (1983) pointed to Erik Erikson as the key figure in placing the term into popular parlance with the expression identity crisis. Erikson situated the term "identity" as a component of an individual's interior development of personality as understood according to the Freudian id-ego-superego model.

Rossan (1987) considered professional identity as a role identity held by an individual, while Thoits and Virshup (1997) emphasized that the social-self is reflected in a person's relationships. Role identity originated from an individual's integration of others' perceptions of himself or herself in a social role (MacCall & Simmons, 1978). Hence, professional identity as a construct can be understood as both a psychological and social construction.

The notion of looking at the social context of identity development reflects the ideas of Mead (1934). Mead viewed one's identity, or concept of self, as developing through interactions

with one's environment. Interactions allow a person to learn how to assume roles and to monitor one's own actions so that they are in consonance with others' expectations of the role (Beijaard et al., 2004; Blumer, 1969). Identity is not "something one has, but something that develops during one's whole life" (Beijaard, et al., 2004, p. 107). In following these suggestions, I conducted this study of experienced university instructors of ESOL with the aim of understanding the development of PRIs in their autobiographies as teachers and learners and how they were still negotiating those role identities in the classroom.

In keeping with the idea that the construction of PRIs is on-going, I reviewed Andrzejewski's (2008) work in which she applied developmental theories in her study of expert secondary teachers. Teachers may experience a few of Erikson's various stages and related psychosocial crises throughout their careers. For example, the crisis of intimacy versus isolation may occur as teachers negotiate relationships with students according to the students' needs and the teachers' own professional standards. In negotiating role identity vs. role confusion, they may wonder about the boundaries between themselves and students as they pertain to friendship, teacher, or advisor roles. Teachers may return to this phase and others during times of change and upheaval that call into question their identities as teachers. Furthermore, Erikson suggested that generativity and stagnation was a psychosocial crisis that occurred during adulthood. This stage may coincide with the professional development of experienced teachers and instructors (Andrzejewski, 2008; Erikson, 1963). Instructors may look to the activity of training the next generation of teachers as a form of generativity and as a way of not experiencing stagnation.

Research into teacher development has often used stages and phases to conceptualize the development of teachers in their careers. There are multiple stage theories offering insight into teacher development, but I mention two here. I chose these two because they illustrate the

overlap between psychological and social components of a teacher's life. Importantly, they guided my research by pointing to the complex interactions between time in the profession and instructors' personal and social experiences inside and outside the classroom.

Sikes, Measor, and Woods (1985) interviewed 40 secondary school teachers of art and science in England to understand their professional development. When interpreting their data, the researchers noted events in teachers' personal and professional lives and the teachers' interpretations of those events. They did not offer an explicit breakdown of stages but rather looked at how events coincided with the teachers' personal and professional lives (Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 1985). Incidents in a teacher's career that were related to a sudden change in the teacher's life had the most impact on development if they occurred during what Levinson (1986) called a critical phase. Critical phases could be intrinsic, such as those events occurring during the beginning phase of a career or a pre-retirement phase, or extrinsic, such as major educational reforms, war, or personal events like marriage, birth of a child, or bereavement (Sikes et al., 1985). This theory offered a way to account for how personal and professional events affected teacher identity development.

Fessler and Christenson (1992) theorized eight phases of teacher development that were not based on teachers' ages or years of experience. The phases were 1) Pre-service, 2) Induction, 3) Competency Building, 4) Enthusiastic and Growing, 5) Career Frustration, 6) Career Stability, 7) Career Wind-Down, and 8) Career Exit. The authors conceptualized these stages as falling into three domains: personal environment, career cycle, and organizational environment. The first domain, components of the personal environment, had a reciprocal relationship with the second domain, career cycle. In turn, the career cycle interacted reciprocally with the third

domain, organizational environment. This theory emphasized the interplay of personal and social factors in identity development, which was a focus of my research.

These theories can offer a better interpretation for understanding the experiences of individuals who enter the teaching profession after previous work and life experiences other than teaching because they do not rely solely on age or time in the profession. Thus, they account for the idiosyncratic nature of professional change and identity. For example, an issue that is prominent in one stage is not always resolved permanently and reemerges in later stages, especially in the professional lives of teachers (Andrzejewski, 2008). Martel (2013) observed that many studies of teachers' identities among novice teachers have not reflected the often circuitous process of identity negotiation that teachers go through in adapting to their professions. Moreover, many university instructors of ESOL may have accumulated teaching experience as teachers abroad, as part-time instructors, and as private tutors.

Although not based in developmental theory, the theory of identity trajectory allows for the circuitous and personal trajectory of professional role identities of experienced instructors of ESOL. McAlpine (2012) and McAlpine and Amundsen (2012) suggested identity trajectory as a way of understanding how professional demands and personal imperatives interacted to affect the career paths of university post-doctoral workers and scientists. University professionals, such as the post-doctoral fellows studied by McAlpine (2012), often transitioned from graduate study into professional apprenticeships in the academy by combining their past and present experiences and circumstances with their imagined futures while negotiating demands from their personal lives. Likewise, the instructors in this study came to their jobs in a university's IEP due to idiosyncratic and context specific situations.

In summary, applying adult development theories to the study of individual narratives of instructors of ESOL reveals the intersection of personal experiences with relevant social contexts, especially when identities have been forged over periods of decades. Moreover, the application of stage theories that are not age-based to teachers' role identities becomes particularly salient in research that contextualizes a teacher's identity within a specific period of time. Identity formation is ongoing. According to Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) it is an "answer to the recurrent question: 'Who am I at this moment?'" (p. 108).

Impact of Social Influences on PRIs

Lasky (2005) studied teacher identity, agency, and professional vulnerability from a sociocultural perspective. By focusing on how teachers maintained and adapted identities when outside policies changed, Lasky found that teachers were affected by inconsistencies and misalignments between external influences such as educational reform and their personal motives for being teachers. The resulting dissonance challenged their integration of professional identities. Continuing the exploration of teacher identity in times of change, Day, Elliot, and Kington (2005) looked at how policy changes, such as school reform, forced teachers to examine their commitment to the teaching profession and thereby their professional identities. In this study of instructors of ESOL, the ideas of Lasky and Day et al. (2006) guided my understanding of how university policies and practices affected teacher practice in the classroom.

Social context or setting is essential to a robust understanding of the experience of being a teacher (Beijaard et al., 2004). Day, Kington, Sobart, and Sammons (2006) summarized research in teacher identity and indicated that identities were neither "intrinsically stable nor intrinsically fragmented" and varied at "different times and in different ways according to a number of life career and situational factors" (p. 601). Day et al. (2006) suggested that

consideration also be given to studying teachers' PRIs within personal and professional contexts. In their review of the literature on teachers' professional identities, Beijaard et al. (2004) suggested that authors who study professional identity needed to expand their research in a way that relates identity with personal and practical experiences. They suggested that future research should attend to the relationship between identity and work/personal context in professional identity formation.

Communities of Practice and University Instructors' Role Identities

Community influence is present even in instructors' seemingly solitary activities of preparing lessons, planning class activities, and reflecting on classroom performance as an instructor. As the instructor performs these activities, he or she considers an audience of students, colleagues, and supervisors (both past and present). In their theory on situated learning or communities of practice, Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) discussed the social nature of practice. Wenger (1998) eloquently described the social life in the mind of the practitioner:

A child doing homework, a doctor making a decision, a traveler reading a book – all these activities implicitly involve other people who may not be present. The meanings of what we do are always social. By “social” I do not refer just to family dinners, company picnics, school dances, and church socials. Even drastic isolation – as in solitary confinement, monastic seclusion, or writing – is given meaning through social participation. (p. 57)

Considering social influences, both tacit and explicit, illuminates how instructors have carefully internalized the meaning of their experiences as components of their identity.

In studying communities of practice, Wenger (1998) found the idea of practice connoted not just doing an activity but also the historical and social contexts that provided a structure to what individuals do in a community. In short, practice is “always social” (p. 47). Wenger, however, emphasized that a concept of practice will include actions and thoughts that are both explicit and tacit. He wrote:

[Practice] includes the language, tools, documents, images, symbols, well-defined roles, specified criteria, codified procedures, regulations, and contracts that various practices make explicit for a variety of purposes. But it also includes all the implicit relations, tacit conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb, recognizable intuitions, specific perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, and shared world views. Most of these may never be articulated, yet they are unmistakable signs of membership in communities of practice and are crucial to the success of their enterprises. (p. 47)

For second language teachers, the nature of a community of practice may often be tied to their employer’s emphasis on teaching methodology and learning goals. For example, a language learning agency may emphasize one methodological or language teaching approach over another in order to meet its goals or fulfill its mission, thereby affecting through policy how the instructors of ESOL enact PRIs in the classroom.

Teacher identity as it related to methodological emphasis emerged as a theme in the study by Ramanathan, Davies, and Schleppegrel (2001) of two M.A. TESOL programs. One of the programs was in the Southeast and the other was located on the West Coast. Their research showed that differences in training existed according to the department and the culture of the institution. One program was more oriented toward education and pedagogy with a secondary

emphasis on linguistics and English language structure. The other program emphasized linguistic knowledge over pedagogical. The researchers concluded that the emphases of programs influenced the practicum work of the students. Students at the southeastern university focused more on pedagogy and worked as teaching assistants and apprentices in freshman composition classes for non-native speakers of English. Not surprisingly, the graduate program was housed in the English department and aimed to support teaching in introductory classes. Students at the west coast university trained in a linguistics department and worked in small language learning classes that were less formal and had no graded assignments. These short courses served to prepare non-native English speakers for study in the science and mathematics disciplines, areas that the university promoted in recruiting. In both cases, the justification for the graduate TESOL program was made in terms of how it would best support the university.

The university as a community of practice calls to mind the various PRIs and equally varied approaches to understanding them. Some PRIs can be seen through the lenses of discipline and subject, while others are clearly rooted in the context of a work environment. Communities of practice, as they relate to the PRIs of instructors of ESOL, will also be affected by global, cultural, and sociocultural events. The term “frames” allows an approach to analyzing the field of English language teaching that accounts for a teacher’s work in a holistic way (Pennington, 2015; Pennington & Hoekje, 2014).

Pennington and Hoekje (2014) used a frames approach to understand English language teachers’ (ELT) identities as contingent. In defining the term “frames,” they wrote the following.

The frames represent the different facets of the ELT field and the different aspects of practice that may be present in every ELT workplace. When combined, as they have

been through evolution over time, these facets have created the unique hybrid enterprise that is ELT, with its associated values and practices, the kinds of educational units and programs where ELT is carried out, and the specific requirements for ELT work, as a complex interaction of a large set of intersecting factors. (p. 165)

Pennington (2015) framed English language teaching (ELT) in the categories of work and context. This approach is important to my study because it gives an ecological, or interconnected, overview of the systems in which instructors of ESOL develop PRIs. For instance, the identity of vendor (suggested by Farrell, 2011) could be related to the global economic changes (Global Context Frame) or the business frame. Changes in other countries' economies could affect the number and origins of international students. In turn, these shifts could influence the instructors' practices in the classroom as he or she encounters changes in the cultures present in the class and the concomitant cultural expectations by students of what a teacher should do in the classroom. More students from a culture that requires teachers to provide traditional grammar instruction would have an impact on how a teacher performs his or her roles in the classroom. Table 1 includes Pennington's descriptions.

Table 1

Frames Model of English Language Teaching (ELT) (Pennington, 2015, p. 19)

Frames of ELT Work	
Instruction	Refers to teaching content, methods, materials, and technologies. Emphasis on teacher roles and relationships with students.
Disciplinary field	This frame includes the academic affiliation and qualifications of the instructor. Also refers to teacher knowledge, research, and scholarship.
Profession	Involves consideration of ethics and standards along with teacher education and development. Pennington includes working conditions, political influence, and power and collegial relations.
Business	Refers to understanding through consideration of income, accountability, and efficiency. Other issues are cost-effectiveness, customer satisfaction, recruitment, and promotion.
Service	Refers to the helper role, which includes meeting student needs, voluntary labor, and support of department, institution, and field.
ELT Context Frames	
Global	This frame refers to an international orientation, practices related to global flows of people, money, technology, information, ideologies, languages.
Local	Situated in the practice of a department, institution, community, and nation. This frame includes specific teacher and student groups in a particular locale.
Sociocultural	Refers to the linguistic and ethnic backgrounds of teachers and students; demographics of administrators, teachers, and students.

Pennington's frames approach focuses on how instructors of ESOL view work in professional and personal contexts. Noting Pennington's category of the local context, I suggest attention to the role descriptions of instructors of ESOL as university instructors or faculty is needed. A review of literature on PRIs in general will broaden the understanding of how instructors of ESOL carry out their duties in a university setting. The following describes research that has considered instructors of all disciplines in a university setting.

The University Setting

In her study of university teachers' identities in the United Kingdom, Kreber (2010) noted that identity referred to an instructor's identification with particular groups or with aspects of his or her "being that have been recognized by others..." (p. 171). Identity was an image that an instructor constructed of himself or herself. This self-image was formed internally and linked identity to "humanist notions of individuation, self-actualization and gaining greater self-awareness" of how the instructor viewed himself or herself. These two positions, according to Kreber, reflected a "sociological and psychological perspective, respectively" (p. 171). Again the idea of the individual in community who asserts agency is emphasized. This theme informed my focus on instructors' formation of their PRIs with personal practical knowledge gained in a community of practice.

Beard, Clegg, and Smith (2007) addressed the suggested role of parent in the classroom as a response to the affective factors between university students and their professors and instructors. In their case study of students' relationships and emotional involvements, the authors urged consideration of the roles that university professors and instructors play as nurturers, at least in how they responded to students' affective transitions. Mortiboys (2005, 2013) has written at length about emotional intelligence among teachers and learners in a

university setting, even suggesting erotic elements between instructor and students. Drawing on aspects of these studies, my research utilized the discussion of nurturer as it led to considering the multiple facets of an instructor's identity that vary according to a discipline. For example, the role of "nurturer" as suggested by Beard, Clegg, and Smith (2007) may be expressed quite differently in a biology class than in an IEP.

Indeed, the personal journeys of university instructors show the intersection between classroom experiences and experiences with mentors. With regard to the professional development of university instructors, Reybold (2003) looked at the pathways of faculty identities of doctoral students in education who transitioned to the professorate. Focusing on doctoral students' narratives of how and why they chose to pursue an academic career, she emphasized the personal influence that showed an "evolving epistemological relationship between the student and the professorate" (p. 240). Reybold described five "archetypal pathways" (p. 235) to the professorate: anointed, pilgrim, visionary, philosopher, and drifter. Her research drew attention to the prospective professors' personal experiences, whether with mentors or a particularly memorable classroom experience, as symbols that they used for negotiating their professional identities within a university (Reybold, 2003). Reybold's (2003) idea aligns with the notion of images that Clandinin (2013) suggested teachers held of themselves. The image, as it relates to a teacher's philosophy, is the point of departure for understanding instructors' PRIs.

Philosophies, however, are not formed in isolation. Henkel (2005) emphasized the need for including both the individual and his or her community when researching university teachers' identities. The author asserted that academic identity was negotiated in communities, such as departments, that most affect the individual. However, she noted that the influence of disciplines

lessened over time but still exerted a powerful influence on identity formation. Likewise, Clegg (2008) emphasized that identity was not fixed but was related to the individual and how he or she related to their work community. Clegg implied that the instructors' community of practice affected how academic identity "exists alongside other aspects of how people understand their personhood and ways of being in the world" (p. 329).

In his study of a design department in a university in South Africa, Jawitz (2009) elaborated on the role of communities of practice in forming an academic identity in a skill-based discipline within a university department. According to Jawitz, the instructors learned by participating in the activities of a group. He acknowledged that the role of personal agency among those entering a community of practice was important to understanding instructors' identities. Instructors chose whether they identified more with the roles of teaching, examining projects, teaching part-time, or working on projects with professionals outside the university. Thus, instructors in Jawitz's study chose the group or groups of practice within their academic department with which they identified.

Jawitz (2009) noted that instructors' group identity changed according to the length of time that they had been a part of the department or community of practice. As Wenger (1998) observed: "[N]ewcomers are no fools: once they have access to the practice, they soon find out what counts" (p. 156). Indeed, instructors in the department studied by Jawitz moved from professional practice to part-time lecturers at the university, to outside examiners on students' projects, and to identifying and fulfilling the role of full-time academic instructor. The participants in Jawitz's study used identity as a way to advance and solidify their professional careers in their department.

There are similarities between teaching ESOL programs and the design programs studied by Jawitz. Both are focused on providing students with skills. Design programs provide skills for entrance into a profession, and English language learning programs provide language skills for academic success. Full-time instructors of ESOL have often moved from outside professional positions (for ESL instructors these may be positions abroad as full-time instructors) to part-time instructors back to full-time instructors with administrative duties and responsibilities to outside constituents in community service programs. In IEPs, prior and current experiences with a community of professionals have influenced role identities of instructors. For example, in addition to teaching experience abroad, instructors of ESOL have often served as teaching assistants in graduate training programs (Canagarajah, 2012; Tsui, 2007). All these experiences become part of instructors' identity narratives.

Other research has focused on the workplace activities of the universities, specifically the roles of university lecturers and teachers in their work environments (Warhurst, 2008). While emphasizing everyday writing of university lecturers, Lea and Stierer (2009) argued that institutional contexts provided a framework for understanding academic practice and academic identities. These findings are pertinent to this study as they point to the role of daily activities of instructors of ESOL in the development of their professional role identities.

Instruction of ESOL as a Service to the University

The few empirical studies focused on the professional role identities of experienced instructors of ESOL within a university have not looked at how belonging to a marginalized profession and department affected their roles. Such considerations could help in understanding the reasons why some instructors have experienced the profession's permeability (Johnston, 1997) and perceived lack of professionalization (Crandall, 1993). Auerbach (1991) described the

marginal status of instructors of ESOL as being due to the perception that the subject being taught was a skill, not an academic discipline. She wrote, “There’s an academy with an established set of standards, and our job is to get people ready to enter it” (p. 1). Auerbach (1991) further explained that an ESL instructor’s work is more training than educating because language is seen as a tool, “a set of decontextualized skills to be mastered as a precondition for access” (p. 1).

While encouraging efforts to professionalize the field of adult ESL instruction, Crandall (1993) cautioned that the professionalism of the field’s practitioners should not be in question.

It is important, however, not to confuse professionalization (status enhancement through certification or credentialing, contracts, and tenure) with professionalism (professional practice, involvement in program development, continued learning). Being full-time does not necessarily make one a professional; nor does being part-time necessarily entail the reverse. (p 497)

Crandall recognized that instructors of ESOL for adults operated in a context in which “full-time positions are rare, resources are scarce, and turnover is high” (p. 497). Implied in this description is the notion that instructors’ classroom tasks are viewed as inferior to those of teachers in other academic departments. Professionalism is a tool used by the academy to enhance competition by rewarding lengthy education, number of publications and degree of specialization instead of giving prominence to excellent teaching or commitment to students’ intellectual development (Auerbach, 1991). Breshears (2004) questioned how ESL/EFL teachers “fit into the spectrum between unskilled workers and highly trained professionals” (p. 22).

Expanding on the concern about training and the recognition of instructors of ESOL as professionals, Breshears (2004) argued that the lack of standardized certification mandates led to

inexperienced and untrained teachers in the classrooms and diminished the quality of instruction. According to Breshears, without mandatory entry requirements for the profession, native speaker status could become a sufficient qualification for entering the field: “the whole notion that ESL instruction is not only a skill but also a discipline is undermined. As a result, it becomes ever more difficult to make the case that TESL is a professional occupation” (p. 27).

Johnston (1999) wrote about the specifics of marginality for the profession of TESOL. He emphasized the metaphorical space between disciplines and cultures as the place of practice for instructors of ESOL.

It seems to lack even basic narratives for the lives of its teachers, and it is a profession in which change (of job, of country of residence, of methodology) is valued for its own sake. More importantly, though, it is a marginal occupation in a number of different ways. In academic terms it is marginalized (Pennington, 1992), occupying an ill-defined place amidst linguistics, education, English, and a host of other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology. In its daily practices, it is conducted by definition at the meeting point between two or more cultures and owes its very existence to difference and to ongoing contact between cultural [o]thers. (p. 276)

In earlier publications, Johnston (1995, 1997) referred to the problem of the profession’s permeability and concluded that the high rates of attrition and replacement among TESL instructors made it difficult for the profession to demand high standards. As a result, the profession maintained its low status and “consequent inferior rewards” (Breshears, 2004, p. 28).

Pennington (2015) reflected on how the identity of an instructor of ESOL was in part linked to working in a marginalized and ill-defined department or discipline.

A TESOL educator's disciplinary identity is also related to the type of department or other academic unit that she is affiliated with. Affiliation with a department such as English or Linguistics representing a recognized academic discipline confers greater academic legitimacy and power than non-disciplinary affiliations, and it also affords more opportunities for research to enhance academic status. (p. 21).

Pennington (2015) astutely observed that research was a crucial component of a disciplinary identity for university teachers and correctly located it as a salient feature in the PRIs of instructors of ESOL. Research in the field of TESOL can create a strong connection to a disciplines, such as linguistics or education, and increase the profession's status in the academic community, especially a research university (Pennington, 2015). However, there is not a research requirement for instructors of ESOL at most universities. If research is undertaken, it is done so for evaluative reasons or as part of pursuing a doctoral degree or preparing for conference presentation or publication. Research for instructors of ESOL rarely results in professional advancement (Pennington, 2015).

Although instructors of ESOL are often marginalized in universities, some research has indicated varying levels of teacher satisfaction with their work (Pennington, 1991). Data from a survey of 95 ESL teachers by Pennington and Ho (1995) concerning teacher burnout indicated that the teachers showed less depersonalized attitudes in dealing with their students than other groups of educators and human services professionals. On the other hand, surveys of members of the TESOL organization suggested that practitioners experienced dissatisfactions in the areas of promotions, pay, and some administrative aspects.

Pennington (1991) noted a key to improving working conditions in these areas was professional recognition. However, experiences particular to an individual instructor's

classroom setting reveal daily struggles that erode an instructor's sense of professional appreciation by colleagues and administrators. Sahr (2012) described results of a survey of TESOL members working in higher education. The respondents reported that factors such as students being unprepared for university level work, administrators not understanding the nature of language learning or of TESOL as a discipline, and heavy teaching and administrative workloads were major concerns made worse by the personal finances of the teachers as well as funding from the institution.

Questions remain as to how the status of the profession of TESOL is perceived by novice and experienced teachers. The survey mentioned above have indicated some frustration. Yet, experienced teachers have continued and succeeded. The narratives behind this persistence have been scarce in the literature, depriving fellow teachers in the field of recognizable experiences and struggles.

Construction of PRIs of Instructors of ESOL

Professional role identities of teachers in marginal subjects such as art, languages, and music have been the subject of much research (Andrzejewski, 2008). Some research on teacher identity has looked at the subtle variations in the professional identities of music and art teachers (Kenny, Finneran, & Mitchell, 2015; Kuster, Bain, & Young, 2014; Pellegrino, 2009) who often identify with roles as performers or artists in addition to that of teacher. Notably, Pellegrino (2009) used symbolic interactionism to understand how music teachers interpreted their role identities in different professional contexts (classroom and performance settings). For second language teachers, Martel (2013) used symbolic interactionism to understand how a student teacher developed her identity along methodological lines as a second language practicum teacher of elementary and high school students. Fraser (2011) also applied symbolic

interactionism in his qualitative study of ESL instructors at a university in Japan. Other researchers (see, for example, Liu, 1999; Tsui, 2007) have interpreted data by using the idea of symbolic interactionism to understand in part how teachers made meaning from others' comments in forming their identities as NNEST.

In situations where multiple roles exist for the teacher, such as art, music, and ESL teachers, symbolic interactionism captures the process of identity negotiation by interpreting how symbols, including speech and discourse markers, are accepted or rejected by teachers as part of their PRIs. Examples of such markers and symbols in the study of second language instructors may include remarks from students and colleagues that evaluate teachers as being traditional grammar instructors or instructors wed to other methodologies such as teaching for communicative competence or using task-based learning. In short, the instructor assumes a role identity based in part on his or her methodology (Martel, 2013). Martel (2013) used symbolic interactionism to understand how and why a second language instructor accepted or rejected methodological labels as part of her PRI.

Blumer (1969) described symbolic interactionism as relying on three premises: 1) how human beings act according to the meaning that a symbol or object has for them; 2) meanings originate in interactions with other people; and 3) meanings are concretized through a process of interpretation. These notions suggest that humans actively construct and interpret the meanings of actions. Thus, instructors are active participants in making sense of events and relating them to their identities.

According to Stryker and Burke (2000), identity theory developed in two different but related directions. One direction was based on understanding how social structures affected an individual's self. A second approach aimed to understand how these effects played out in social

behavior. Note that the first direction identified the social structures that influenced the individual, and the latter focused on how one used this information to negotiate identity roles that were expressed in actions (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Martel (2013) noted the confluence of the external with the internal in role identity. He used the image of the looking glass self to explain how the second language and ESL practicum teacher in his study negotiated roles and identities. The metaphor of the looking glass self (Blumer, 1969), as applied to second language teachers, involved a teacher imagining how a colleague, student, or supervisor saw him or her as a teacher and then accepting or rejecting that vision as part of his or her identity. More specifically, instructors may struggle with how others view them in terms of use of the target language and first language in the classroom. One may perceive oneself as a traditionalist, an experimenter with the latest methodologies, or an eclectic practitioner based on the reaction and statements of others. Whether these methodological practices become part of the instructors' PRIs will depend on how they perceive the value given to their chosen methodology or methodologies by colleagues and more experienced teachers and supervisors (Tsui, 2007). It is reasonable to assume experienced instructors have negotiated time and again their PRIs in this manner. In their stories one can learn more about the fine-grained process of PRI negotiation vis-à-vis teaching methodology in the second language classroom.

When the question concerning native or non-native speaker status has been studied, role identity and symbolic interactionism were implicitly linked. Liu (1999) studied how seven non-native-English speaking professionals in TESOL perceived the labels of 'native speaker' and 'nonnative speaker'. Liu found that three participants did not affiliate themselves with either category of native speaker or non-native speaker. Four participants were comfortable with associating themselves with only one of the categories. Although Liu did not explicitly apply

symbolic interactionism in his interpretation of the study's data, its ideas were evident in how the participants described their identity negotiation. One participant perceived the label of non-native speaker as solely political in nature. Other participants relied more on their cultural affiliations to decide whether to accept or reject the labels. Some viewed their training background and how others esteemed that training, i.e., beginning second language learning at an early age, as indicative of native or non-native status. Notably, in making meaning of their native and non-native status, the participants often relied on their personal experiences.

Other researchers (Amin, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012) have also focused on the professional identities of NNEST. Amin (1997) explained how an instructor's race led students and teachers to make assumptions about the individual's language ability and status as a NNEST or NEST. Amin also focused on what statements and feedback led the instructors to characterize themselves as native or non-native speakers. Golombek and Jordan (2005) looked at students from Taiwan in their first year of study in a master's program in TESOL. They found that the student teachers used linguistic tools provided by the course work to create identities as competent teachers. Park (2012) presented the experiences of one Chinese student before and during her TESOL program preparation and urged trainers of both NNEST and NEST candidates to use teachers' life stories and the meanings they attached to those stories to encourage teachers to develop multiple role identities associated with multiple competencies in the classroom. Expecting a NNEST to speak "perfectly" as a NEST overlooks the many competencies of a second language teacher.

Instructor's Methodological Stance and PRI

Kanno and Stuart (2011) found that beginning instructors' actions influenced their "identity development and their changing classroom practice" (p. 236). Hence, what a teacher

does and believes affects his or her professional role identity. Instructors of ESOL must sort through a variety of second language learning and acquisition theories in deciding the approach, strategy, and technique for the classroom. These methodological theories present assumptions about the nature of language and how a second language can best be taught (Smith, 1996).

Razfar and Rumenapp (2014) noted that holding a particular methodological stance was essential to identity, especially when identity was determined by the teachers' discourse in the classroom.

Writing about language teachers in the L2 classroom, Razfar and Rumenapp (2014) noted:

“...[d]iscourses are the very way in which we mediate reality. We are who we are by our affinities with different discourse communities, and those discourse communities have discursive markers which we can identify” (p. 17). Teachers' discourse is related to their teaching method, and that relationship may be evident in their understandings of their PRIs in the classroom.

Canagarajah (2012) explained in his auto-ethnography as a teacher of ESOL how allowing students to use their first language led to a poor assessment by his supervisor. He had to defend his practice by producing professional journal articles that supported the use of L1 language to explain L2 grammatical points. Had he not done so, he would have been identified as an ineffective teacher who had rejected the departmental teaching policy of using communicative language teaching techniques. In reality, he was blending approaches based on his own reading of research and knowledge of students' needs.

Pennington (2015) recounted the different teaching approaches and orientations that instructors have used in the field of TESOL. She noted audio-lingualism, communicative language teaching, task-based learning, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and critical pedagogy as some of the more commonly recognized approaches. Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011) compared the different methods and approaches to teaching a second language.

Table 2 is a summary of their comparisons. The methods and approaches are linked to various psychological and philosophical views of education, such as behaviorism or post structuralism.

Table 2

Comparison of Different Methods and Approaches to Language Teaching

Method/Approach/Innovation	Role of Language Learner	Role of Language Teacher
Grammar-Translation	Mental Exercise	Require translation from target language (TL) texts to native language
Direct Method	Associate meaning with the TL directly.	Encourage spoken language without requiring translation from first language
Audio-Lingual Method	Overcome native language habits and form new TL habits	Foster oral/aural drills and pattern practice
Cognitive Code Approach	Form and Test hypotheses to acquire TL rules	Provide inductive/deductive grammar exercises
Comprehension Approach: Natural Approach and Total Physical Response	Listen; associate meaning with TL directly	Delay speaking until students are ready; clarify meaning through actions and visuals
Communicative Language Teaching	Interact with others in the TL; negotiate meaning	Use communicative activities: information gaps, role-plays, games

Method/Approach/Innovation	Role of Language Learner	Role of Language Teacher
Content-based Instruction	Learn language through engaging with meaningful content	Teach language and content at the same time—have objectives and activities for both. Instructor may have to show expertise in both the target language and the subject matter
Task-based Language Teaching	Learn by doing	Engage in tasks with clear outcomes
Technology in Language Teaching and Learning	Language emerges through use; it is reshaped by experience	Provide learning experiences in which students are more autonomous

Modified from Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011, pp. 222–223.

Razfar and Rumenapp (2014) suggested that recent debates have focused on underlying philosophies behind two approaches to second language teaching: socio-cultural theory (SCT) and second language acquisition (SLA). Socio-cultural theory draws on the ideas of Bruner (1991) and holds that language is the means or mediational tool through which learning occurs. SLA theory holds that linguistic structures are the focus for the learner. Theorists of second language acquisition, according to Razfar and Rumenapp (2014), have assumed that every student learns or acquires language in a predictable process (Krashen, 1982), whereas SCT has operated on the belief that learning is varied according to context.

As the methods and approaches of teaching a second language have changed in popularity, the individual practices of teachers have followed in varying degrees. Often teachers have perceived this change as an outside force because teaching methodologies have been imposed from administrators (Tsui, 2007). The administrative nature of regulating classroom methodology aligns with the notion of teacher identity being affected by outside changes (Day et al., 2005; Lasky, 2005). Such changes can bring a misalignment between instructors' own negotiated identities as teachers and the demands of administrators' policy.

In a study of international teaching assistants in U.S. universities' foreign language classrooms, Salomone (1998) illustrated the sometimes problematic connection between a second language teacher's methodology or approach and his or her teacher identity. The international teaching assistants' use of their own language learning experiences led to resisting communicative approaches in favor of more explicitly grammatical ones in the classroom. Salomone (1998) noted that for some of the international teaching assistants being a purveyor of grammar in language study was essential to their understanding of a successful teacher. To not teach ordered grammatical lessons was simply not to teach. Accepting the methods of

communicative competence as a part of their PRIs hit squarely at the teaching assistants' cultural adaptation process.

A lack of understanding of identities in the training of ESOL instructors may result in the ironic situations in which directors of ESL instruction programs impose a sociocultural and communicative language teaching approach that conflicts with the social and cultural backgrounds of the instructors. Problems from this disconnect have been observed in conflicts between ESL teacher trainers and teachers who do not fully adhere to a supervising teacher's methodological stance (e.g., Salomone, 1998; Tsui, 2007). Martel (2013) asserted that this conflict was the result of teacher preparation programs and associated research not "distinguishing identity positions from role expectations" (p. 51). He suggested that many student teachers practiced and identified with methodologies as expressed by their supervising teacher during student teaching even if the approach differed from what the students had learned in their teacher education program.

Beijaard (1995) found that pedagogical practices were related to how teachers formed their personal and professional role conceptions. Beijaard, Verloop, and Vermunt (2000) expanded the focus on pedagogical practices to include subject matter and didactic expertise in teacher identity. They grouped teachers' expertise into five categories: subject matter experts, didactic experts, pedagogical experts, teachers who described a balance among the three categories, and teachers who described themselves as experts in two of the three groups, such as subject and didactical experts. Furthermore, they found that novice teachers who initially found their identities in subject areas often changed their self-characterizations to include other areas after obtaining experience (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000).

Because instructors of ESOL at the university level are involved primarily with teaching and not research, they are likely to experience professional identities that have some commonality with K–12 teachers. Therefore the identity categories of Beijaard et al. (2000) are useful in understanding the college classroom teaching experiences of experienced instructors of ESOL. Considering that the main professional duty of this study’s instructors of ESOL was to teach, I chose to consider how PRIs related to pedagogical experience and knowledge.

In her study of a Chinese EFL instructor, Tsui (2007) traced how the instructor’s identity and classroom practice were mutually influential. Using narrative inquiry, Tsui studied how Minfang, a teacher in the People’s Republic of China, struggled with mandates to adopt the methodology of communicative language teaching (CLT). It was not until he obtained his master’s degree and was exposed to other theories and models of English language teaching that he found opportunities to incorporate various methods and adhere to an eclectic approach as a teacher. Minfang’s narratives resembled the nexus of experiences from inside and outside the classroom as described by Clandinin (1985) and Clandinin and Connelly (1986).

Tsui (2007) noted that “the appropriation of meanings can alienate those who produced the original meanings when they find themselves unable to reclaim the meanings they produced” (p. 661). Minfang was alienated by the meanings associated with communicative language teaching and learning because they were in opposition to his fundamental experiences and beliefs about second language learning. He was not able to construct his own identity as a teacher until he appropriated the meaning of communicative teaching for himself. This process was similar to that described by Salomone (1998). In both studies the instructors’ experiences conflicted with their institutions’ required pedagogical approach to teaching a second language.

Tsui's findings (2007) are supported in other research on teachers' beliefs. Fenstermacher (1994) noted the difficulty of differentiating between teacher knowledge and teacher beliefs. Sutton (2009) suggested that the terms have been used interchangeably. Johnson (2006) recommended a thorough assessment of the epistemological beliefs of second language teachers, especially those in the TESOL profession, due to the "sociocultural turn" in studies of second language teaching. Smith (1996) conducted a study of experienced teachers in the adult ESL classroom to determine how they made instructional decisions and found that teacher beliefs about second language learning influenced the types of decisions made in the classroom. Smith (1996) wrote, "These beliefs, while theoretically eclectic, were clearly articulated and consistent with individual teacher decisions" (p. 207). In my study, experienced teachers articulated their beliefs through their narratives, which were rich in autobiographical detail describing how they developed their PRIs. Participants' learning experiences, political beliefs, and experiences with working in universities influenced the formation of teaching beliefs that were often expressed in PRIs inside and outside the classroom.

With regard to methodological practice in this study, I sought to understand how experienced instructors' of ESOL had incorporated methodology as part of their PRIs. This line of inquiry was pertinent to all participants because they had to adapt to the students' needs and learning styles in the classroom while considering IEP practices and policies. According to some research, instructors' identities in the classroom often match to varying degrees with students' experiences of a teacher's role such as the imparter of knowledge rather than as facilitator (Pennington, & Richards, 2016).

The first studies undertaken to document the pedagogical knowledge of experienced and novice post-secondary ESL instructors were conducted by Gatbonton (1999, 2008) and Mullock

(2006). The researchers elucidated second language teachers' decision making processes by recording the instructors in the classroom and having them watch the video immediately after class. As the instructors watched the recording, the researchers systematically elicited their recollections of teaching decisions behind actions seen in the video.

Gatbonton (1999) investigated experienced ESL teachers' pedagogical knowledge through examining the hypothesis that "it [was] possible to access the pattern of knowledge about teaching and learning that experienced teachers utilized while they [taught]" (p. 586). She found that experienced teachers uniformly recalled 20 to 21 categories of pedagogical thoughts behind their classroom decisions after watching the video recording of their teaching. The predominant categories that emerged from data analysis included thoughts concerned with managing the language heard and produced by the students (Language Management), thoughts about the students (knowledge of students), thoughts about maintaining smooth transitions between activities in the classroom (Procedure Check), and reviewing student participation in and progress with classroom tasks (Progress Review) (Gatbonton, 1999).

Mullock (2006) conducted a study similar to Gatbonton's. In her research, Mullock studied teachers in training while they taught low intermediate to advanced levels in general English, Business English, and Cambridge Advanced Certificate classes. The teachers' students remained in intact classes with their regular teachers unlike the students in Gatbonton's (1999) studies who were placed in specially formed classes for the purposes of research. A second difference between the studies was that Mullock observed classes at three different language proficiency levels rather than students in lower intermediate levels of English as in Gatbonton's 1999 study. Also, unlike Gatbonton, Mullock studied teachers with varying levels of TESOL teaching experience. Overall, Mullock's findings supported those of Gatbonton (1999).

In her 2008 study, Gatbonton repeated the same methods of her earlier study but looked at the responses of both novice and experienced ESL teachers. She compared the two groups' pedagogical knowledge as it related to major categories of handling language input, student output, procedural issues, and student reactions and attitudes. The results showed that pedagogical knowledge of novice teachers was similar to that of experienced teachers when major categories were compared. However, pedagogical knowledge was not comparable between the two groups in terms of details within the categories. Novice teachers spent more time thinking about student behavior and reactions than experienced teachers who focused more on language management. Novice teachers focused on students' negative reactions more than experienced teachers.

The works of Gatbonton (1999, 2008) and Mullock (2006) were significant for my study in two ways. First, they provided in-depth studies of how post-secondary instructors employed knowledge in their enactments of classroom roles. Second, Gatbonton (2008) found some categories of pedagogical knowledge that were similar between novice and experienced ESL teachers. Although the novice and experienced teachers responded differently to classroom situations, the similar categories of knowledge indicate that studying experienced instructors would inform the training of novice instructors.

Personal Practical Knowledge

This study takes a larger look at teacher identity and practice by using narrative inquiry to elicit instructors' recollections of developing their own style and approach to teaching. This line of inquiry provided information about influential teachers in the instructors' past learning experiences and critical moments that influenced their identity formation. I grouped these

experiences under the term personal practical knowledge as a way to understand how the instructors negotiated their PRIs.

Elbaz (1983) characterized the link between teachers' experiences inside and outside the classroom and teaching as practical knowledge. Clandinin (1985) and Clandinin and Connelly (1986) described these experiences as constituting personal practical knowledge. Going further, Clandinin and Connelly (1987) suggested that PPK should involve considerations of the "aesthetic, moral and emotional states of mind" (p. 499). These states are primary components to how an instructor experiences his or her role as a professional and answer the question of identity in the classroom posed by Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004): "Who am I at this moment?" (p. 108).

Within and outside the classroom, instructors express their PRIs according to how professional knowledge intersects with personal and practical knowledge. Clandinin and Connelly (1996) posited that the in-classroom place and the out-of-classroom place were locations where knowledge became personal through narratives. The in-classroom place allowed teachers freedom to live out their stories and those of the classroom. The out-of-classroom space was where the teachers lived and told cover stories. Clandinin and Connelly (1996) described the locations for narratives as follows.

Classrooms are, for the most part, safe places, generally free from scrutiny, where teachers are free to live stories of practice. These lived stories are essentially secret ones. Furthermore, when these secret lived stories are told, they are, for the most part, told to other teachers in other secret places. When teachers move out of their classrooms onto the out-of-classroom place on the landscape, they often live and tell cover stories, stories in which they portray themselves as experts, certain characters whose teacher stories fit

within the acceptable range of the story of school being lived in the school. Cover stories enable teachers whose teacher stories are marginalized by whatever the current story of school is to continue to practice and to sustain their teacher stories. (p 25)

Implied in Clandinin and Connelly's notion of locating stories in and out of the classroom is that teacher knowledge is personal and linked not only to past experiences as teachers, but current experiences as well. Furthermore, there is an element of intimacy around the classroom stories in which teachers tell how they gain their personal knowledge. They sustain their stories in a context of trust.

Shulman (1987) offered discrete categories of knowledge related to the development of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). For Shulman (1987), teacher knowledge centered on subject matter in the context of teaching, and he distilled this knowledge to seven categories that offered a framework to understanding what teachers know. These categories follow:

- 1) Content knowledge
- 2) General pedagogical knowledge
- 3) Curriculum knowledge
- 4) Pedagogical content knowledge
- 5) Knowledge of educational contexts
- 6) Knowledge of learners and their characteristics
- 7) Knowledge of educational ends, purposes and values and their philosophical and historical grounds. (p. 8)

Shulman's categories ultimately formed the basis of the categories that I chose to use in my data analysis. My analysis focused more on how knowledge was related to the setting of a university and the instructors' background of knowledge formation.

In second language teaching, the instructors must know not only the language but also how to help students in applying skills of speaking, writing, reading, and listening in the target language (Hawkins & Irujo, 2004; Yanez-Pinto, 2014). In addition, there is an emphasis on making these skills authentic and communicative. In doing this, instructors of ESOL tend to rely more on contexts and knowledge of students, which may be problematic to those instructors who seek to incorporate their own life stories as means of making communication activities authentic in the classroom. Concerns about personal boundaries associated with self-revelation call for the category “knowledge of self,” which was a category suggested by Golombek (1998, which can be seen as drawing on Shulman’s (1987) categories of context knowledge and pedagogical knowledge.

Indeed, Elbaz (1983) found from research that experiences resulting in practical knowledge were personal in addition to being situational, theoretical, social, and experiential. These findings presaged those of Golombek (1998) who summarized PPK as being shaped, produced, and reshaped by experiences in the personal and professional lives of teachers. She wrote, “Teachers’ knowledge interacts with and is reshaped by the reconstruction of their experiences through stories” (p 448). Unlike Elbaz, Golombek’s work emphasized narrative as a way of understanding PPK of teachers.

Fenstermacher (1994) described knowledge that is known and produced by researchers as formal knowledge and knowledge known and produced by teachers as practical knowledge. He noted that practical knowledge was based on teachers’ experiences in the classrooms. Therefore, a nuanced understanding of teacher identity obtained through narrative of personal experiences can explain the reasons behind instructors’ decisions in the classroom. Sutton (2008) lauded the

ideas of PPK as a useful bridge in connecting conceptual understanding of teacher beliefs and knowledge in teaching.

Others have emphasized the past experiences of teachers as critical to their personal practical knowledge and identity. Clandinin (1992) found that PPK of teachers as expressed in classroom practice was related to their past experiences and prior knowledge. According to Golombek (1998), personal practical knowledge was characterized by personal philosophies, metaphors, rhythms, and narrative unity. She further explained the meaning of personal practical knowledge as:

...A teacher's theory about teaching that is contextualized in experience and represents unity among that teacher's beliefs, values, and actions. Metaphors used in narratives structure the way teachers think about teaching and the way they act. Unity represents the thread that ties a narrative together, whereas rhythm is the way teachers know the cyclical temporal patterns of school. (p. 448)

Investigating how novice instructors applied personal practical knowledge in teaching ESOL, Golombek (1998) studied international teaching assistants. Working as novice teachers, the teaching assistants used their PPK to respond to situations in ways that were affective and moral. These responses were seen in teachers' concerns for the consequences of their actions in the classroom and the consequences for the future of themselves and students. For example, one of the study's participants, Jenny, feared silencing her students by correcting too much and feared failing them by not correcting them enough.

Golombek (1998) did not explain her data by referencing instructors' identities. Instead, she interpreted the data through the lens of PPK, which emphasized specific attributes of the instructors, such as values and beliefs, rather than over-arching themes, such as parent, student,

or encourager. She posited four areas of PPK: knowledge of self, knowledge of instruction, knowledge of context, and knowledge of subject. These categories are similar to those found by Meijer, Verloop, and Beijaard (1999), Sen (2002), and Chou (2008) in their studies of teachers of ESOL. Moreover, they are similar to those posited by Shulman (1987) as pedagogical content knowledge.

Yanez-Pinto (2014) noted an additional category in her study in which she found that knowledge of students was the most frequent category of PPK used by novice and experienced graduate teaching assistants of Spanish. Like Yanez-Pinto, I used the category of knowledge of students because of my emphasis on social context and community of practice in interpreting the instructors' PPK. This decision aligns with the ideas of Meijer et al. (1999) who studied language teachers' shared practical knowledge as it related to their teaching of reading comprehension to 16- to 18-year-old students. They found that practical knowledge was so diverse that identifying shared knowledge could be best described in a typology of practical knowledge. They suggested three types of practical knowledge as it related to teaching reading comprehension: a) subject matter knowledge, b) student knowledge, and c) knowledge of student learning and understanding.

Sen (2002) used quantitative and qualitative approaches to study teacher trainees in an English studies institute in India. After analyzing the completed questionnaires of 60 participants and then conducting follow-up interviews, Sen found that teachers focused on student learning problems, their self-assessment of their teaching, and how they incorporated language learning inside and outside the classroom. With the addition of an emphasis on knowledge of students, these findings were similar to the categories of knowledge of self, knowledge of pedagogy, and knowledge of context as described by Golombek (1998). Because

the participants were teaching language, their knowledge of subject seemed implicit in all categories.

Freeman (2002) reviewed research on teacher knowledge in North America as it concerned English language teaching education. He suggested that personal practical knowledge or narrative images drew heavily on the role of context: “the personal and social history, present social relationships and future social perceptions are interwoven in the fabric of teachers’ mental lives” (p. 7). Context was not just physical space such as the classroom or school but a place of socialization where the “nitty gritty of the classroom” became the place where teachers connected professional training with the social realities of the classroom and the school (Freeman, 2002, p. 7). The question that emerged from my readings on teacher knowledge related to instructors of ESOL concerned how they construct identities from their PPK while struggling with developing competencies that integrated their personal histories into professional practice (Pennington & Richards, 2016). One example of this question among teachers is how and to what degree use their personal stories be used in the classroom. I suggest that deciding how to weave the personal stories into language learning contexts requires an instructor to draw a great deal on knowledge of self in deciding what to share and their comfort level in disclosing information.

Because this study focused on the instructors’ personal narratives and knowledge their reflection, it is helpful to review how the PPK category of knowledge of self has appeared as a theme in other research on second language teachers. Knowledge of self has been a salient category in research concerning how second language teachers use teaching experiences to access and create PPK while reflecting on their classroom experiences. Tsang (2004) used teacher reflections to characterize teachers’ knowledge through the creation of teaching maxims

that were expressed in the teachers' learning/teaching autobiographies and interviews. During classroom teaching, the teachers had limited access to their personal practical knowledge with only half of their interactive decisions being made based on such knowledge. However, personal practical knowledge strongly influenced decisions that teachers made when reflecting on their classroom teaching. In doing so, the teachers used their PPK as a way to create new maxims based on their personal beliefs, such as avoid lecturing, be firm but kind, and give clear instructions (Tsang, 2004).

Often prior learning experiences played a role in PPK. Arioğul (2007) studied three English as a foreign language teachers' training experiences and found that the teachers' PPK was influenced by three earlier learning experiences: language learning, teaching experiences, and professional training through formal coursework prior to the in-service practicum. Across Arioğul's case studies, early experience in English language learning was the most common factor in the teachers' practice of PPK.

Leven and He (2008) looked at how post-baccalaureate teacher candidates in a graduate level course at a southeastern U.S. university related their personal theories and beliefs about teaching to their practical knowledge. Although the participants acknowledged the influence of their teacher education program on their beliefs, the teacher candidates also noted their experiences as K–12 learners as significant to their beliefs and practices.

The influence of early language learning experiences suggests that examining what instructors of ESOL have learned in their apprenticeships of observations can be helpful in examining PRIs and PPK (Lortie, 1975). Johnson (1994), Peacock (2001), Borg (2004), and Farrell (2007) discussed how teachers of ESOL drew from their experiences as learners. In this study, the participants' experiences as learners appeared in their narratives of professional role

identities and personal practical knowledge. I viewed these prior experiences as part of the instructors' communities of practice, thereby suggesting that becoming a language teacher commenced when the instructors were learners as children in a classroom and continued to the present when they were graduate students and instructors. The voices of the instructors' previous teachers were part of the internal dialogue and classroom expressions that were integral to negotiating and renegotiating PRIs.

Summary

My review of literature discussed the concept of identity and its relation to studies of teacher identity. I referenced studies of identity development according to stage theories, but in keeping with my epistemological focus on the social construction of identity and knowledge, I focused on literature related to the social influences on teachers and how the concept of communities of practice allowed the instructors to negotiate identity and related knowledge. I then reviewed literature on the role that instructors have played in universities' ESL programs, especially as a marginalized service provider. Next, I discussed how symbolic interactionism informed teachers' PRIs, especially in how they incorporated teaching methodologies into their identities. I concluded with a review of studies that have focused on the second language teachers' knowledge, specifically personal practical knowledge. This review suggests that teachers' stories, both inside and outside the classrooms, subtly inform their PRIs by incorporating personal practical knowledge.

Most of the studies that I reviewed in this chapter were qualitative inquiries; however, few consistently employed narrative inquiry. The studies did not provide an exposition with characters, plots, and development themes known by the teachers from their construction of PRIs. Also lacking was an explicit connection between PPK and PRIs as experienced educators.

This lack of detail is an oversight that leaves instructors' role identities without past or future context. I propose that narrative inquiry with an emphasis on PRIs and PPK can allow such a connection in detail by giving voice to instructors' experiences.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODS

Overview

This chapter provides a detailed review of my research methods, theoretical framework, research design, data collection, and data analysis. My theoretical approach relied on social constructivism as a lens for understanding how each instructor created his or her professional role identity (PRI) in social interactions. Narrative inquiry provided insight into this negotiation process. The setting of this study was a university's IEP in a time of transition from a university funded department to an outsourced service with an outside company. I approached the data collection protocol through semi-structured interviews conducted before and after my observation of the instructors in the classrooms. As the research instrument for data collection and analysis, I present my experiences that informed my interest in this study and how those experiences may have affected my data collection and analysis. I then describe how I analyzed the data and used a grounded survey to improve the trustworthiness of data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how experienced university instructors of ESOL developed their PRIs. As Walkington (2005) noted:

Teacher educators, whether they are university lecturers/tutors or mentoring teachers in the workplace, must seek to continually encourage the formation of a teacher identity by

facilitating pre-service teacher activity that empowers them to explicitly build upon and challenge their experiences and beliefs. (p. 63)

Walkington's reference to teachers' identities is firmly rooted in their professional development. I view his discussion of teacher identity as leading to questions about specific professional role identities rather than questions about broad categories of teacher identity.

Drawing on Walkington's recommendations for teacher educators, I sought to understand how experienced instructors' knowledge from previous academic and professional experiences influenced their formations as teachers and their concomitant expressions of PRIs. To this end, I focused on obtaining narratives that reflected their experiences as learners, a process akin to apprenticeships of observation among K–12 teachers (Lortie, 1975), and academic and career trajectories (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). By emphasizing the history of the instructors' PRIs, I also brought attention to their personal practical knowledge as it informed their roles in the classroom (Clandinin, 2013; Elbaz, 1983; Golombek, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014).

Research Questions

This study addressed the following question: How do experienced university instructors of ESOL construct their professional role identities? Three additional questions expanded on the main research question:

1. What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?
2. How did past experiences influence the instructors' professional role identities?
3. How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

I iterated these questions, during semi-structured interviews, in my observations of instructors in their classrooms, and in my data analysis and reporting.

Research Methodology

In exploring how experienced university instructors of ESOL negotiated their professional role identities, I used the qualitative research method of narrative inquiry. This approach allowed me to obtain data on how the instructors, as individuals, understood their PRIs as teachers within the settings of their teaching department, classrooms, and university. Duff and Bell (2002) noted that the complex and dynamic nature of identity was a felicitous match with narrative inquiry: “Narrative inquiry rests on the epistemological assumption that we as human beings make sense of random experiences by the imposition of story structures” (p. 207). Thus, narrative inquiry provided an avenue for understanding how participants’ life experiences shaped their professional role identities as instructors. Due to the complex nature of role identities, narrative inquiry allowed the participants to relate detailed stories that had shaped their PRIs.

Understanding a subjective phenomenon, such as professional role identity, requires thick and rich descriptions (Ortlipp, 2008) in order to capture the complex processes involved in professional role identity formation (Korthagan, 2004). The depth of inquiry into a small number of instructors’ identities, as undertaken in this study, provides information for future studies in which survey instruments could be developed to understand professional role identity among a larger number of instructors.

Theoretical Framework

This study is located largely within a social constructivist epistemology. Such an epistemology was fitting for studying identity as I viewed PRIs as socially-mediated. A person’s profession is one of many roles that make up the social self, which is reflected in a person’s

relationships (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Thus, the observations and semi-structured interviews elicited the detailed descriptions needed to begin an exploration of how social interactions, particularly those of the participants, influenced professional role identity. Further, I explored how these PRIs developed in the context of the participants' community of practice, a university's IEP (Wenger, 1998).

Stets (2006) wrote that role theory encompassed “all of the *meanings* that a person attaches to himself while performing a role” (p. 89). Martel (2013) employed this understanding of role identities in his dissertation that focused on a novice second language teacher beginning a practicum. He noted that in some cases, role identities, or expectations, were “foisted upon us by others” (Martel, 2013, p. 21). Such roles were “received” roles. In this study, I defined role identity as the internalized expectations that an individual placed on himself or herself to perform a particular role in the community of practice as a university instructor of ESOL (Burke & Stets, 2009; Martel, 2013).

Indeed, identity is not formed in a vacuum. Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) found that teacher identity was an “answer to the recurrent question: ‘Who am I at this moment?’” (p. 108). For Lasky (2005) identity was a way of understanding how a teacher defined himself or herself as a teacher, particularly during times of change imposed through policies from administrators. These studies positioned identity as a social process. Connelly and Clandinin (1999) wrote in support of this idea, positing that teaching identities were formed and negotiated between the personal and professional domains.

In my data analysis, I focused on the details of how the instructors constructed their PRIs through the categories of a teacher's personal practical knowledge (PPK). Elbaz (1983) characterized the link between teachers' experiences inside and outside the classroom and

teaching as practical knowledge. Clandinin and Connelly (1986) called these experiences personal practical knowledge. Clandinin and Connelly (1987) suggested the PPK should involve considerations of the “aesthetic, moral and emotional states of mind” (p. 499). Golombek (1998) noted that teacher’s knowledge was shaped, produced and reshaped by experiences in their personal and professional lives. The stories told by the participants in this study gave insight into how they made sense of their experiences in relation to others and themselves.

Researcher Reflexivity

In this study, I as the researcher was the primary instrument for data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Merriam, 1998). This role required me to recognize and bracket my related experiences (Tufford & Newman, 2010), which I did through maintaining a reflective journal and audit trail that chronicled my activities, research decisions, and reflections on my experiences during the research. I will now briefly explain my background as it relates to my involvement with this topic.

I became interested in teacher identity when I worked as an instructor of Spanish for university students and members of the armed forces for five years. I was not a native speaker of Spanish but had studied it at the graduate level as part of a master’s degree in education. Although I had the requisite graduate training to qualify as a university instructor, I questioned my expertise as a Spanish instructor. What others thought of me in my teaching role mattered greatly. Was I more of a language and culture expert or more of an expert on teaching the language? Although I did not know many highly technical words in Spanish, and was informed of this and my other linguistic shortcoming by native speakers, I felt sufficiently competent at speaking Spanish with native speakers and in planning lessons that interested and involved the students.

In spite of my comfort in managing the classroom, I struggled to align my teaching beliefs with classroom practice. Personally, I was more comfortable with the traditional grammar translation method because it was the way I had learned Spanish and my students seemed to prefer it as well. However, in the classroom I practiced what was to me a new approach of teaching. This involved teaching toward communicative competence by using authentic language learning activities with students. Moreover, my supervisors required this approach.

I questioned my professional duties even further as I negotiated my place as an instructor among tenure and tenure-track professors in the department. My duty was to teach lower level Spanish courses. In carrying out this duty, I did not have any connection to research in my field. Furthermore, I could not assert my own preference for a teaching style due to the fear of negative evaluations by my supervisors.

I also struggled to balance advising students who brought academic and personal problems to my attention with my clearly delineated job descriptions as an instructor of Spanish. I eventually came to see myself as an ad hoc advisor to students. At the end of my Spanish teaching career, I viewed myself professionally as an advisor, counselor, occasional parent, and teacher.

After working as both a part-time and full-time instructor for five years, I left my job to obtain a second master's degree in social work. Although my jobs over the ensuing 15 years remained in academic settings within a university, I did not work officially as an instructor. My work responsibilities entailed working with international students and scholars to edit theses, dissertations, articles, and presentations. As I edited, I worked with the students to identify points of grammar that caused them confusion. As an editor, I drew on my knowledge of

English grammar that I learned during my Spanish language study and teaching. I was not teaching in the traditional sense, but I felt some familiarity in my role as editor with the teaching profession.

At this time, I began to research approaches to teaching English to speakers of other languages as a way to help me in advising students on their writing and presentation skills. In my reading, I found that teacher identity was a topic of discussion among researchers on second language teaching and learning, especially as it related to teacher identity among NNEST. I recalled my experience as a non-native Spanish speaking teacher and how I and others had questioned my legitimacy as a teacher. As an editor working with international students, I wondered about my identity as an expert in English language. Was it solely based on my identification as a native speaker? I realized my native speaker status was not sufficient to explain the subtleties of academic English to my colleagues. My status as a native speaker did not give me an explicit knowledge of grammar rules. To address this concern and prepare for a future career change, I enrolled in a graduate certificate program in teaching English as a second language as a part of my doctoral studies in adult education.

Between presenting my proposal for this project and receiving Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, I was offered an adjunct teaching position in the IEP of South Tech University (pseudonym). I had not actively sought the position and learned of it through a classmate who held a graduate teaching assistantship in the IEP. I applied and received the job of teaching advanced listening and speaking for one term.

My employment as an instructor continued past the first term. During the second term, I taught an additional class of low intermediate reading and vocabulary. In the middle of this term I received IRB approval to conduct my study.

When I initially accepted the employment offer I decided to maintain distance from department activities until I had completed the interviews and data analysis. I was able to do this as I was working full-time in an unrelated department and part-time (10 hours a week) as an instructor. I did not attend staff meetings until I had completed the interviews. Further, I did not maintain an office in the department, and I kept my interactions with potential participants to a minimum.

My position in the department allowed me to build rapport with participants and to establish credibility as a “new instructor learning the ropes.” This positioning was evident when I phrased some interview questions by saying “I am wondering about this practice or habit of students. What would you advise?” During all interviews, it was clear that I was conducting research about PRIs. However, I acknowledged my status as a newcomer and researcher when my question was related to my own lack of experience in a classroom for ESOL.

One other event influenced this study. In my advanced qualitative research class, which I took one year prior to conducting this study, I piloted my study with a member of a local university’s IEP. These interviews and observations did not focus on PRIs. They did encourage my interest in learning the rich stories of IEP instructors and informed my inclination to look at their work environment as one at the edges of the academy.

These experiences served as supports and challenges in my study. As a strength to my study, I had the capacity to relate to the struggles of the teachers and present myself as a novice to the field of ESOL. Furthermore, I could draw on second language teaching experience from my years as an instructor of Spanish. The downside was that I struggled not to impose my experiences onto the instructors’ stories, whether in forming and guiding the interviews or interpreting data. Moreover, I approached the study with more theoretical knowledge than

practical knowledge as it related to teaching ESOL. Yet, that varying degree of knowledge allowed me to recognize when I was offering leading questions that were based on theory and correct those questions.

My experiences allowed me to gain the trust of the participants more quickly. I feel I gained credibility in their eyes due to my knowledge of daily life as a language instructor in a university setting. This knowledge also affected what I saw as critical incidents in the classroom. In our follow-up interviews after classroom observations the participants and I often nodded our heads in agreement as we recognized similar classroom management issues. Although we had similar experiences in the classroom, I was always the novice and in many situations that status led the experienced instructors to answer questions as if they were giving me advice.

Research Design

Participant Selection

The main criteria for selection was that potential participants have at least five years of experience in teaching ESOL (Gatbonton, 1999; Johnston & Goettsch, 2000; Woods, 1996) and currently be teaching in a university environment. Other criteria for selection included a current teaching responsibility of at least two courses at the beginning of the study with plans to continue teaching for two terms (e.g., spring and summer).

In selecting participants, I followed the criteria of a purposeful sample. Bernard and Ryan (2009) noted the need for purposeful sampling when studying special and hard to find populations. Patton (1990) suggested purposeful sampling as a method to select information-rich cases could provide data of central importance to the purpose of the research. I recruited four colleagues who taught full time to participate in this study. Three were instructors, and one was

a full-time teaching assistant who had taught ESOL for 30 years at another university in his home country.

The purposeful sampling approach was fitting for this study due to the low number of instructors of ESOL in colleges and universities. From a total of nine instructors, I found seven potential participants who met the criteria for participation. Considering the low numbers in my sample population and the difficulty of accessing them due to their teaching responsibilities, local colleges and universities offered a potentially rich source of data to answer the research question. In addition, the location allowed repeated entry into the field of study.

The instructor's status as a native or non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST) was not a criterion for inclusion in the study. Although the experiences of NNEST are unique components of professional role identity, my focus was on how teaching in a post-secondary environment over time had influenced the participants' professional role identities. Therefore, I did not emphasize or minimize the question of native or nonnative speaking status in the recruitment process. Rather, I allowed the participants to express at their discretion how this status informed their professional role identities.

Rationale

According to Creswell (2013), narrative research provides depth by allowing intensive study of one or two individuals and their experiences. Therefore, I kept the number of participants low due to the need to conduct in-depth interviews and multiple classroom observations with them over a period of one semester. In choosing only four participants, I was able to allow the participants to elaborate on their stories, thereby following more closely my research approach of narrative inquiry.

Participant Recruitment

Informants were instructors of ESOL who were currently working at South Tech University. The first informant was known to me from coursework as a graduate student. She referred me to instructors with five or more years of experience. There were a total of seven instructors out of nine who met the criteria for number of years teaching and for maintaining a teaching load of at least two classes. I excluded one instructor because the individual had met with me in an earlier qualitative class in which I had conducted an exploratory study on the expertise of instructors of ESOL. I believed that the prior interviews would have influenced our interactions. My decision to exclude a second experienced instructor was because the individual evaluated my teaching in a supervisory capacity. A third instructor declined to participate.

I matched the remaining four individuals' names with their work e-mails that were listed on the public web page of the department. I then sent two prospective participants an introductory e-mail in which I briefly explained the study and requested a meeting in person or by phone. After receiving an affirmative response, I arranged a face-to-face meeting in which I described the study. They agreed to participate, and I proceeded with the initial interview. As I completed the first two interviews, I sent two other introductory e-mails and received affirmative responses from both of them.

In all cases, after the initial meetings with each participant in which we reviewed the study and time commitment, I gave the instructors a letter of informed consent outlining the study. I also provided each participant a seventy-five dollar gift card to a local store as compensation for their participation. The letter of consent contained this information about compensation.

Data Collection

Kinds of Data

Farrell (2011) conducted some of the more recent research on the identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL. In his qualitative study, he held group discussions in which instructors reflected on their teaching. Farrell (2011) argued for the necessity of data on professional identity by noting that in his experience “it is not usually the case that experienced ESL teachers readily consciously reflect on different role identities they hold, or may have been ascribed...” (p. 55). Following Farrell’s assessment, I collected narrative data through interviews and observations. I sought to learn of the instructors’ prior experiences as students and language learners, an endeavor informed by the notion of apprenticeships of observation (Lortie, 1975). I inquired about their training and work experiences to elicit their reasons for becoming instructors at a university IEP. Underlying these inquiries was an attempt to answer the research question about the instructors’ PRIs. In short, I wanted to hear their stories of becoming and being teachers of ESOL in a university IEP.

I used the first two interviews to obtain background information on how the participants had learned languages and trained to become instructors of ESOL. While most of our discussions focused on autobiographical narratives, I also sought to obtain the participants’ advice to me as a new instructor in ESOL. I brought up cases of problems that I had encountered in my first few months as an instructor of ESOL. These conversations were similar to what Vásquez (2011) suggested as small story research in TESOL studies as opposed to the autobiographical big stories. Vásquez wrote:

Identity is both contingent and relational. In other words, who we are as humans varies according to who we are talking to, where, and for what purposes. Thus, small stories

illuminate how identities are constructed in situ and the various ways in which identities are performed in local, situated contexts. (p. 539)

Vásquez's (2011) suggestion that identity is both "contingent and relational" also appears in the writings of Josselson (2013) who urged an awareness about data that are produced from the qualitative interview. For my study, the small discussions in which the participants gave me advice on particular problems were opportunities to elicit PRIs as expressed in their advice giving.

A qualitative interview by its nature sets a context, imposed or at least suggested by the researcher, on the narrative told. Interviews are a specific sociocultural practice in which the participants' roles and relationships significantly affect the narrative data produced (Josselson, 2013). I asked for participants' experiences in handling situations such as student tardiness and the use of self in classroom stories. Riessman (2008) noted that while the interviewer cannot ignore his or her position of interpretive power, he or she must interpret participants' narrative accounts with attention to the culture and discourse from which the participants speak. The context of the interviews was the university's IEP in a time of transition from a university funded department to an outsourced service with an outside company.

Finally, after observing the participants teach for around four hours over at least two days, I inquired in a follow-up interview as to how they made decisions regarding classroom activities and actions. These questions were framed to elicit their personal practical knowledge (Golombek, 1998). When asking these questions, I chose questions that focused on the experiences behind their classroom decisions. In the process I drew out narratives that provided responses rich in their personal experiences. See Appendix A for a list of guiding questions.

Data Collection Method

This study's protocol relied in part on that used by Andrzejewski's (2008) in her study of expert teachers at the secondary level. I followed the sequence of data collection in Andrzejewski's study, which included semi-structured interviews, observations, sorting of identity categories by q-sort, and grounded surveys. However, I adapted the protocol to fit the needs that were unique to a university setting. In this study, I interviewed each instructor at least three times, using semi-structured formats as described by Brinkman and Kvale (2015), and conducted observations of their classes. After data coding, I constructed grounded surveys in my data to establish the confirmability and credibility of my interpretations (Lincon & Gubs, 1985; Schwandt, 2007). I did not use Andrzejewski's q-sorting of identity categories.

Interviews and observations. I recorded all interviews with a digital audio recorder. In all cases I allowed the participants access to the recorder and informed them how to stop the interview at any point that they needed to do so. In the first interview, I posed questions about participants' educational backgrounds, their experiences learning a language, and how they viewed their profession. Each participant's initial interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. The second interview, which also lasted between 45 and 60 minutes, focused on obtaining their stories from their professional and academic experiences inside and outside the classroom. Specifically, I sought narratives that would describe how the instructors understood their professional role identities in relation to students, colleagues, and the university. During these interviews I posed experience-near questions (Josselson, 2013) to understand how the participants viewed their role identities without guiding them to a response. The aim of these questions was to determine how the instructors enacted PRIs in cooperation with other

instructors in the department, supervisors, the hierarchy of the university, and the local community outside the university.

Following our second interview, I observed each participant in the classroom for approximately three hours. These observations covered at least two different class periods, and I followed Creswell's (2013) recommendation to start observing "broadly and then concentrate on research questions" (p. 166). During the observations I kept a running list, to the best of my ability, of the sequence of activities performed by the instructors. I also used the concept of critical incidents to guide my observations. Angelides (2001) provided the following description of a critical incident:

Critical incidents, therefore, are not necessarily sensational events involving a lot of tension. Rather they may be minor incidents, small everyday events that happen in every school and in every classroom. The criticality of the event is based on the justification, the significance, and the meaning given to them. (p. 431)

In the classrooms I observed, some examples of critical events were late arrivals and a student making numerous errors in reading aloud.

Brookfield (2004) also described critical incidents by noting five items that teachers could use to elicit feedback from learners. These items included a review of moments in which learners were engaged, distanced, affirmed, confused, or surprised. My own reactions to the events as an observer/learner influenced my decisions of what actions were to be included as critical incidents. These decisions were informed in part by my role as a new adjunct instructor trying to learn about how the instructors taught.

Drawing on my literature review, I was aware of PRIs that emerged among ESL teachers in the classrooms and in their stories. Some identities I used to inform my observations were

nurturer, facilitator, counselor, motivator, and cultural ambassador (Farrell, 2011; Fraser, 2011). In addition to observing the enactment of PRIs, I looked for the instructor's direct involvement with the students. Using a rubric (see Appendix B) suggested by Creswell (2013), I recorded notes on my observations. While *in situ*, I added reflective notes to indicate my impressions and provide descriptions of the classroom environment, i.e., instructor's voice tone and volume, layout of the classroom, and interactions between student and instructor.

To obtain observational data with two participants, I observed the same class on two different days. For the third participant I observed two classes with different subject matter due to scheduling demands. One was a class for international teaching assistants and the second was an academic writing course. They occurred consecutively on the same day. For observational data on the fourth participant, I observed three classes over a two-day period. All three classes were focused on same subject matter; two classes had the same students and met on alternating days.

The third interview followed my observation and served as time for reflecting on the classroom observation. In all cases I conducted an initial debriefing interview within 24 hours of the last observation to enhance the instructors' and my recall of critical incidents. In two cases, I conducted a fourth interview to clarify information. I used my list of activities and critical incidents observed in the classroom to guide my questioning. In this interview, I prioritized the critical incidents. I concluded the interview with a summary of PRIs I had observed the instructor enacting. Drawing on my own emerging codes and the *a priori* codes from the studies of Andrzejewski (2008) and Farrell (2011), I used the last 20 minutes of the final interview to obtain the instructors' feedback on possible PRIs that might apply to them. They reacted to the

suggested roles and discussed how those did or did not align with their own understanding of their professional role identities.

Table 3 provides examples of the instructors’ activities and related critical incidents. These examples come from my observation of Anna’s academic writing class.

Table 3

Observation Guide

Running List of Instructor’s Activities I Observed	Critical Incident
1. Instructor writes outline of day’s activities on board.	Students arrive late. Only two are present.
2. Instructor begins review of last class session.	
3. Instructor assigns group work in which the students edit a summary paragraph from an article they had read.	Students begin to use phones for texting and appear unengaged
4. Instructor walks to each group to check on progress.	
5. Instructor asks questions to individual group members about the article they had read.	Some students talk in first language to each other and appear unengaged.
6. Instructor engages in discussion about a student’s field of study.	

Analysis of Data

Following the interviews, I transcribed the recordings verbatim. I completed all transcriptions within four weeks of an interview. In these transcriptions, I began my analysis of the data by highlighting narratives that corresponded to identities or were unique to the individual’s past learning and teaching experiences.

Following transcription into a word document, I read through each participant's interviews and observation notes once. I reviewed the transcripts by following the suggestions of Brinkman and Kvale (2015) that the researcher use theoretical concepts to sensitize or suggest "the direction in which to look, rather than [as a] definitive, defining [guide for] what there is to see" (p. 273). They encouraged the researcher to review data with openness toward the allowing consideration of first impressions. Bowen (2008) suggested that qualitative researchers look at data with sensitizing concepts in mind to develop thematic categories.

In this study the use of sensitizing concepts originated in part from the literature review from which I formed *a priori* categories. I started open coding during the first reading. In this step I made notes by hand in the margins of each page of transcribed data and inserted extra pages of notes into the transcript documents as needed. My focus was to connect data with sensitizing themes I had noted. I then reread each participant's interview and classroom observation notes a second time. During this reading, I continued with open coding of the interviews of each participant separately, noting emerging codes that had no relation to my *a priori* categories. My third and fourth passes through the data resulted in additional codes.

Next, I grouped my list of codes as *a priori* or emerging. According to Bernard and Ryan (2009), *a priori* codes indicate our prior theoretical understanding of what phenomena are being studied. These codes are usually based on agreed-on definitions found in previous research literature that inform the researcher's theoretical understanding of the phenomenon being studied. My emerging codes relied on recurring words and themes in the data that indicated a pattern related to personal practical knowledge and specific roles such as empathizer and guide. For example, the participants used the word empathy and phrases like "putting myself in the students' shoes" repeatedly. Another example of an emerging code was the use of space. For

one instructor, space emerged as a code from my interview notes as she often mentioned classroom space and location on campus as being connected to the status of an instructor's department.

After identifying both emerging and *a priori* codes, I returned to the data and code list and applied axial coding to create categories and subcategories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 423). Following narrative inquiry, I used this step to understand how the participants' processes of professional identity construction coincided with their classroom practices, biographical history, and social interactions with colleagues and administrators. The next step in coding was to list axial codes in my code book in which I described each code as emerging or a priori (Bernard & Ryan, 2009). Using this code book I supplied definitions and inclusion/exclusion criteria for each category (see Appendices C and D).

As a final step in analysis. I used the analyzed data to develop a grounded survey (Appendix E) which I administered to the participants. The purpose of the grounded survey was to address the criteria of trustworthiness as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985). To this end, the participants' responses served as a member check on the categories and interpretations I made from the data (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

The survey consisted of three sections. In the first section, I asked the participants to respond according to how often they enacted PRIs as an instructor of ESOL while interacting with students both inside and outside the classroom. The PRIs on the survey originated from my coding of the data and if respondents answered with sometimes, frequently, or all the time, I considered that the participants agreed with the role as accurate for them. An answer of rarely or never indicated that the participant did not frequently enact the role. One discrepancy occurred between how I interpreted the absence of role of disciplinarian and how a participant did. That

participant rated disciplinarian as occurring frequently. The other participants chose the rating of rarely, which I expected. I accounted for this discrepancy in my summary of results by discussing the wording of the prompt and then referring back to the participant's quotes from interviews. I also met with the participant in a non-recorded discussion to understand our differing interpretations of the role. The participant and I negotiated the term 'classroom manager' as better reflecting the nature of her interactions.

I designed section 2 of the grounded survey to confirm my interpretation of the participants' personal practical knowledge, biographical narratives, experiences as learners, understanding of their teaching decisions, and experiences of being in a marginalized department within the academy. In most cases, the participants' responses agreed with my interpretations of the data. I found three discrepancies between my codes concerning knowledge and experiences. In two cases, I explored the discrepancies in a non-recorded discussion with the participants and we clarified their responses on the grounded survey in relation to my initial data interpretation. In other cases, I acknowledged the discrepancies by using them as disconfirming evidence for my assertion in my discussion of findings (Cresswell & Miller, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994). These discussions brought forth a more nuanced explanation of my interpretations.

Research Question Matrix

In my analysis of data. I referred to my research questions as a guide to forming categories in my coding. Using *a priori* codes obtained from my literature review, I began the coding process. The alignment between my codes, corresponding research questions, data collection method, and the types of coding (open or axial) are indicated in Table 4.

Table 4

Matrix of Research Questions as Applied to Data Analysis

A Priori Codes	Corresponding Question	Data Collection Method/Instrument	Analysis of Data
Identity Trajectory	How did the instructors construct these professional role identities?	Interview 1/researcher and grounded survey (GS)	Open and Axial coding
Personal Practical Knowledge (PPK)	What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?	Notes from observations, interviews 1, 2, and 3/researcher and GS	Open and Axial coding
Personal Practical Knowledge (PPK)	How are the instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?	Notes from observations; Interviews 2 and 3/researcher and GS	Open and Axial coding
Instructors' PRIs within their Communities of Practice	What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?	Interviews 1, 2, and 3/researcher and GS	Open and Axial coding
Instructors' PRIs within their Communities of Practice	How did the instructors construct these identities?	Interviews 1, 2, and 3/researcher and grounded survey	Open and Axial coding
Instructors' PRIs within their Communities of Practice	How are the instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?	Interviews 1, 2, 3 and notes from observations/researcher and GS	Open and Axial coding

Trustworthiness

To enhance the trustworthiness of my findings, I focused on credibility and confirmability. According a summary of trustworthiness in qualitative research provided by Schwandt (2007), credibility refers to criteria that describes how the fit between my interpretations of the data and the understandings of the participants, and confirmability indicates the objectivity of my assertions and interpretations. To address these criteria, I developed and administered a grounded survey to participants and compared their answers to my interpretations and codes. Additionally, I used triangulation, member checking, reflexivity through journaling, and debriefing with my dissertation chair.

In addressing the trustworthiness of the study, I compared data from interviews, observations, and grounded surveys. This process followed what Creswell and Miller (2000) described as a “procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (p. 126). In this study I looked for corroborating evidence using the suggestions of Menard-Warwick (2008) to triangulate interviews and classroom observation data to find similarities. These similarities formed the basis for my interpretive conclusions about participants’ perspectives on how their experiences affected their teaching and ultimately their professional role identities. In short, this process was member checking as described by Cresswell (2013) and Lincoln and Guba (1985).

In my study I compared data from my interviews with the data from my classroom observations of the instructors as a form of triangulation. Triangulation refers to using different sources of data and theories to corroborate the researchers’ interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994). After comparing data, I undertook the third interview and discussed my interpretation of the classroom observations and PRIs I had noticed the instructors

enacting. The PRIs I mentioned were emerging codes and *a priori* codes from my literature review. In this third interview, the participants and I discussed whether they believed my interpretation of their classroom roles and my use of terms from the literature to describe those roles were accurate. In some cases new role terminology was developed. I then used the terms upon which we agreed in the interview in my data analysis as part of my grounded survey.

In summary, I approached confirming my data by member checking in the third interview (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and administering grounded surveys. I followed up on any discrepancies between my findings and those in the grounded surveys by speaking to the participants in non-recorded discussions to gain clarification.

I further addressed the trustworthiness of my study through maintaining researcher reflexivity. Stewart's (2006) observation that teachers' stories were often told by researchers reminded me to recognize my role in telling participants' stories. Any text written about others, even transcription of interviews, is a reconstruction by the writer of the reality of the interviews, thereby removing the reader further from the truth of a phenomenon (Rhodes, 2000). In an attempt to acknowledge this question of representation and accuracy, I followed the suggestions of Schwandt (2007) and Tufford and Newman (2010) and bracketed my assumptions and judgments in a combined audit trail and reflective journal. I kept this journal throughout the research process.

As a final step in addressing trustworthiness, I debriefed with my dissertation director before and after interviews and observations and at numerous times in the data collection process. These debriefing sessions occurred through e-mails and meetings. They continued into the data analysis stage. My purpose of these sessions was to allow my director to question how my personal biases and desires for a particular outcome affected my data collection and analysis.

Ethical Concerns

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Due to the involvement of human subjects in this study, I applied to Auburn University's institutional review board for approval. Students were not the subject of data collection or analysis as my classroom observations focused on the instructor. Because of questions of student consent and their lack of benefit from the study, I did not collect any identifying information on individual students, such as age, race or gender; nor did I make any audio or visual recordings of the classrooms. The focus was on the instructor's actions.

Informed Consent

To ensure that participants knew of risks, benefits, and rights to refuse participation at any time, I provided prospective participants with a letter of informed consent as approved by the Institutional Review Board. In this letter I informed each participant of the purpose of the study, expected length of time required for participation, use of interviews and classroom observations, and the overview of my research project. The letter informed of risks, benefits and costs of the study to the participants. In the letter, I informed the participants that they could withdraw at any time during the study and that any data that were identifiable could be withdrawn as well. The letter with IRB approval is attached as Appendix F.

Confidentiality

Each file that contained transcriptions from the interview and notes on data analysis was named according to the pseudonym chosen by the participant. Due to necessity, convenience, and issues of confidentiality, I stored transcriptions, both computer files and hard copies, and recordings of interviews at my office at home. In saving my files, I used a pseudonym instead of the participants' actual names in the titles of the files. I did not keep a list linking the

participants' actual names with their pseudonyms. I erased all identifiable information, including audio recordings, at the end of the study.

Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of my research question, theoretical approach, and researcher reflexivity. In discussing my approach to this study, I noted my use of narrative study to understand how experienced instructors of ESOL negotiated their professional role identities. I then described my data collection process and data analysis. I conducted the planning and execution of this study with the theoretical perspective that knowledge was created in a social context. The social contexts included the instructors and their classrooms, the instructors and colleagues, and the instructors and their community of practice of an IEP of a large research university. I concluded with a discussion of how I addressed the trustworthiness of the data analysis process and maintained ethical treatment of the participants.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

I gathered data from four experienced university instructors of ESOL through interviews with an aim of eliciting narratives that described how they had formed their professional role identities (PRIs). This chapter provides the results from my data analysis. As described in chapter three, I used classroom observations with follow-up interviews to complement data from my initial interviews with the participants. My analysis occurred through notes in the text of transcribed interviews, writing summary notecards, and memoing. I formed a codebook with *a priori* categories and emerging themes that described the instructors' PRIs. In axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), I linked the PRIs to personal practical knowledge (PPK) from my analysis of participants' narratives.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how experienced university instructors of ESOL developed their PRIs. As Walkington (2005) noted:

Teacher educators, whether they are university lecturers/tutors or mentoring teachers in the workplace, must seek to continually encourage the formation of a teacher identity by facilitating pre-service teacher activity that empowers them to explicitly build upon and challenge their experiences and beliefs. (p. 63)

Walkington's reference to teachers' identities is firmly rooted in their professional development. I view his discussion of teacher identity as leading to questions about specific professional role identities rather than questions about broad categories of teacher identity.

Drawing on Walkington’s recommendations for teacher educators, I sought to understand how experienced instructors’ knowledge from previous academic and professional experiences influenced their formations as teachers and their concomitant expressions of PRIs. To this end, I focused on obtaining narratives that reflected their experiences as learners, a process akin to apprenticeships of observation among K–12 teachers (Lortie, 1975), and academic and career trajectories (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). By emphasizing the history of the instructors’ PRIs, I also brought attention to their personal practical knowledge as it informed their roles in the classroom (Clandinin, 2013; Elbaz, 1983; Golombek, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014).

Research Questions

This study addressed the following question: How do experienced university instructors of ESOL construct their professional role identities? Three additional questions expanded on the main research question:

1. What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?
2. How did past experiences influence the instructors’ professional role identities?
3. How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

I iterated these questions, during semi-structured interviews, in my observations of instructors in their classrooms, and in my data analysis and reporting.

Meet the Participants

I conducted three semi-structured interviews individually with four experienced instructors of ESOL. To be considered “experienced,” the instructor needed to have taught at

least five years (Gatbonton, 1999; Johnston & Goettsch, 2000; Woods, 1996). Before the first interview I asked each participant to choose a pseudonym. The two nonnative English speaking teachers did not want to choose names that reflected their nationality. Instead, they chose names that were commonly used in the United States.

Table 5 presents a demographic summary of the participants. To ensure confidentiality, I changed the name of the institution where they were currently teaching and avoided naming the state or country where they were born. Each participant's biographical information includes their past and present experiences as teacher of ESOL. While the participants' university teaching careers ranged from 8 to 35 years, each instructor had taught for at least three years in his or her current university's IEP.

Table 5

Participants' Demographic Profiles

Participant (PSEUDONYM)	Job Title	Age Range	Regions of Birth and Upbringing	Total Years as Instructor of ESOL for University Students	Years as Instructor in Current Position at South Tech's IEP
John	Graduate Teaching Assistant/Testing Coordinator	50–55	South America/ Spanish Speaking Country	35	3
Amy	Instructor	30–35	East Asia and India	12	6
Anna	Instructor and Student Services Coordinator	35–40	United States	8	8
Martha	Instructor and Coordinator	40–45	United States	12	12

John

John is a graduate teaching assistant in the IEP at South Tech University. He is pursuing his Ph.D. in education and has been in the United States for six years. Initially, he came to South Tech to receive his master's degree in Spanish and served as a graduate teaching assistant in the Romance Languages Department for two years until he finished his master's degree. After

teaching as an adjunct at local colleges and universities for a year, he entered a doctoral program and began teaching in his current position.

Prior to coming to the United States, John had taught English to university students at a binational institute in his home country located in South America. His first language was not English, but he had attended an American school since the age of four, when he began to study English. Due to John's fluency in English, he began teaching at age 18 while he pursued his bachelor's degree in English language teaching. Once he received his bachelor's degree he continued teaching and eventually became a coordinator at a binational institute where he taught English and supervised other teachers.

At the time of the study, John taught 20 hours of classes a week. In the mornings he taught grammar and writing and in the afternoons reading, speaking, and listening. He identified as an NNEST because he felt he spoke English with a non-native accent. However, when asked about challenges as a NNEST, he did not report that students or colleagues in his current position had questioned his teaching abilities due to his nonnative English speaking status.

John was around 50 years-old, a husband, and father of two children. One child was a university student in South America, and the other was attending local schools. In addition to his teaching responsibilities, John took the maximum hours allowed for a teaching assistant pursuing a Ph.D. He also worked extra hours in the campus library. At the time of our interview he had one more semester of coursework.

John's hoped to remain in the United States for at least a few years after he finished his doctorate. He was willing to teach classes of ESOL but hoped to teach second language pedagogy in the future. Personal factors regarding his family and work status made his future uncertain.

When describing his strengths as a teacher, John used three adjectives: organized, patient, and empathetic. He struggled with whether his classes were sufficiently challenging to the student, wondering if he gave them too much guidance by “spoon-feeding them.” John was resolutely optimistic as a teacher. He believed the best about the students and downplayed any classroom management issues. With regard to his pedagogical method, John reported trying to maintain a communicative classroom and acknowledged that he applied “principled eclecticism” in his teaching.

Amy

At the time of the study, Amy was a full-time instructor in South Tech’s IEP. She had worked in her current position for six years after finishing her master’s in English from South Tech. While teaching full time, she obtained a Ph.D. in education. Her future as an instructor in the program was in doubt due to the outsourcing of South Tech’s IEP.

Amy was born in an East Asian country where she began learning English as a foreign language as a child. When she was 11, her family moved to India, and she attended a school in which only English was spoken. In total she had lived in five countries. She came to South Tech to be near family members.

As a full time instructor, Amy taught 15–20 hours of classes each week. Like John, she taught grammar and writing in the mornings and reading, speaking, and listening classes in the afternoons. In addition, she was responsible for coordinating curriculum and purchasing textbooks for the IEP. Working as a private tutor for university students and local high school students, she helped them prepare for the SAT and ACT and assisted university students with writing and academic subjects.

Amy described herself as having native language fluency. Students and colleagues likely could not have detected a non-native speaker accent in her speech. However, she reported some resistance from students during her first year teaching in the IEP. She attributed this to their perception of her as an NNEST. Amy discovered this perception was based solely on her appearance. She recalled that after her first year of teaching students stopped questioning her language status as word spread that she spoke English fluently.

Amy was in her early 30s. She took great interest in her students' academic careers, often advising them on how to prepare for life as a student in a U.S. university. However, she expressed conflict over how much she should assume the role of advisor to the students. In describing herself as a teacher, she often referred to her emotions and strongly identified as an empathizer. Of all the participants, Amy was most cautious in answering my questions. She took her time in responding and often returned to her answers to qualify them as she was concerned about the accuracies of her reflections. With regard to pedagogy, she worked to keep classroom activities communicative and task-based while teaching students grammatical structures and guiding them through a portfolio-based writing process.

Anna

Anna had worked in the IEP for eight years. She was in her late 30s and also taught English composition as an adjunct at a local community college. During this study, she announced her intentions to leave the department the following semester to begin her Ph.D. at another university. In our interviews, Anna reflected on her time at South Tech University as she prepared to transition from working as a full-time instructor to becoming a student and teaching assistant.

Informing Anna's story of becoming and being a teacher of ESOL was her move as a child from a northern state to the South. She remembered this transition as one that placed her on the outside of her peer group. For Anna, this experience gave her a connection to her students who were learning a new language in a new country.

Her academic journey to instructor of ESOL had been circuitous. She began her undergraduate study in engineering but graduated with a bachelor's in technical communication. After graduating, she took a job as a secretary in a lumber mill. Over time, that job became less and less fulfilling, and Anna sought a change. Unfortunately, at the time of seeking this change, she developed a chronic illness that complicated her work choices. She returned for her master's degree in English linguistics because it offered her the opportunity to work more at home, obtain the rest she needed, and pursue intellectually fulfilling tasks.

Anna found employment in the IEP through acquaintances on campus. She began as an adjunct and became a full-time instructor with responsibilities of teaching all levels in the IEP, coordinating student services, and eventually teaching an advanced writing class for non-native English speaking students required to take an academic writing course to improve their writing skills. She was drawn to teaching ESOL from her experience with students for whom English was a first language and were learning to write academic English. Anna had always viewed herself as being "good with ... the grammar and breaking down of language," and used construction and building images often in our discussions. Noting that she had "never left science behind," she used her background to connect with her advanced writing students who were mostly graduate students in the sciences.

Anna relied a great deal on research in the fields of linguistics and rhetoric in formulating her teaching practices. Although focused on the academic nature of her job, she emphasized the

importance of being an empathizer and preparer for the academy. Her plans were to combine these roles in an administrative or tenure-track position in rhetoric and composition. In doing this, she hoped to gain “a place at the table” to influence language teaching.

Martha

Martha was in her 40s and had worked as an instructor of ESOL for 12 years. Her family members worked and attended school in the local community. When I interviewed her, she was teaching a class to prepare international graduate students to work as teaching assistants. Like Anna, she was also teaching a writing class for international graduate students admitted to the university whose TOFEL scores in the areas of reading and writing indicated a need for further instruction. In this position, Martha assumed the role of liaison between the IEP and the university’s graduate school. She also coordinated tutoring services for IEP students.

Martha had a varied academic background. She began her undergraduate studies as a math major but changed to history and English. After receiving her bachelor’s degree, she sought additional training to become a certified English teacher. In our interviews, Martha often referred to this background in pedagogy as a strength that reduced the “learning curve” for her when she began working as an instructor of ESOL. In describing her journey to instructor of ESOL, Martha connected her earlier math major with her interest in linguistics, noting that linguistics allowed her to “do quantitative math analysis of the language and structural analysis of English.”

Martha described having multidisciplinary knowledge. In observing her classrooms, I noticed she connected with her students who were studying disciplines such as geology, mathematics, and physics by using terminology specific to those fields. Throughout our interviews, Martha showed unflagging commitment to her role of encourager in the classroom.

In addition to her instructor duties, she served on TESOL advisory boards at the state and regional levels.

Martha's future with the IEP program was uncertain due to it being outsourced. She spoke with concern about the marginalization of IEPs within universities and was keenly aware of how details such as location of classroom space and layout were symbols of prestige to university administrators. In her interactions with other departments on campus, Martha advocated for herself, colleagues, and IEP students when necessary.

For Martha, it was important that students not perceive her as "teacherly." For example, she was reluctant to use the term "grade book" to describe her records of students' grades. A grade book was for her a "teacherly" symbol. Although she laughed at her reluctance to embrace this term, she was certain of her roles of motivator and facilitator in her approach to classroom management.

Organization of Findings According to Research Questions

The order of the research questions as presented earlier are as follows: 1) What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?; 2) How did past experiences influence the instructors' professional role identities?; and 3) How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities? This order places the focus on the main research purpose of determining the instructors' professional role identities. In analyzing and presenting the narratives, I found that the answers to the research questions appeared throughout my results. To provide a coherent understanding of the instructors' current PRIs, I organized the presentation of the data in this chapter in a way that answers the second question first under the heading entitled "Becoming a Teacher." By presenting these experiences first, I was able to emphasize their primacy in answering the first research question of what are

the PRIs of the instructors and the last research question of how the instructors are still negotiating them. I then present the PRIs under the heading of “Roles in the Classroom” and weave the past experiences and current negotiation of identities into my discussion of these roles by using the instructors’ PPK. Finally, the section entitled “Professional Role Identities at the Edges of the Academy” provides a focus on how the instructors are still negotiating identities. In this section, I emphasize the position of the IEP as a marginalized service provider in the university’s hierarchy and discuss how this affected the participants’ PRIs.

Becoming a Teacher of ESOL

Identity trajectories. In reviewing their stories of how they obtained their current positions, I noted that instructors described an interaction between professional demands and personal imperatives as described by McAlpine (2012). Individuals in academia, such as the post-doctoral fellows studied by McAlpine, have often transitioned from graduate study into professional apprenticeships in the academy by considering their current personal and professional circumstances to envision their futures. McAlpine (2012) and McAlpine and Amundsen (2012) called this process identity trajectory. I used this notion to interpret the participants’ stories as trajectories in which they took advantage of opportunities that often intersected fortuitously with their interests, skills, knowledge, and personal circumstances. Identity trajectory allowed a deeper exploration of how each participant’s personal and practical experiences influenced their roles as instructors.

Anna’s story of entering the profession of teaching ESOL combined her desire to pursue an academic career with her experiences of working as an administrative assistant at a lumber mill and her diagnosis of a chronic illness. In the following narrative, Anna’s classroom roles of

empathizer, constructor of knowledge, and interdisciplinary communicator can be seen in the early stages of her career trajectory as she navigated personal and professional challenges.

I graduated ... with my bachelor's in technical writing. I thought I was gonna go design webpages and write documents for engineers who couldn't otherwise communicate effectively with non-engineers. I ended up working at a lumber mill as a secretary. Over time that became less and less fulfilling. I made a change and then I got real sick ... and I had to make some choices about what I wanted to do that accommodated what at the time was a limiting physical condition...

Anna responded to her illness by seeking a job that would accommodate the physical limitations she was encountering. She asserted her agency by seeking a new position that would keep her intellectually fulfilled.

I needed to have a more flexible job ... I needed to be able to take some rest; but I also needed a job that was intellectually fulfilling and demanding, that also worked with my own, with my own character traits I guess, my need and desire to help people.... So I went and met with a professor here in the English department who had had a great deal of influence on my thinking of language when I took the required intro to linguistics ... and she agreed to take me back as a graduate student....

Although she trained as a linguist, Anna viewed her entry into the field of teaching ESOL as fortuitous.

...I went and did my master's in linguistics and then through a previous employee of this program, ended up coming in for a teaching demo.... A lot of it was opportunity ... that I was around a lot of people who worked with students who were learning English in an academic setting ... and it was something that I could do....

One could argue that Anna always had some intention of pursuing an academic career. The idea of fulfilling her academic potential had been planted at the beginning of her graduate program when her major professor extracted a promise from Anna that she would one day obtain a Ph.D. Pursuing higher education was encouraged by her family. She recalled family support and the impact of attending her parents' graduation ceremonies from graduate school. Yet, the role of her illness cannot be ignored as a factor in her return to academic life and her job as instructor of ESOL. Ultimately, her agency, as seen in her determination to be intellectually fulfilled, influenced her career path. Identity trajectory is appropriate for interpreting Anna's academic professional identity because it acknowledged her varied career pathways to be complicated and not just a calling pursued to be an instructor of ESOL.

Amy knew from an early age that she wanted to be a teacher; however, her path to being a university IEP instructor involved family influences and happenstance. She had begun a master's degree at a university abroad and then decided to transfer to a U.S. university. "Well [I began] my first master's in applied linguistics and I was not able to complete that program...." Amy was not able to do so because she chose to transfer to South Tech University, which did not offer applied linguistics as a formal area of study but instead offered a degree in English literature with coursework in linguistics. When asked why she came to South Tech University, she described her decision as being "silly."

Well, when I was doing my master's in [home country] my university had a sister school in four different schools in the United States. South Tech was not one of the schools, but because my family moved [near] South Tech before I came here, my dad suggested me coming ... and maybe talk to the professors....

Her “silly” reason was due in part to personal circumstances involving her family. Yet, she remained committed to her personal goal of pursuing post-graduate training in the English language.

The person I talked to at that time was from the English department [and they told me] ‘Well, we don’t really have applied linguistics program but we do have linguistics if you’re interested we could transfer all your credits....’ So that’s how I ended up at South Tech....

Her career with South Tech’s IEP came as a result of meeting one of the other participants who encouraged her to apply for a teaching position. Happenstance was not the only factor at play in Amy getting the job as instructor of ESOL. She emphasized her experience as a teaching assistant for freshman composition during her master’s program at South Tech.

When I was doing my master’s I talked to one of the teachers in one of the classes, maybe it was either Martha or Anna, I’m not really sure.... They suggested me talking to Dr. B. [IEP department head] because they knew I had a background in ESL.... So I came to talk to Dr. B. and he said maybe you could start working as a tutor and so that’s how ... I started, working as a tutor and then they offered me a class to teach....

McAlpine’s (2012) theory of identity trajectory was further evident in Amy’s doctoral journey. Amy described an interplay of personal factors and self-agency in her decision to pursue a doctorate. To wit: she entered a doctoral program after reflecting on her future in the field and wanting to stay at South Tech in her current position of instructor of ESOL.

I kept teaching, but somehow I needed a change. I was a full-time teacher ... and then once when I went back to school I was a part-time teacher and that somehow, I don’t know, I think I needed a break from teaching and also I wanted to learn more. I thought

maybe taking classes and getting a doctorate degree would open more doors for me once I finished.... But that's still a mystery to me. I don't know why....

A reading of this narrative with developmental theory in mind offers another explanation for her return for study. Relying on Erickson's developmental theory, I considered that Amy may have been working through the conflict of the life developmental stage of stagnation versus generativity (Andrzejewski, 2008; Bradley, 1997; Bradley & Marcia, 1998; Erikson, 1963). This explanation is supported by her reference to the degree opening doors for her and when, in later interviews, she expressed her interest in training other teachers. However, this theme did not hold in Amy's other narratives. Her reason for obtaining the Ph.D. remained rooted in her desire for a different experience.

Like Anna and Amy, Martha's journey to becoming an instructor of ESOL involved an academic interest in linguistics. However, the theory of identity trajectory fit her story less than it did for Amy and Anna. She described growing into the job from her PPK gained as a graduate teaching assistant in academic support.

I worked on a Ph.D. I'm ABD and for that I did my data collection in the Bahamas. So we were looking at varieties of English, southern English and how it manifested itself in the Bahamas. A friend of mine said 'I think you're really gonna like teaching in the ESL program here at South Tech in the IEP,' and I already had started inviting intensive English program students to the study skills class I was teaching ... at South Tech....

In this short narrative, it is evident that Martha used her knowledge of subject and herself as a graduate student to transition to the job of instructor of ESOL.

In envisioning her future self, she found a way to remain at Southern Tech and stay in the field of teaching English.

Some friends of mine were teaching in the IEP at South Tech and said, ‘you really ought to try it out. So I did and it really helped me to capitalize on the linguistic work I had already been doing. Because I was already looking at varieties of English, it felt right to me.... I had already been using strategies in teaching freshman composition since 1995. I had already developed strategies that were effective with non-native speakers because, in my opinion, and others too ... and many of the students at South Tech at that time especially were from the South and none of them spoke academic English as a first language. So all the strategies I used to teach academic writing in the freshman comp series, then when I discovered ESL strategies, I thought ‘oh my gosh, I’ve already been doing that’ for many of the rural kids from [the South], you know, with whom I had grown up. Academic English was not their first language; it was their second or third language....’

Martha used her work experiences as a graduate student to form a portrait of her future self: an instructor of ESOL. In doing so, she likened her native English-speaking students’ struggles with writing academic English to the difficulties of learning English as a second language. For Martha, her PPK, particularly her knowledge of students and subject, influenced her identity trajectory.

Although personal factors may have influenced Martha’s decision—her spouse had a permanent job locally—she did not explicitly link these factors to influencing her decisions of staying as an IEP instructor at Southern Tech. Another factor that may have influenced Martha’s identity trajectory was her background of obtaining teaching certification in English to teach at the secondary level. She attributed her return to graduate school to her desire to improve her knowledge of subject matter in order to be a better teacher. Moreover, teaching was a common

thread in her educational journey. Ultimately, her decision to become an instructor of ESOL resulted from a combination of her own agency, skills, and personal desire to remain at Southern Tech.

In John's early career, as seen in the stories of other participants, happenstance played a role in obtaining his first position as a teacher of ESOL. It was his abilities in speaking English that brought him to the attention of an international school director in his home country. Moreover, he knew by age 18 that he wanted to teach.

When I was in school, in high school during the summers, there was a summer school, aimed at primary school students and I was like a teacher's aide, and I used to help teachers from different grade levels in primary school. Usually with language arts. So I noticed I liked teaching. And then when I was in the last year of high school I met the secretary of the director of the school, and she told me that many ex-students from my school, while studying in college, worked at the binational center [North American English Language Institute] as teachers. So she told me the name of the director who was a friend of hers. So I went to see him, and I had an interview with him. I took a proficiency test. I was barely 18. I had just finished school.... I did well on the test. He seemed to like me and I was trained for a month by observing classes and attending some methods courses... They were high school students who were sent to the institute where I worked, which is a private institute to study English.... So I taught there for almost 27 years.

It was not until John decided to pursue graduate study in the United States at South Tech that the intersection of personal factors and self-agency became clear.

Interviewer (Inter): Why teach English instead of Spanish?

John: Well [teaching English] is what I've always done in my life. And the reason why I studied that master's in Spanish is really because I had always wanted to pursue higher studies in the states. I had always wanted to do graduate work and I had the opportunity of getting a teaching assistantship in the Spanish program. So that's why I started with Spanish. So now that I am pursuing the doctorate, I am back in ESL and education.

John used his vision of his future self in his professional identity trajectory. It was his dream to continue his academic and intellectual development in a U.S. university, and he saw the teaching assistantship in the graduate Spanish program at South Tech as an opportunity to do so. His personal agency and opportunities for funding at a U.S. university took him from teacher of ESOL in his home country to graduate teaching assistant in a Spanish language and literature department in the US. He eventually returned to teaching ESOL in the U.S. to fund his doctoral studies.

Although his academic interests were in linguistics and pedagogy, his master's program focused on literature. He found a way to combine these interests when he chose to stay at South Tech to pursue his doctorate in education and obtain a TESL certificate. Personal factors also influenced this decision. John noted that he and his family were settled in the area and that his son was comfortable in the local school system.

The doctoral program gave him the best opportunity to connect his background as a teacher of ESOL with his goal of using his doctorate to teach other prospective teachers. One could also argue that his decisions were influenced by his personal and professional developmental stages as his later career trajectory could be interpreted in terms of negotiating the developmental conflict between generativity and stagnation (Andrzejewski, 2008; Erikson 1963).

When I administered the grounded survey (See Appendix E) as a way to verify my data interpretation, I found a discrepancy between how the participants viewed their career paths and how I had interpreted their career journeys. This was seen in answer to the prompts “I entered the field of teaching ESOL by being in the right place at the right time” and “members of my family and friends have affected decisions I’ve made about my careers (jobs I have taken).” John disagreed with my interpretation that his career originated from being in the right place at the right time. John’s disagreement may indicate that I misinterpreted the data, which showed a chance discussion with an administrator at the binational school led to his job. Yet, John reported that he entered the field as an undergraduate who had attended an English-speaking elementary and secondary school in his native country. In other words, he likely viewed his transition as a natural progression of his language and teaching skills, both of which were evident by his time as a student in middle school. I, on the other hand, had focused on what seemed to me to be happenstance, such as transitioning into his current position in the IEP where openings were rare— a fact known to me as an insider working in the program.

Both John and Amy disagreed with the second prompt that family and friends had affected their career decisions. This indicated another possible misinterpretation on my part. Indeed, their narratives indicated that they chose their training and subsequent jobs as a part of an original plan to pursue a career as a teacher of ESOL. However, both Amy and John mentioned the influence of family. Amy chose Southeast Tech for graduate school in part because her family was nearby. John reported struggling with future plans because a job location would affect his family and their specific needs.

Martha and Anna agreed with both prompts. They had obtained their graduate degrees in the department of English, and their studies had included linguistics, rhetoric and writing, and

literature. Neither one began studies with the goal of being an instructor of ESOL. Their entrance into the profession was an opportunity to combine their areas of study and teaching into full-time work at the university where they had obtained their graduate degrees.

On the survey, all participants agreed that they had “planned much of their careers” as instructors of ESOL. These answers did not entirely contradict the theory of identity trajectory but suggested that the participants had exerted agency to determine their career paths in the midst of external demands of job market and personal demands of family.

Experiences as learners. The participants recalled positive and negative experiences as learners in the classroom. Some experiences were with learning a second or third language; others were with learning in subject fields such as statistics, history, and math. These experiences as learners influenced the instructors in their formation of role identities in the classroom. Unsurprisingly, their previous teachers populated the participants’ narratives as characters, both heroes and villains.

A theme that emerged in the analysis of these stories was that of forging an identity based on past experiences as learners. I coded this theme as knowledge of self as learner. The participants used their knowledge of self to forge role identities that were congruent with their experiences as learners. Thus, the participants interpreted events in light of their PPK and made meaning of the unexpected events by creating new role identities. The following narratives illustrate this negotiation.

John studied at an international school in his home country, and his academic classes were taught in English. He recalled his favorite teacher as being Mr. Charles, who taught him social studies in the seventh grade.

One of my favorite, all-time favorite teachers, was Mr. Charles.... He taught me more than 35 years ago. Even at that time his classes were quite interactive in the sense that he had us work in groups, in pairs. He had us work on projects. He had us give presentations in front of the class in English [that were] related to social studies. At that time there were no computers. There was no power point. We had to bring our visuals ... and I remember once giving a talk about China. I even wore a Kimono that day, I brought some Chinese food that my mother had cooked.... The students, my classmates, loved it and I felt that I wanted to do the same thing that he was doing. You know? I think he's been my most influential mentor, teacher.

John was impressed by the cultural and pedagogical knowledge of Mr. Charles. In the quote above John described group work in Mr. Charles' classes. Group work was a symbol or object (Blumer, 1969; Fraser, 2011) that John interpreted as indicating interaction and creativity. The experience in Mr. Charles' classroom gave John his first taste of being in front of the classroom.

John was the only participant who had difficulty recalling a negative classroom experience with a teacher. However, he did note that in his doctoral studies a statistics class was extremely difficult for him. Keeping with his optimistic outlook, he credited the teacher for helping him get through. He related the experience as one that gave him knowledge of self by helping him grow in empathy for his students who were studying English as a second language. John implied that statistics had been a new language for him, just as English was for his students. Thus, his experience as a student influenced his role as empathizer in the classroom.

Having begun teaching when he was 18 years old, John experienced an overlap between the roles of teacher and student. When pressed to describe difficult experiences as a student,

John recalled a challenging situation when he began to teach at age 18. At this time, he was also a beginning university student.

I started the university at the same time I started teaching English. In [my home country] when a boy gets into the university or he becomes a freshman, usually his friends cut his hair. It's a tradition. So, you know, they just destroy your hair in such a way that you have to go to the barbershop [laughs] and get all your hair cut off your head. So I felt a little uncomfortable going to work like that. I did wear like a cap, but my boss told me in class I couldn't wear the cap, because that was a sign of disrespect. So when I came to class one Monday and my students saw me, they laughed, and I felt a bit ashamed, but it was okay. I just laughed about it [with them].

When I discussed my observation of John using humor in class, I reminded him of the haircut incident. While John did not directly connect his use of humor to how he navigated an embarrassing situation in the classroom as a young teacher, he described humor as an important way for him to lead his classes. Drawing on his experience and knowledge of self, John informed his pedagogical practice by often using wit and a jovial respect, as seen with his penchant to call students sir and ma'am.

Martha's memorable experiences as a student occurred in other subject matter courses and not in a second language class. Martha told of both positive and negative memories of being a student. She described in great detail one of her favorite teachers, recalling his appearance and voice.

One of my favorite teachers that I ended up following around, like I added the second degree, at the time I was an English major and I added a history major because I wanted to follow this guy to all the classes he taught.... Because he was so dynamic we would

fight to sit in the front of the class. He would practically yell, so you wonder why would we fight to sit in the front? Because, honestly, he would yell, and he would say “AND THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS...” and then he would whisper [whisper voice]....

We were all hanging on his words, but it was ... I LOVED IT! It was so dynamic.

For Martha, it was her instructor’s teaching style that made him memorable. Interestingly, she related this memory to me in an instructor’s voice, raising and lowering it, asking and answering questions, guiding me to envision her and the instructor in the classroom.

Martha recalled a negative experience that occurred when she was a high school student and conversed outside the classroom with her math teacher.

Martha: She was a math teacher from [rural southern town] high school who I couldn’t stand and you know why? Because she told me I’d never be good in school. Like I was peaking in high school. So I’d better enjoy it now ... and I thought, ‘How awful! How awful to try to shut me down at 16, 17 ... and I was at the top of her class...’

Inter: You became a math major at university?

Martha: Yeah I was. I think I only did a math major to spite her....

Although Martha did not complete a math degree and changed her major to English and history, she described how her interest in math influenced her decision to pursue linguistics as a concentration in her graduate program in English.

You know I’d got this English degree ... I’d gotten this education degree to teach secondary English and I just didn’t feel ready to teach high school English. So I [went] back and got another master’s degree ... and I signed up for lit classes and then took this intro to linguistics [ominous, foreboding sounding voice] and like this light went off. ‘Whoa! You can sort of do quantitative math analysis of the language and structural

analysis of English.’ And you can apply that to see why certain literary works turned out the way they did.

Martha used her knowledge of subject matter to connect linguistics and mathematics. Her knowledge of self-allowed her to form an identity that appealed to her academic interests of analytical thinking as she perceived that mathematics and linguistics offered. Using these domains of PPK, she combine her positive and negative learning experiences by fusing mathematics and language into a role as student of linguistics.

In the classroom, Martha was determined not to be “that mean ‘ole math teacher.” She was adamant about remaining an encourager to her students. Although Martha reported some classroom management difficulties, she was resolute in maintaining a posture of encourager. Yet, her description of her role as grader and evaluator of students reminded her of the math teacher:

... sometimes I find myself doing exactly what that mean ole math teacher did which is what I don’t want to do ... is you know it affects your grade if you don’t do the work ... you won’t get the grade.... You know I don’t want to hold grades over people. I want them to want to learn and then I help them to get there. So that’s what I think I’ve become the teacher I don’t want to be in those cases if they are totally resistant.

In this description, Martha used her knowledge of context, having to provide grades that affected the students’ GPA, and drew on her experiences as a learner. Her knowledge of self, which she gained in part as a student, influenced how she interpreted her role in the classroom. She relied on her experiences in high school math class to avoid being the “mean ole math teacher.” Yet, university policy (knowledge of context) required her to function in the “teacherly” role of grade assigner.

Unlike Martha and John, a second language teacher greatly influenced Amy. Amy met her favorite childhood teacher, Miss Peggy, at an international school in India. It was in Miss Peggy's classroom that Amy grew as a language learner. Miss Peggy encouraged her to participate and be active in using language. The following response was in answer to my question about influential teachers from Amy's experiences as a student.

Well, there's one that influenced my life ... when I was in India, I did not speak English very well and I was in my [current IEP] students' boat. Like where they are right now, but I was 11 and pretty young and for me moving to a new culture.... It was a whole new experience for me. There was one teacher, she was from Nebraska in the United States. She was an ESL teacher and I consider her more like my mom than a teacher. She was a very nurturing type of teacher, so I was always scared in class 'cause I didn't know what was going on. I didn't understand half of the things she was saying in class and I was constantly paying attention to other people to copy what they were doing.... She sensed that. She was very observant and was always willing to help me and not make me feel intimidated....

In this narrative Amy described the influence of Miss Peggy in forming her current classroom roles as empathizer and encourager. However, Amy rejected the role of nurturer when I mentioned it as a possible role for her.

So I would consider myself more, not nurturing like her, but I try to, uh, let's say, empathize with my students ... and be more understanding of their situations. Especially coming from a different culture, different language background, I feel like I can relate a lot to them in a way.... So as an example, well, like I don't write notecards to my

students [something Miss Peggy had done for Amy] but from time to time I try to give encouraging words a lot in class....

Perhaps Amy's rejection of being labeled a nurturer was due to her being a teacher of university students and some older adults, which would indicate knowledge of self, students, and context. Drawing on her knowledge of self, she relied on her own experiences of receiving care and concern from a teacher to inform her empathy when interacting with students. In using her knowledge of students, she knew her adult students needed support, an experience she drew from her language learning with Miss Peggy. But, she relied on context—a university setting—to approach the students in an encouraging way appropriate for their age and learning.

Amy easily recalled a difficult language learning experience from her youth, and she interpreted it negatively due to activities which that language teacher used in the classroom.

I learned French when I was in India, so French was my second language. My French teacher was very, very strict. And well, obviously, learning English and learning French was a different story because English was the official language we had to use in school, where French was like taught in class. It was more like verb conjugation, conjugating verbs, memorizing new words, so it wasn't like as interesting as like learning English per se, but I naturally really loved learning languages. But I think the teacher I had at that time, she was very strict and her classes were not really interesting 'cause it was more like drilling from the book, repeating after her. So there were not many activities that I could enjoy and she emphasized so much on the test scores...

For Amy, memorization was a negative activity. Memorization and drill were symbols (or objects, according to symbolic interactionism) that she preferred not to have in her classroom as a teacher. The very word 'memorization' reminded her of her boredom with the drills that

required verb conjugation and rigorous testing during her French learning experience. Amy's recollection of this learning experience may explain her preferred classroom role of facilitator of communicative activities. However, she viewed grammar and drill exercises as having a place in the classroom and employed an eclectic approach to teaching grammar.

Inter: Do you teach grammatically, audio-lingual ever in your class?

Amy: Depending on the class ... because ... if your class title says it's a grammar class, of course you have to do grammar, drilling, you know, grammar structures, and exercises. But even though it's a grammar class I try to incorporate different activities that can go along with that structure.... Does that make sense?

I: Yeah ... so you adapt according to the course and students...

Amy: I prefer a communicative approach than the traditional method, like you know, drilling and repeating. It [drilling and repeating] helps, I mean it obviously helps, it helped me a lot when I learned, when I learned English for the first time. That was how I learned, and it was back in 1990s and that was a very popular method at that time. So communicative approach, I would say, was dominant at that time, but it was more like drilling exercises, and memorizing words and conjugating verbs...

In my observation of Amy's classes, which were the basis of the above discussion, I noted her reliance on PPK, particularly knowledge of instruction. However, other areas were also prominent. Her knowledge of subject matter was evident in providing explicit grammar instruction when students requested it, such as when explaining how to use "who" and "whom". Using her knowledge of students, she decided to use description of grammatical terms, such as adjective clauses because she noted that it helped students understand how to construct complex sentences. Her knowledge of context told her that the students would need that knowledge for

the TOEFL exam. It was the demands of context and her experience in a community of practice—teaching in a University IEP—that created the environment in which Amy drew on her PPK to balance her instructional roles of communicative language teacher and grammar teacher.

Anna also reported influential experiences as a language learner. She recalled her language learning experiences in a matter of fact way. In response to my questions about her experiences of language learning she did not use the terms positive or negative as I had in my question. She contextualized her reflections in her subject matter knowledge of linguistics and language learning.

... I took Spanish for three weeks in third grade. We did Latin for a year in 8th grade and then I did German for my high school and college.... It sure is a lot of memorization. If you don't have that vocabulary, if you don't have the grammar right, if you don't have the intonation right, you figure it out.... But if you don't have words in common, what is there? So there was just a lot of memorization to begin with.... You know I'd go from teacher to teacher with my German. There was such a difference in expectation and teaching style I always felt I was catching up....

Anna did not view memorization and learning grammatical structures negatively. When she reflected on learning Latin she recalled the importance of coupling memorization of language grammatical structures with culture.

... I think the Latin training, and I've only recently revisited this because this friend of mine from high school who home schools her children is going to be doing some Latin with her kids. You know, we didn't just memorize.... You know people go 'Latin, you memorize the vocabulary and the endings and the declensions and you learn all these terms.' And while we did that it was always in the context of the culture. It was in the

context of the history that we read Julius Caesar. We translated major speeches of Julius Caesar which we then had to act out in English and Latin—this was in 8th grade—yeah. Because I think [the teacher], and I met her again years later, and she said something that I hadn't even thought about until just now, but it was 'language learning can be kind of boring...' Let's not decouple it from what's going on.

Inter: decouple?

Anna: Decouple language from the context, from the cultural context, from the social context. From history.

Anna continued describing how she integrated her past language learning experiences into her current role as instructor of ESOL.

When I was teaching intermediate grammar writing and I was trying to get them to connect present perfect, past perfect, and narrative writing. Because narrative writing to me is just the ideal place to use the perfect tenses ... because you know when you're telling stories you are jumping back and forth in time and you have to signify, you have to indicate those different times. And the perfect tenses allow you to do that in relation to the simple and progressives and they weren't getting it. So I finally I just started telling stories of my life. I found visuals. I went on my families' Facebook pages and like I found a picture of my cousin and talked about the last time I had met her and stuff like that ... and then I would stop and say 'I've just used a perfect tense here and it means that' and put it up on the board. I remember a couple of the, for some reason it was the female students who responded out loud, but they said, 'Oh I love it when you tell stories like this... I learn about you; I feel connected to you and I see how people actually use this.' So it's not just a grammar point on the TOEFL. It's something that's real.

In addition to knowledge of subject, Anna showed reliance on PPK in other categories. Showing knowledge of self, Anna described sharing her personal life as “inserting myself as examples into teaching the grammar.” In doing so, she maintained a connection between language and her own North American culture. Furthermore, these roles of self as text or as social commentator emerged as part of Anna’s acting on knowledge of students’ enjoyment of connecting the instructors’ personal stories to grammar. Finally, in enacting this role, she drew on her instructional knowledge of teaching students narrative writing. Thus, she coupled language with her own cultural narratives, following her experiences as a learner.

Roles in the Classroom

A myriad of roles emerged from the data in answer to the first research question. I subsumed various PRIs under umbrella terms of Classroom Manager and Preparer for the University/Academy. Both included sub-roles that supported and explained the larger PRI categories. For instance, as a manager of attendance and engagement, the instructors enacted the roles of empathizer, record keeper/negotiator, user of technology, and improviser/adaptor. The sub-roles of Preparer for the University/Academy included guide, empathizer, teacher of controversial topics, and preparer for the TOEFL. A final umbrella term was advocate. I found that as advocate the instructors involved themselves in social justice advocacy at sites inside and outside the academy. I draw attention to those activities inside the academy in comparison to advocacy that took the instructor into the community outside the university. These roles, sub-roles, and related types of knowledge are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Professional Role Identity of Classroom Manager: Sub-Roles and Related Personal Practical Knowledge

Professional Role Identities/Sub-Roles	Knowledge of Context	Knowledge of Instruction	Knowledge of Self	Knowledge of Students	Knowledge of Subject
Classroom Manager	Knowledge of university and IEP policies and expectations	Knowledge of instructional activities to engage class or handle attendance issues	Instructor's knowledge of his or her comfort with response to classroom management problems	Knowing how students' motivations affected attendance and engagement	Knowing how to use grammar in improvised activities or to facilitate communicative activities
• Improvisor/ Adaptor	X	X	X		X
• Record Keeper	X	X	X	X	
• User of Technology	X	X	X	X	

Classroom Manager

The challenges of classroom management faced by instructors were due in part to the fact that the program's administrators did not require grades to be reported on the students' transcripts. Thus, instructors taught without a letter grade as motivation for students. Instead they could decide only whether to promote them to the next level, and IEP policy suggested that instructors not base that decision on attendance. In most circumstances, the students took the classes with the primary motivation to pass the TOEFL and gain admission to a college or

university program. Prompt attendance and participation were reflected in overall evaluations of students, but a low grade in the course did not diminish the students' opportunities to enter the university. One could argue that engagement with language acquisition and skill in class did affect whether they passed entrance exams. Nevertheless, lacking significant influence on the students' grades in most cases, the instructors negotiated their roles of classroom manager by recalling their PPK gained in their community of practice in their classrooms over the years and in working with other teachers in the IEP.

DrawiDuring my observations, John, Amy, and Anna had the most difficulty with students arriving late to class. I did not observe many late arrivals in Martha's class, but she described tardiness as a problem that occurred on most days. In dealing with tardiness, the instructors assumed various roles and drew on their PPK to maintain class structure. I did not observe any instructor enacting a punitive or remonstrative role in the classroom when dealing with problems related to attendance or lack of engagement.

Improviser/Adaptor. John reported that tardiness was a common problem for IEP teachers. "All of the teachers at the IEP have to deal with this in one way or another." In one of the classes that I observed, John began with only one student present. He started promptly and followed his planned activity but used himself as a conversation partner with the student. Hence, in addressing the issue of attendance he engaged the students. As other students arrived, he brought them into the discussion in which they practiced a grammatical principle.

Inter: In those situations, are you thinking of yourself still as a teacher, an instructor, formally. Or maybe more as a tutor, one on one? ...How would you describe that time?

John: That's interesting. I hadn't thought of that. Perhaps other teachers might think of themselves like tutors and they would probably, you know, even sit next to the person,

but I just go ahead and teach as if I had a full class. And the students have approached me and said to me, 'How can you do this? It's only me?'

John dealt with students' tardiness by improvising his lesson plan. With regard to his role in the classroom, he showed a solid knowledge of self. He did not want to be seen as a tutor, noting "I don't like to think of it as tutoring. I just like to imagine that I have a whole class there in front of me, but of course my interaction is one to one." For him, leaving the space at the front of the classroom would have been symbolic of a less formal role.

In one class I observed, he joined students at a table to encourage discussion. The students were reluctant to communicate with each other during a group activity. In this situation his reasons for his action were pedagogical. He wanted to encourage continued authentic communication around a problem solving activity.

I really think that teachers should try to avoid sitting down as much as possible, especially, obviously when lecturing in front of the class. I believe that teachers should circulate when students are doing, you know, working on some kind of practice material. I like to circulate while students are working to show them that I have interest in what they are doing and also to guide them through.... Now, I do sit with the students when the students are working in pairs or in groups in some kind of discussion.

In deciding to sit with the students to encourage communication, John maintained the role of formal teacher while encouraging a communicative activity. In this role he demonstrated his knowledge of instruction by deciding when and how to correct errors, especially those errors occurring around new grammatical concepts. This was evident when he explained why he prompted the students to use the past tense. "...When we were talking about the superstitions or we were talking about those ancient beliefs [of culture], I kind of sat and.... I like to actually sit

and rotate around the different pairs or groups.” While modeling this use of past tense to the groups, he maintained his role of classroom manager while simultaneously encouraging communication.

Amy enacted the role of improviser when she began class promptly with only half of her students present (three). Showing her knowledge of instruction (creating communicative activities) and subject (grammar), she had the students engage in an information gap activity that involved the use of adjective clauses. Beginning with the statement, “I know a teacher in the IEP who has a tattoo,” she had the students guess the teacher’s name. She continued this activity with more statements that used adjective clauses and encouraged the students to come up with their own as they all guessed which instructors fit the descriptions. In our debriefing interview, she told me that she had improvised this activity on the spot.

...I only have 6 students in that class and if only two show up... What do you do? The fact that you know that they will eventually show up, you can’t start right away. So I tend to review some of the things we covered on the previous day and improvise....

As improviser, Amy drew on her PPK informed to deal with tardiness over the course of the eight-week term.

Personally, I don’t penalize students for coming to class late and I think that our director specifically told us that even absences are not considered to be something we should penalize our students for.... So in terms of moving up students to the next level, those things should not be considered. Those things are not part of their proficiency level. Like I personally disagree with that, but that’s the program policy. I don’t penalize students for coming late or not coming to class.

In this reflection, Amy described enacting the role as classroom manager by drawing on her knowledge of context, specifically her knowledge of departmental policy. She was nuanced in her understanding of the policy, noting that the reason for moving a student to a higher level relied more on their proficiency development than attendance.

Record keeper and negotiator. Unlike Amy and John, Anna took a stricter approach to tardiness by penalizing students with a reduction in their participation grade. In Anna's class, participation and attendance counted for 10% of their final grade, which was reported to the graduate school or graduate professor who referred them for remediation. As an instructor of a course more aligned with English for Academic Purposes (EAP), Anna was able to affect the students' grades, a role that gave her more authority than John and Amy in the classroom. However, the grades did not appear on the students' permanent records.

Anna described her role of handling attendance problems as one of record keeper, eschewing the role of disciplinarian. She placed the responsibility of learning and classroom behavior on the students.

It comes off their participation ... if they're not here for the full class they can't get a full participation point because they weren't able ... you can only participate if you're here. And they're just wandering in late. It's not like they were at the doctor or 'Oh teacher I was studying' or something like that ... it's like 'No you do this almost every time ... it clearly does not matter to you to come in on time.... So okay fine just know that you're gonna lose it on your participation points.' I kinda keep track through their attendance. At the end of the term, you know, they get full participation or part participation, and it's a letter grade. I always make it ten percent.

This quote exemplifies knowledge of students: “If they weren’t grownups, I would call it discipline issues.” After years of teaching she was not willing to accept facile excuses, but drew on her knowledge of students by indicating that she knew that the class clearly did not “matter” to them. As record keeper, Anna’s knowledge of instruction was evident in her construction of a syllabus that addressed participation points.

Anna’s reluctance to interpret tardiness as a discipline issue may have been because she faced a more pressing problem. In our debriefing, she described a group of three to four students who were talking and ignoring instruction. This behavior was blatantly obvious and in my opinion disruptive. I asked her how she was dealing with it.

I have [confronted it] and it hasn’t done any good, so as long as they’re not disrupting the classroom environment...they are grownups. They know they need to put in effort to get maximum benefit out of the class, and if they simply choose not to as long as they’re not disrupting the class environment then I’m okay with that.

In this situation, relying on an attendance and participation grade was not sufficient. Anna had to be a negotiator. She confronted students directly by using her knowledge of context (the university classroom), which was intertwined with her knowledge of self and students. From her knowledge of self, particularly her experiences as a student and instructor, she knew the students would face greater demands in future university classes. Using this knowledge, she negotiated with them to reach an agreement that led to less disruption of the class. In their discussion, she framed the students’ behavior as a distraction and appealed to their sense of responsibility to the classroom community by asking them to respect others and herself.

Martha used the word “teacherly” twice in discussing her classroom management choices. In one class I observed, she maintained a list of students’ grades and spent part of class

time checking with students for missing assignments. Martha's interpretation of the grade book was telling as it revealed how she viewed herself in the classroom: "instead of using a grade book ... I don't know why I don't ... but it feels too teacherly or something ... I just made a list of everybody's name and [noted if they] had completed all the different assignments for the whole semester." When I pressed her about how she kept records, Martha begrudgingly moved toward describing what she perceived as a "teacherly" role. "I just keep it all on a piece of paper and on like a roll sheet.... But I call it my grade book because it sounds teacherly...." Her classroom management reflected similar student knowledge as Anna had noted. Martha emphasized her knowledge of the students being adult learners and applied this knowledge to formulate ways to engage them in the class. Besides her use of record keeping, she was a savvy user of technology.

User of technology. 740B Martha reported fewer problems with late arrivals in her class, and I did not observe any on the days I was present in her class. Like Anna, Martha taught classes that were more oriented toward higher levels of language proficiency related to academic English. She was teaching an advanced writing class and a speaking class for international teaching assistants. However, Martha noted student tardiness was still an issue and confronted this issue through addressing a lack of engagement in which the students used cell phones.

There's one guy who cannot make it on time. Because students in previous semesters, not this semester, have complained that I start the class and then restart the class when people come in late so that I can catch them up, 'cause I want everyone to be together.... It annoyed them. So what I tried to do with the writing class is send them an e-mail ahead of time and often they are looking at their phones right at the beginning of class and they might be checking Facebook, but because I just sent them an e-mail, I find that most of

them are reading my e-mail ... so that they are either quickly finishing the homework they didn't finish or reading for the class. It kind of helps prep them for that class....

And I started that because some of the students in that class were also in a speaking class in the fall and they were all over their phones! And I couldn't, without being super harsh and taking them up, which may not be considered super harsh by everybody, but I made the phone part of the class.... If they are going to use their phones anyways, make them use the phones ... and it's kind of fun to hear it go ding, ding, ding around the room, because you know, I know everybody got the message or whatever...

In this classroom management scenario Martha enacted her PRI of technology user by facilitating communication. She shrewdly enacted this role by drawing on her knowledge of instruction and students and thereby avoided enacting a role that she felt would be perceived as "super harsh" as a strict disciplinarian. For Martha, knowledge of sound instructional practice required her to keep students engaged by providing an overview of the day's activities at the beginning of class. Drawing on her knowledge of student behavior with phones and her knowledge of how students in the past disliked her "restarting" the class for late arrivals, she incorporated the phones into the pedagogical practice of setting up classroom goals at the beginning of the class each time. She did not use a PowerPoint for outlining her schedule for the class, but sent out the message by e-mail.

Similarly to Martha, Amy enacted her PRI as classroom manager through her use of technology and negotiation. Her impetus to confront the issue of tardiness through e-mail, however, was rooted in her knowledge of context, self, and students.

They might have their immigration issues because of that, but like personally I try to encourage them to come to class. I usually e-mail them after class. So for instance,

today, um, there were a couple of students who walked in class after 20 minutes and I emailed them after ... and I told them from tomorrow I want you to come to class on time.... Then I tell them that if something like this happens again, then you need to notify me before so that you don't interrupt the class...

For Amy, context knowledge came from knowing the department's policy on not being punitive for absences. Yet in enforcing it, she drew on her knowledge of self: that she was not a strict disciplinarian. Therefore, she negotiated a way to enforce policy by sending e-mails in which she reminded students of how their tardiness affected their classmates and her. She did not directly confront the students in class or in person. Instead, she drew on her knowledge of students' sense of respect for authority and respect for classmates' learning to discuss issues in private through e-mail and appealing to their sense of responsibility to the community by not interrupting their classmates.

In looking at the answers on the grounded survey, I found some discrepancy between the participants' and my interpretations of the data concerning the role of classroom manager (see Appendix E). I expected that the participants would not identify with the role of disciplinarian. In response to this role, which was actually listed on the survey as "disciplinarian," Amy responded that she frequently enacted this role as an instructor. The other respondents chose the response "rarely." I suggest that this discrepancy may have resulted from how the participants and I understood the meaning of disciplinarian differently. The broader term of classroom manager, instead of disciplinarian, may have resulted in different responses from the other participants. Nevertheless, according to the data, Amy had used various techniques to deal with students who arrived late or did not participate, but none were confrontational.

Preparer for the Academy/University

I chose preparer for the academy or university as a descriptor that encompassed the roles of guide, empathizer, teacher for the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), and teacher of controversial topics. The instructors were not just teaching language; they were also teaching how to be a successful student. With the exception of teacher for the TOEFL, the participants accepted these roles as accurate descriptions of their tasks of helping students meet academic goals. The participants defined academic goals in terms of tasks the students would eventually undertake as they studied for undergraduate and graduate degrees. Thus, the instructors connected their PPK with their roles associated with preparer for the academy and often relied on their own experiences as students in the university.

Table 7

Professional Role Identity of Preparer for the Academy and University: Sub-Roles and Related Personal Practical Knowledge

Professional Role Identities/sub roles	Knowledge of Context	Knowledge of Instruction	Knowledge of Self	Knowledge of Students	Knowledge of Subject
Preparer for the Academy/ University	Knowledge of how to apply previous academic experiences to the university setting.	Using their educational experiences to prepare students for future academic work. An example is when instructors used their experiences in writing to teach students composition.	Knowledge of how personal experiences could inform their decisions in the classroom. Knowing limits. Evident in role of Teacher of Controversial Subjects.	Instructors knew about students' needs and responses to activities. Indicated an awareness of the students' future in the university.	Knowledge of linguistics and grammar as they related to the students' academic futures. Also, knowledge of other disciplines. This knowledge was particularly evident in roles of Empathizer and Preparer for the TOEFL.
• Guide	X	X	X	X	
• Empathizer	X		X	X	X
• Preparer for the TOEFL	X	X		X	X
• Teacher of Controversial Topics	X	X	X	X	X

Guide. In describing their roles in the classroom, the instructors presented narratives of enacting the roles of guide with students. As guides, they led the students to develop knowledge for success in the university. PPK influenced how they used curricular goals to personalize their classroom goals. For example, showing knowledge of context, Amy carefully considered whether departmental policy and job descriptions allowed her to advise students on academic matters or if policy limited her roles to classroom teaching. Likewise, Anna showed knowledge of context from her work in the university community when she discussed how university policy affected her enactment of her received role as student affairs coordinator for the IEP when making decisions about helping students receive medical treatment. Guide was a role that all participants accepted and affirmed in our follow-up interviews.

As a guide, John used his own research paper, which he had presented at a conference during his master's program, in order to teach writing to advanced IEP students. John noted, "I usually show [the students] a research paper that I myself prepared. I tell them about the layout and the discourse employed and I tell them how I used quotes. So my paper helps them to spell out the style they are to write their papers in." In this description, John showed his knowledge of instruction and context, which originated in his work as a graduate student. He drew on his pedagogical knowledge of how to teach writing a paper, but he went further by combining knowledge of self and context by giving the students an example of how his own academic work, and by extension their own future academic work, could fit in the research activity required of university students.

Similarly, Anna showed knowledge of instruction and context. She drew on her pedagogical knowledge by reflecting on how her major professor led classes in a direct and supportive manner. Just as her professor had been direct in the classroom, Anna was clear in her

expectations of her students. Her knowledge of context was evident in her decision to treat students as independent learners who would face greater demands as students in the university. She knew the university would demand that the students be responsible for their progress as learners.

I don't pussyfoot around. This is what I expect you to be able to do. I know you can do it because I've seen other students do it. I'm not gonna say go out and do it. I'm gonna help you. But this is what I want from you in the end and this is why....

Her goal was to create independent learners. She guided them in a process of setting their own goals in reflecting on their progress of meeting them.

I do a lot of goal setting. At the beginning of every term they write down what it is they want to get out of it [the class] and at the end of every term they look back and reflect then they make a plan for the next six months or a year as far as their language learning. I'm hoping that transfers.... So independent learning is pretty important to me.

While Anna was direct, Martha described a subtler approach in guiding her students. She too wanted students to be independent learners. For Martha the role of guide emerged in her descriptions of negotiating between direct teaching of grammar and guiding the students to their own conclusions.

It's not for me to tell them the correct answer but for them to discover how to know what is the correct answer, especially in terms of writing or ... I mean we are a little more directive in ESL than when we teach native speakers writing ... whereas with a native speaker I might say 'What sounds good to you?' But with an ESL student I might give them three options and say 'which one sounds to you like the ones you've heard your professors say before? Or what looks like what you've read before?'

Martha's role of guiding students to the correct answer was informed by her knowledge of instruction and students. These areas of knowledge intersected in her understanding of how international students' cultural beliefs about a teacher's role affected their learning. Showing knowledge of instructional practice, she referenced a study's findings that indicated some international students preferred a direct approach in teaching English grammar. Yet, she knew the pedagogical importance of helping students make their own decisions about using correct grammar. For example, in guiding students to the correct answer, Martha drew on her knowledge of sound instruction in second language teaching by not providing a direct correction of errors. In second language teaching, error correction is a major concern (e.g., Terrell, 1977), and Martha's approach showed her awareness of this important aspect of teaching by keeping students actively involved in producing language while not providing a direct answer. She exhibited her knowledge of students by working to avoid discouraging them by harshly correcting them. She knew such an approach would have pedagogical implications by inhibiting language acquisition and production by raising students' anxiety (Krashen, 1982).

Amy used knowledge of context more explicitly than the others to inform her role as guide. Her knowledge of context came from her experiences in the university as a community of practice. Her knowledge from that experience, specifically as a student and instructor, informed her concern about the future challenges of university life that the students faced, especially as students relatively new to the U.S. university system. Amy's knowledge of context overlapped with her knowledge of students. Showing her intuitive grasp of students' mood at one point in a term, she determined her students at the intermediate level were "really unmotivated." To address this, she brought in a former student to give a pep-talk.

They just had no idea why they had to study and even though a lot of them wanted to go to university eventually, they had no goals. So I had to show them an example of a success.... I had been telling them that [you may think] being in class in the IEP ... is really hard, but trust me, once you go to the real world, it's a completely different story. I had been repeating that over and over and they would not take it seriously. But once the student who was actually taking classes told them, it made a whole different thing. So that way I had to just to show them what it was like....

To give background to the above quote, I wish to add that Amy reported what may have been an alternative explanation for the origin of her and other participants' knowledge that informed their roles as guides. At one time the IEP provided a "bridge" program for students wanting to enter graduate school but who lacked adequate test scores. Amy, Anna, and Martha had participated in this program, which had lasted two years before administrators discontinued it. Such a program gave them a formal and structured role as guide to university. Although John had not participated in that program, he recalled how Anna strongly encouraged him to emphasize academic writing in his class as preparation for university study. The participants' experiences of the Bridge Program was part of the collective knowledge in their community of practice and was expressed in their knowledge of context.

Empathizer. As I analyzed the data, empathizer emerged as a sub-role of PRI of preparer for the academy/university. When coding the data, I noticed that phrases such as "putting myself in their shoes," or "I know what it's like based on my experience" were repeated in similar forms more than once by all participants. Empathy was an influential factor in how the instructors negotiated PRIs. Being an empathizer primarily required knowledge of self, students, and context. Showing knowledge of self, the instructors drew on their experiences as learners

and incorporated those experiences into their classroom practices in order to address the students' struggles. Their knowledge of students meant knowing as much as possible about what their students were experiencing as learners of another language. Specifically, these domains of knowledge relied on the instructors' experiences of being a post-secondary student at the undergraduate or graduate level, which originated in the knowledge of the university as a community of practice. In this setting, their knowledge became moral and consequential as it affected their decisions in the classroom and in many cases their students' learning and well-being (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987). Examples of how these knowledge types informed the instructors' sub-role of empathizer follow.

John used the phrase "putting myself in the students' shoes" three times during our interviews. He described his role of empathizer as one that required him to be "very patient and put myself in the students' shoes. I believe in giving people second chances, so, of course, second chances, not third or fourth." John did not relate his empathy to being an NNEST and did not mention his experiences as a second language learner as a factor in forming his empathy. Instead, showing knowledge of self, he related his struggle with a graduate statistics class, a memory that caused him to wince, as an experience that helped him understand his students' struggles. Underlying John's knowledge of self was his knowledge of context. He was aware from his experiences that the students would face challenging classes in the university, sometimes with little sympathy from instructors.

For John, being an empathizer influenced how he understood students' struggles to meet deadlines. In assuming this role, John relied on his knowledge of students by trying to understand his students' struggles affected their performance in class. His knowledge of context was evident in how he connected those struggles with events outside the classroom that affected

the students' capabilities to complete writing assignments on time. "It's a process that is painstaking, so along the process things come up and the students can't meet deadlines, so I try to help them, and I'm empathetic about what is going on in their lives as well." However, he noted a limit to his understanding, recalling how hard he had tried to give one student "a second and third chance to get work done." John ultimately required the student to retake the class.

In contrast, Amy, also an NNEST, used her experience of learning English and living in various countries to inform how she empathized with her students. She recalled, "I try to, let's say, empathize with my students ... and be more understanding of their situations, especially coming from a different culture, different language background, I feel like I can relate a lot to them in a way...." Amy's statement showed knowledge of self, specifically her own learning experience of English as a second language, to empathize with students and build relationships.

For Anna, the role of empathizer was rooted more in her knowledge of self. She drew heavily on her experience as an outsider to the American South. Anna had moved to the South when she was in elementary school and experienced difficulty fitting in. It was a painful memory that informed her understanding of the experiences of international students as outsiders.

...that kind of cruelty and lack of empathy and lack of sympathy was recurrent over my K-12 experience. Once we moved down here all the way through until I graduated....It shaped me in a lot of waysSo I was always very different from the people I was around and I was never in a school for more than a few years either. So I was always the one who didn't have that network of friends who had been together since kindergarten....

Moving to the South was a difficult adjustment for Anna, and she drew on this experience to relate to her students as they experienced life after a major move into a new culture. "I do

know what it's like to feel like you're all alone in a place you are not familiar and comfortable with ... strange customs and a history that you don't understand, that they don't want you to be a part of..." Anna wanted her international students to succeed and avoid the heavy toll of social isolation that she had experienced. "I don't want them to go through the social, the internal, the mental, and emotional issues that come with [being an outsider]."

Anna's role of empathizer was not connected with an experience of learning a second language. She drew primarily on her social and psychological experiences as an outsider. This focus on affective experiences in Anna's narrative may have been the result of her assigned role of student services coordinator. In addition, her job responsibilities required her to rely on her knowledge of context. She recognized the psychological challenges students experienced both inside and outside the classroom as members of the university community.

In addition to using her experiences as outsider, she applied her knowledge of subject, not only linguistics, but of multiple disciplines to complement her knowledge of self and students. She had been an engineering major at the beginning of her undergraduate studies. Anna used this background to relate to students in other areas of study. Once, she even drew on her knowledge of terms specific to a field in political science to help a student working on a paper in class. She worked to incorporate her knowledge of subject into her actions toward creating a relationship with her students. According to her, she carried out these duties while applying knowledge of self through relating her experience as an outsider to what the students may have felt.

Martha's descriptions of her role as empathizer were subtler and relied more on knowledge of students. In meeting the curricular goals for her class of international teaching assistants, Martha used her knowledge of students to inform her decision to offer delicate

reminders to students about their late assignments in one-on-one conversations rather than in front of the entire class. This action was rooted in her knowledge of students' affective needs and their concerns about saving face by avoiding embarrassing them in front of their peers. She even worried about other students overhearing her conversations when she spoke to a student about a late or missing assignment.

Martha's knowledge of students overlapped with her knowledge of self. For example, in one of Martha's classes that I observed, she was preparing for spring break, a situation similar to what Connelly, Clandinin, and He (1997) described as the rhythms of teaching. In our debriefing, Martha and I discussed how she handled teaching during a time when students were distracted. She reflected on her decision to avoid big assignments for a break:

I remember as a student getting all these big writing assignments before spring break and I mean I guess they were thinking 'So during spring break this 20 something is gonna write this seminar paper?' Well, golly, no. Everybody needs rest. Plus, see, everybody, not everybody, but most of those students are science students.... Let me tell you who doesn't give them a break over spring break ... their lab work. Their experimental data collection is still going on....

Here Martha drew on her knowledge of self to inform her actions toward students. She showed a combination of knowledge of self and students in remembering her own frustrations with assignments over a break and using it to support her decision not to give homework over the break.

In her role of empathizer, one could argue that Martha showed knowledge of subject matter. Likewise, one could easily see how her knowledge of subject was also knowledge of context in that she knew what life as a university student demanded across disciplines. In short,

her knowledge of subject matter was not limited to linguistics; it was multidisciplinary. She knew about the demands of laboratory work and related to students by referencing specifics of their fields of study in mentioning specific facts about the study of geography, mathematics, and agriculture. One example was when she came to class and mentioned a radio program she had heard in which a student's area of study, a particular agricultural crop, was discussed.

As a counterargument to this interpretation of empathizer, I should note that I may have downplayed the fact that they were acting on received roles. Martha and Anna had assigned professional roles of training students for the goal of succeeding in graduate school. So it is only natural that they understood that they learned about their students' disciplines in order to teach them to communicate about their subject matter. Understandably, they empathized with the students' academic lives outside of the IEP as graduate students because the topic of their classes was linked in part to understanding academic speech and writing specific to the students' disciplines.

Preparer for the TOEFL. Although the instructors wanted the students to learn academic tasks communicatively, they all faced interpreting what symbolic interactionists would call an "object" (Fraser, 2011): the TOEFL exam. I coded references to the TOEFL as a role: Preparer for the TOEFL. However, in my member checking through grounded surveys, I found that participants did not accept this role description and rejected the idea that preparing students for the TOEFL was part of their teaching responsibilities. This discrepancy in understanding the role of the TOEFL could have been due to the fact that the IEP offered a class specifically for TOEFL preparation, which was not required but offered between morning and afternoon classes. None of the participants taught that class. A colleague did.

For John and Amy, the TOEFL was ever-present in their classes, sometimes in the background and sometimes in the fore, but always shaping the ambience of the classroom and influencing their narratives. A majority of the students entered the IEP to prepare for this standardized assessment that would allow them admission to university programs. Hence, the students' goals forced the instructors to teach with the TOEFL in mind. The instructors were directly aware of the students' success or failure to achieve this goal as they received their students' TOEFL scores at the end of each term. In the short narratives below, the teachers reflected on how they used their PPK in teaching when the TOEFL was a source of pressure on many of their students and conflicted with their desire to use communicative language teaching methods.

When I observed John's class, which was for students with advanced skills in grammar and writing, I noticed a number of absences. During our debriefing discussion, John speculated that the absences were due to the TOEFL exam that was to be given on campus in a week. John used his knowledge of students and context in handling students' absences related to the TOEFL.

I know that there are students that have to take these international exams and they struggle with them. They are trying to find the time to work on them, but at the same time they are juggling with their IEP courses.

John responded in an accommodating manner to the TOEFL as a cause of student absences.

If they are absent for just some classes due to exam preparation matters, I'm kind of accommodating. It's not that it happens very often and I actually sometimes even suggest materials that they can use for outside of class, for test preparation purposes.

John's accommodation for the TOEFL influenced his pedagogical approach, especially with how he taught writing. He stated:

I employ TOEFL type writing in class to provide them with practice. The TOEFL IBT exam, for instance, requires students to write essays on different topics. Essays of about 350 words in around 30 minutes. So I have incorporated that into my class.

He did this by having the students write timed essays and providing them with his own prompts. However, he reported struggling with how to incorporate grammar in the context of test preparation. "In terms of the grammar element ... the TOEFL Internet Based Test (IBT) doesn't strictly test grammar as a skill per se. Grammar is incorporated into the four basic skills...."

John's knowledge of context and subject emerged more clearly as he described the difference between the paper based TOEFL and the internet based TOEFL. Showing knowledge of context and subject, John described the paper-based TOEFL was more of a "discrete point examination in which students have multiple choice alternative's for listening, and for grammar, and for reading comprehension." Drawing on knowledge of context, he also noted it was accepted only by the local institution. .

Noting his struggle with how to keep language teaching communicative in light of the demands posed by the TOEFL, he reflected:

So, in a way I am catering to that TOEFL preparation need they have. But I usually do not teach to the test as they say. I think my goal there is much more than helping the students pass the exam. It's actually helping the students gain academic skills to be able to function in an American university and also social skills to be able to interact with native speakers of the language.

As seen in the above quote, he saw himself as a preparer for the academy who drew on his knowledge of the students to meet their “need” of learning for the TOEFL. However, his knowledge of students conflicted with his beliefs about best pedagogical practices, which were to teach language in a communicative and authentic manner.

Amy disliked standardized tests because she viewed them as not fully assessing the students’ skills. Like John, Amy worked to keep the class focused on communicative activities. However, during my observation of her class, she showed her knowledge of subject by taking time to explain the grammatical rules for the object pronouns “who” and “whom” in adjective clauses. Her rationale for doing this was to prepare the students for the TOEFL. In our debriefing session she explained in more detail her decision to address the grammar point of “who” and “whom.

I think making the distinction between who and whom is very important but I just didn’t have enough time in class to go over that in detail, but I’m actually going to start class with that tomorrow, and the reason I think it is important to make that distinction is because eventually they are all going to take the TOEFL test and I feel I have to be flexible in terms of what I teach in class. Some of my students in my class expect to do better on the TOEFL test and making that distinction is very important on the test, so I have to. I’m not going to spend a lot of time going over the distinction between who and whom ... but I will definitely mention that.

In teaching with the TOEFL in mind, Amy relied on her knowledge of students to determine the extent that the TOEFL influenced her lessons. She knew the TOEFL was important to her students, even essential to their future success. However, like John, her knowledge of pedagogy, context, and students caused a conflict between teaching

communicatively and at the same time offering explicit grammar instruction to prepare the students for future exams.

I'm always in a dilemma because I tend to do activities that are communicative in class but then my grammar tests don't really reflect that. [The tests] are very heavy on structure and using the correct form, but that's not my philosophy though My philosophy of teaching is teaching grammar so that they can use the structure in their listening, speaking, writing, and reading. Not getting the multiple choice questions correct on the grammar tests.

Drawing on knowledge of instruction, Amy framed her conflict as one between teaching grammar explicitly and teaching it communicatively. She attempted to resolve this conflict by relying on her philosophy of teaching (knowledge of instruction), in which she viewed grammar as a means to an end. For her, this end goal was students being able to communicate in the four language domains. She accepted somewhat begrudgingly the need to prepare students for the TOEFL. Yet, her knowledge of context and students, after years of working with them and other teachers in the IEP as a community of practice, loomed large in her decision about how to teach.

Reflecting on the role of the TOEFL in her teaching experiences in the IEP, Anna, like Amy focused on teaching the grammatical rule about the use of who and whom. However, she viewed as a small point in both communicating and passing the TOEFL.

It's adjective clauses where people get tripped up and I see this and I get confused sometimes when my students ask me which one do I use? 'Oh my gosh, I'm gonna fail the TOEFL because I don't know who or whom...' And I'm like well one, if there's a questions on the TOEFL about who or whom ... it will be one and it's not gonna make

you fail the grammar section.... Two, when it comes down to it only your traditional, really nit-picky professors care. It's a distinction that's going away.

Along with her knowledge of subject matter, her knowledge of context (the TOEFL and academic requirements) and how it affected students was also obvious. She knew that the 'who' and 'whom' questions would not be significant to the students on the TOEFL or in their academic writing.

Martha did not report encountering the TOEFL as a major factor in the classes she was teaching at the time of this study. She did, however, reference her knowledge of the exam in describing her role in the university. At the time of the study, she was teaching remedial classes for international students whom the graduate school had referred due to their low TOEFL scores in a particular domain. Martha interpreted the TOEFL in terms of her PPK. She showed knowledge of context in referencing institutional policy and knowledge of subject when she noted the connection between low scores in reading and low scores in writing. Unlike the other participants, Martha did not have to make pedagogical decisions based on the TOEFL as the students in her class had officially passed it. Therefore, she was able to focus almost exclusively on preparing graduate students for their future roles in the university.

In verifying my interpretation of the PRI of preparer for the TOEFL, I found some discrepancies between the instructors' and my understandings of its role. At the time of the study, Amy and John both taught IEP classes that included students who were trying to pass the TOEFL. Not surprisingly, they agreed with my survey prompt of "knowing what students need to know to pass the TOEFL is important to being a good teacher of ESOL" (see Appendix E). Martha and Anna were not teaching IEP classes but were teaching English for academic use to students who had passed the TOEFL but needed remediation upon entering graduate school.

Martha agreed with the prompt about the importance of the TOEFL, but Anna did not. Perhaps Anna's disagreement was due to the nature of the question as it linked knowledge of the TOEFL with being a "good teacher of ESOL." Another explanation could be found in Anna's questioning of the role of testing in education. In our interviews, she wondered about its effect on quality of instruction. Nevertheless, the participants often raised as a topic of the TOEFL without prompting from me.

All participants expressed agreement that knowledge of linguistics played a role in the classroom. The specific areas of linguistic knowledge that the participants described using varied. All agreed that "training in the grammatical structures of English is necessary to being a good instructor of ESOL." Anna and Amy disagreed that knowledge of phonetics affected how they taught, while John and Martha agreed that it did. Although the participants differed in how they used linguistic knowledge, all but Anna described enacting the role of linguist in the classroom as occurring frequently. She rated it as occurring less frequently. However, the data from interviews, observations, and the grounded surveys indicated a prominent role of linguistics, with all participants referring to grammar, phonetics, and corpus linguistics, among other linguistic terms, in their discussions.

Teacher of controversial topics. The participants viewed the classroom as a space for discussion of topics related to current events or cultural differences. When teaching about topics that evoked disagreement, they worked to keep the focus on language use in preparation for the students' future work as university students. In doing so, they drew on their PPK, knowing from their own experiences that the students would encounter ideas that would challenge their beliefs at some point in their academic careers. To that end, they wanted to help them use the target language to prepare for future debates in the classroom.

During the first two interviews, I questioned the participants about how they approached controversial topics. Anna and Martha recounted the more confrontational encounters, which related to times when same-sex marriage was being discussed in U.S. newspapers and litigated in courts.

Martha recounted an incident in which a student refused to read a text in which one sentence made reference to same-sex relationships. In recalling this incident, she showed me the text she had used.

... I've used this book since the very first year I taught ESL, around 2005 ... okay? In here is a writing passage I used for ages and it's all about different definitions of marriage. And that was the first time I encountered students who refused to do an assignment, REFUSED!.... Not refused to refute the reading, but refused to do the assignment because their home culture told them, in their opinion, their home culture told them that this isn't a thing, this isn't real.... Homosexuality doesn't exist. And that's what one of these readings was about, and I thought 'Ahhhhh, I don't know...' I couldn't understand ... I didn't understand why they could refuse to participate in the conversation or do the assignment because to them, it was something that didn't exist.... I just keep remembering that one guy saying over and over 'this does not exist...' and I'm like, 'No, you can read here, here are some examples of situations that...' 'This does not exist...'

And all I could think is 'whoa' [At his point her voice trailed off and she shook her head.]

Martha drew on her knowledge of students to deal with the student's refusal to read a text: "their home culture told them, in their opinion, their home culture told them that this isn't a thing."

Note that she allowed for the student's own interpretation of their home culture's teaching, avoiding a blanket assumption about all members of a culture.

Yet she struggled to avoid a confrontation and still follow the curriculum she had planned. She described how she resolved the delicate situation.

I must have given an alternative assignment. That was the same year, that, I won't say the professor's name, [she] was teaching Don DeLillo's novel and one of the women in her class also happened to be a tutor in the English Center, this is how I know that ... went through with a black sharpie and marked out everything she felt was offensive to herself or her faith. I'm telling you there were like five words left in that whole novel for her to be able to read.... And because that professor in the English department who was mentoring me through teaching great books gave that student an alternative reading assignment, I'm pretty sure in that semester, because I sought her guidance, I gave that student an alternative assignment and they could read and think about other things.

Her experience in the university as a community of practice was crucial in how Martha responded to the student. While the student's refusal to read the assignment unsettled her, she positioned her response as a preparer for the academy/university and kept her focus on the student being able to develop reading skills. It is important to note how Martha drew on her mentor's experiences to work with the student within the university as a community of practice. As a knower of context, she had examples of other teachers to guide her.

Anna also dealt with differing views based on culture and religious beliefs when a heated debate occurred between two students during the time that the Supreme Court of the United States was considering its final ruling on same-sex marriage. In doing so she worked to

empathize with students and facilitate communication while trying to keep her own views from influencing the classroom.

I had an Iranian student who grew up in France and she wanted to be a lawyer in France. So you can imagine having her in a group with a female from Saudi Arabia who completely covered her face. And at the time we were kinda ramping up towards the Supreme Court decision about [same-sex marriage]. So they got really heated. And the woman from Saudi Arabia fell back on the religious argument that it's abhorrent to God and so on and so forth. But she also used a lot of cultural arguments and the French Muslim started attacking her [classmate's] culture. I totally agreed personally with the Iranian girl but I mean that's not what I want to have happen in my classroom. Right? And then if Saudi Arabia is going to open up and change, we are not going to achieve that by when they make such a commitment culturally and personally to come over here and then we tell them that they are awful? You know we have to be really sensitive about that kind of thing and I think being a Yankee in the South kind of informs that, you know?

Although Anna sympathized with the student with views similar to her own, she tried to create an empathetic and open environment. Drawing on her knowledge of instruction, which urged a methodology focused on authentic communication, she kept language communicative within the context of a debate and with the instructional goal of keeping communication going and avoiding a student shutting down.

So I pulled the Iranian girl, I keep saying Iranian, she was born in Iran but she grew up in France. I pulled her aside and I was like 'You've got to back down. She's trying to engage with you. She's trying to have an open and honest conversation with you, but at

some point you're just gonna have to back down.... She's taking this as a personal attack, alright? We need to back up.... Let's think about what's appropriate.... You're going to be writing a paper for me soon, why don't you lay out the arguments [in it] that you were just using to convince this other person, except all that you are doing is making her upset and shutting her down....' She was quiet. She was like 'Oh...'. She hadn't realized that she was so committed to her position. And later the other girl came to me and she was like 'thank you.'

In this narrative Anna also showed knowledge of students, context, and self. Drawing on her knowledge of the students' various cultures, she maintained an openness to all viewpoints by acknowledging the central role that beliefs played in the students' lives. She knew that the more traditionally-minded student was withdrawing from the debate to protect her beliefs. As a preparer for the academy and teacher of controversial topics, Anna's knowledge of context led her to require the students to maintain civil debates, which was a skill she expected them to employ in their university careers. Undergirding her PRI as preparer for the academy was her knowledge of self. She acknowledged her own biases and desire for Saudi Arabia to "open up," and tried to use this knowledge to keep her own views from affecting her interactions with students who had a different opinion.

I did not observe these situations first hand. Instead the participants related them to me as their own narratives. Thus, the participants' memories of the events and my interpretations of those narratives may portray Anna and Martha in the role of heroines. On the other hand memory may have smoothed the tensions and difficulties surrounding the challenging interactions. As a counterpoint to my description of a smooth enactment of the PRI "teacher of

controversies,” I note that, according to Anna, she generally tried to avoid controversial topics related to sexuality, religion, and politics due to her own discomfort with the topics.

Amy’s recollections of teaching contentious topics revealed less emotional reactions from students. Amy led students in debates, which was part of curriculum requirements for her advanced listening and speaking class. During the semester when I interviewed Amy, she reported facilitating a debate over U.S. immigration policy and the topic of plastic surgery. In discussing plastic surgery, Amy reported that her students were divided in their opinions according to gender.

... [I]n my [advanced listening and speaking class] the topic the students have to debate is plastic surgery and a lot of the ladies in the room are very interested in plastic surgery and they support that. And on the other hand, my male students, they have strong opinions about plastic surgery and I don’t think they really support that. So once I put people [together] who share the same opinions, I think that’s when people start talking more and being more active...

In handling the debate, Amy drew on her knowledge of instruction and of students, which she showed in her decision to form discussion groups along the lines of those who shared opinions. She reflected to me during one interview, “So, even my quietest student, he actually contributed something yesterday in class, so I thought maybe the topics or the themes of the subjects that we teach in class also matters.” Discussion groups showed Amy’s knowledge of instruction, as small groups usually facilitated communication. Yet that alone was insufficient. She needed her knowledge of students, particularly their comfort levels of discussing in small groups in order to elicit the best exchange of ideas.

In our interviews, I did not inquire about topics of sexuality that had emerged during discussions with Anna and Martha. Perhaps I avoided the topic with Amy because I knew that she taught lower level classes with students or because I worried that I would place her in an uncomfortable position in divulging too much of her personal views. I may have been uncomfortable bringing up issues of sexuality due to not knowing her views on social and political issues because she was guarded about discussing them in our interviews.

When I interviewed John and observed his class, he was teaching during the primary season of the U.S. elections for president, and I observed him leading an in-class discussion on the U.S. political process. In discussing the topic, he chose to start the discussion and then observe it as an outsider in the position of an international graduate student and instructor of ESOL. According to John, this positioning allowed him to inquire about current events in the United States with a degree of comfort.

I've already heard that we should try to keep away from politics and religion and all those controversial topics in class. I must confess that U.S. politics is now fascinating me. This is like the first time ever that I've had this contact with U.S. politics, so sometimes it's something that happens naturally. However, when it happens, I do try to refrain from favoring one candidate or the other or criticizing one or the other, because that would not be appropriate, that would be biased.... Although I think you may be able to do so, especially in an international class, in a class where you have international students, because for them, it's not really like a national issue, they are foreigners, it's more like news. You know? In that sense, you know, I think it would be harder for them to feel affected by any comment.... I do try to relate current events with the structures, with

whatever is being taught. Because in that way, whatever is being taught makes much more sense to the students....

Using his knowledge of subject and instruction, John taught controversial topics by bringing the grammar he was teaching into discussions of political topics, thereby creating an instructionally appropriate activity that was authentic and communicative. His activity revolved around using noun clauses in which the students discussed who they thought would win a primary election in a state. Drawing on current events, he created an information gap activity in which his IEP students and U.S. ESL teaching practicum students, who were observing the class, interacted to answer his question about how a caucus worked. When no one, including U.S. practicum students, could define or describe a caucus, he acknowledged his need and that of his students to do research outside of class on the topic and how that could be undertaken.

John's PPK was further evident in his description of why he chose to use the elections to elicit conversation. He drew on his knowledge of self in admitting his own curiosity about the election and linked that knowledge with his knowledge of pedagogy, which encouraged the practice of connecting grammar to real work events.

In the above examples, the participants carefully avoided sharing their own opinions when discussing controversial subjects. This was not always the case. In our interviews, Martha spoke of times when she did not refrain from discussing her political beliefs. In fact, she did not hesitate to use herself as text, a role described by Morgan (2004) and Varghese et al. (2005). The use of self as text requires knowledge of self, especially one's comfort with sharing personal beliefs with students. She recounted how she openly shared her political views with students as a way for them to understand American culture.

I have made comments about who I did vote for, or issues that I'm passionate about because I don't feel like I'm influencing them. They can't vote. They are not going to be able to vote during the time they are in my class, so I feel like I am allowed to share so they can see where I'm coming from.

Martha wondered whether expressing her political views in class could be problematic but decided it was not as such discussions could foster critical thinking.

.... That could be a weakness, sharing my political views. I feel like it lets them know where I'm coming from so that if there is something we don't agree about; we can think about why not....

Based on her PPK, namely knowledge of instruction and of students, Martha decided to discuss her political views as a way of advancing subject knowledge of U.S. culture. Her political views facilitated authentic discussion between her and her students. She also showed knowledge of students in making this decision, knowing that they were sufficiently comfortable with discussing politics.

In contrast to Martha, Anna was circumspect about sharing her political views and using herself as text. She relied on her knowledge of instruction and self to guide her in deciding what to share of her personal beliefs in the classroom.

I'm not gonna talk about my politics, you know? I'm trying to teach them a lot. Like when I'm teaching persuasive writing or argumentative writing, I want them to be able to construct their own argument. I personally disagree with some of their political and cultural stances, but I'm not gonna be that teacher who fails them because I think they are wrong and because I do carry a lot of authority. If I start talking about what I think and

what I feel in regard to these sensitive issues, they're not going to feel comfortable talking about it.

Pedagogically, she knew that political topics offered a chance to teach writing. Displaying knowledge of self, which she gained from her experience as a student and teacher in the community of practice of the university, she did not want to be overbearing and act like “that teacher” who was punitive toward students of different viewpoint. She knew that the students needed to prepare to write persuasively and logically. Therefore, knowledge of instruction and self became the nexus for her role as preparer for university study through being a teacher of controversial subjects.

As a counterpoint to the PRI of teacher of controversial topics, it should be noted that the curriculum and classes that the participants taught likely influenced their levels of engagement with political issues. Amy and John were teaching grammar and listening/speaking classes, while Anna and Martha taught graduate students who had been admitted to the university. Duff and Uchida's (1997) notion that teachers of ESOL, especially those from North America, often negotiated how to use their socio-political selves in the classroom may explain the varying levels of comfort the instructors had in revealing their own political views. The fact that John and Amy were NNEST and did not view themselves as participants in American politics may have influenced their decision not to share their views. Yet Anna was also reluctant. All four were negotiating their use of self in classroom discussion of controversial topics to varying degrees, and in this process they drew heavily on their PPK.

Advocate

Based on his study of experienced university teachers of ESOL, Farrell (2011) suggested that instructors enacted professional role identities of social worker and care provider (p. 57).

However, all participants in this study rejected the PRI of social worker as a fitting description for them. In my final interview with the participants, which served as a member check, we agreed that advocate best described the action that the instructors took on behalf of the students. I suggested advocate because it emphasized the actions among systems within and outside the university. Enacting the role of advocate involved advising and working on behalf of students within the university and in medical and legal systems outside the university on behalf of students. Both settings of advocacy emerged as instructors' stories as they recounted their more memorable professional experiences of helping students.

Table 8

Professional Role Identity of Advocate and Related Personal Practical Knowledge

Professional Role Identities/Sub roles	Knowledge of Context	Knowledge of Instruction	Knowledge of Self	Knowledge of Students	Knowledge of Subject
Advocate	Knowledge of university's policies and demands, community resources, rules and regulations associated with both.	Understanding how to apply pedagogical knowledge to help a student negotiate for equitable treatment.	Knowing how to set boundaries with students and systems in questionable situations. Being aware of one's ethics and morals in a situation	Understanding the needs of students, particularly the needs of those studying in an IEP. Knowledge of student's support systems and coping skills.	Knowing how language proficiency affects students' interactions with systems such as medical and legal.

For Anna and Amy, advocacy efforts on behalf of the students crossed both internal and external agencies, i.e., those of the university, legal system, and medical services. Due to her received role as student services coordinator, Anna tended to enact both types of advocacy roles with the goal being academic success and physical and emotional safety for the students. Amy's unique experience led her to advocacy as a personal decision.

Anna and Amy provided rich, detailed narratives of very complex incidents. In these narratives, the instructors explored new PRIs in which they relied upon their PPK. In doing so, they struggled to negotiate boundaries with the students and the university and expanded their experiences as instructor to areas outside the classroom.

Anna's official job title was instructor of ESOL and coordinator for student services. However, her PRI as student services coordinator intersected with her classroom actions, which required knowledge of context and students. Anna exemplified her knowledge of context by relating in detail the policies of the university as her community of practice. Her knowledge of students was evident in understanding the psychological struggles students faced, particularly in times of stress, such as final exams.

In the following narrative Anna recalled one student's illness when she and the student traversed several systems, namely medical and legal, in the university and community. In the process she worked across the systems for students to receive fair treatment. Hence, I counted her story as one of being an advocate for social justice with academic concerns influencing her actions.

Well, see, this is where my student services stuff gets intertwined too because you know as a student services coordinator, my job is also to help them with other things as well.

So I'm thinking of a student I had a couple of years ago. She got totally stressed out and

she did not have healthy coping mechanisms.... She was unable to manage the demands of her economics classes in the finals so she made herself sick. She stopped eating, she stopped drinking water, but she was biking into class every day. She would call me any time between five o'clock and one o'clock in the morning, 'I have a serious headache.

Can you take me to the hospital?'...and she refused to go back [to her home country]...

As Anna recounted this incident, she pointed to how her assigned professional role as student services coordinator and her PPK within the university were at least somewhat marginalized. She used her knowledge of students and context by remaining committed to the welfare of the student as she worked with the university's medical and legal staff. One could also argue that her knowledge of self, specifically her moral commitment to the student, was also at play.

...Even though it escalated so much that the lawyers from risk management sat down, and they were no freakin' help, they were like 'you need to convince her to go back ... but you can't tell her she can't stay ... but you can't keep doing what you're doing.' And I was like 'if she doesn't leave, I'm still taking her to the hospital every week or two. She's not going to leave but I'm not allowed to tell her any of this?' You know [pause] from a legal sense I kind of see what they were saying but their total lack of disassociation....

In her commitment to the student, her knowledge of context—university policy—and of students, particularly their well-being, was evident. She stated:

We finally got her through it. I finally ended up talking to some of the nurses over at the medical clinic and we got her hospitalized and taken care of.... Then I helped her work out rescheduling her finals and things like that. It ended up being okay. It was really stressful during that period...."

Anna's narrative showed how she confronted inconsistent advice from the university's lawyers, demonstrating that her knowledge of context vis-a-vis her knowledge of the student was moral and consequential (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987).

When speaking of their PRIs in their job in the IEP, John and Martha gave less detailed accounts about advocating for students. Their stories related more to their students' academic lives. John gave students second chances, and sometimes more, to make up assignments due to their involvement in preparing for standardized tests. Martha described helping her students and even tenure-track professors for whom English was a second language develop strategies for effective teaching. For example, she drew on her knowledge of context (the university) to provide her students who were preparing to be teaching assistants with recommendations on how the syllabus functioned as a contract between learners and instructors. However, when pressed, they noted the implications for social justice advocacy in their work as instructors.

Amy's story of social justice advocacy involved a student who was jailed after being accused of a crime and jailed. In the end, the student was exonerated, and he returned to his home country. At Amy's request, I omitted the specific details of this case, choosing instead to focus on the larger story of her PRI as advocate and how it affected her actions and perceptions of herself as a teacher.

...He was in jail for four months, close to four months and it was a shock to everybody in the program, but ... how do I put it this way? Well the news was a shock. I didn't even know that he was arrested until after someone in the department saw a news article with his picture and that person recognized his face. So we were not notified. That's the thing I want to point out. As a program I don't think anybody was aware of the situation until someone in the department read an article on Facebook....

Inter: Why did you choose to get involved?

Amy: Because he was in my class at the time and the day he got arrested, I think was Tuesday, and Monday he was in class, perfectly normal. He was, I must say, he was one of the top students in my class and I just couldn't, personally, I just couldn't believe that he was guilty....

Amy's decision to get involved came from her concern for the student. It was imperative for her to connect with the student while he was in jail. In making this decision, she drew on her knowledge of students and, surprisingly, subject matter.

...After I learned about his arrest, me and one other colleague called the [jail]. We wanted more information. The first thing that came to my mind is 'oh he's a level 2 student so I don't think he can communicate for himself very well' and I wasn't really sure if there was anybody with him to help him understand the situation. So that was like the first thing that popped in my head.

Notably, Amy's knowledge of students and their level of communicative functioning was her motivation for getting involved. She knew what the particular student's understanding of language at level two meant: he would not comprehend or communicate effectively in a stressful and unfamiliar environment of being jailed in the U.S. legal system. Therefore, she was worried about whether the student could communicate adequately to receive fair treatment. Like Anna, Amy's PPK was a part of what led her into taking consequential and moral actions.

As Amy became an advocate, she was forced to rely on the support of a colleague. This became more important as she wondered if her student was actually innocent. By working with her colleague, she was able to gain support from her community of practice, the IEP of the university.

While remaining firm in her decision to help the student, she described feeling conflicted both personally.

I don't know what it was but as a teacher I had, really, I had mixed feelings about my students because when I see them in class, I only see good things, you know, in them, but then after this incident.... Because during the process, I'll be very honest with you, during the process, I had my moments where I thought, where I doubted whether he was innocent or guilty.... I felt like 'Oh maybe everything I see in them in class doesn't represent who they really are...' I don't know ... I had a huge dilemma at the time, emotionally and psychologically....”

I inquired as to how the experience still affected her. She noted that she remembered her feelings from that time and suggested that the experience led her to reflect on her work as instructor.

... Even now I think about 'What happens if I hear from the police department saying that one of our students were arrested?' Do I go and advocate for that person? It's my internal conflict.... I think it will be my internal conflict throughout my teaching career. But that doesn't, I don't think that will stop me from doing what I believe.

Although the event had occurred years prior to our interview, Amy's conflict over her PRI as advocate continued as she reflected on her job as a teacher. She described her commitment to students as an extension of her responsibilities as an instructor. The experience forced her to examine her PRI as advocate by relying on her knowledge of self, specifically her limits of emotional involvement, and to be open to help from colleagues. She was still negotiating this PRI at the time of our interviews. She, however, was resolute in her belief that she had done the right thing.

John initially described his advocacy as empowering his students as learners. He downplayed the PRI of advocate and instead described himself as facilitating independent learning with the goal of preparing students as global citizens.

I think that by doing my job as a teacher, I'm definitely helping my students not only be better speakers of the language but be better citizens of the world. Making them aware of what is going on in the world and trying to give them the power to continue their own learning. Because, you know that a language is far too difficult and too complex to be taught, so you have to give your students the tools so that they can go beyond your teaching and continue to learn more on their own.

The majority of John's stories of advocacy were similar and dealt with his work as an instructor of ESOL within a university context. Before one interview, my off-hand remark about a mutual acquaintance sparked John's story of being a teacher in a setting outside the university aimed at promoting social justice. When prompted, he recounted the story in our interview.

I had the opportunity to teach a content based ESL class. Because the students were mostly of Hispanic origin, living in [nearby rural community], most of them had a basic level of proficiency in English. What I was trying to do was to teach them about the health system in the U.S. For example, how to make an appointment with a doctor, what questions to ask the doctor or to learn about chronic diseases, but, I was using English to teach that content.... They were basically learning English but at the same time learning about health.... It was quite challenging because many times they were using forms, you know, functional forms, without really knowing the grammar. They were learning the grammar. They were learning the language in chunks, so they were learning 'May I help you?', 'My head hurts', [and] 'My stomach hurts' without me really teaching them the

grammar. So I wouldn't say, third person singular.....no, no no. It was just to focus on elements. It was quite an experience.

I inquired as to how John saw this experience as advocacy. He described his work with teaching English as a second language for health purposes as one of "giving education." The experience for him was a means of empowering language learners.

I think that especially in that course [referring to health course] I was an advocate of this population. I mean, giving education to this population that in a way are, you know, underprivileged. Most of these people are really poor. They worked in the chicken factories. They worked on farms, and they were not being given any education. So in one way or another by teaching them I was making their voices be heard....

In the above excerpt John relied on his knowledge of context to inform his pedagogical knowledge and decision in which he avoided explicit grammatical instruction. His narrative revealed how his knowledge of students, subject, and instruction converged in the PRI of advocate. He knew the students and their needs, how to address those needs through pertinent grammar and vocabulary, and how to teach the material as a content-based course focused on using English to obtain medical services.

In a follow-up interview, he described how he presented his experience at a conference. "At the end of this project, a friend and I presented our results at different conferences. So I think people at the conferences were very aware that that was a need that needed to be satisfied in different places around the U.S." Interestingly, he contextualized his work as an academic one as he shared his experiences with others at TESOL conferences. Even when working outside the university, the need to relate the experience to an academic context was an irresistible force.

Martha was reluctant to describe herself as an advocate, but she embedded characteristics of advocacy into what she described as “a teacher’s role is [being] a bridge.” She elaborated on this notion: “...My job is to direct them. How can they get the information? How can they find the model texts? How can they discover for themselves what their own writing problems are?” Martha later added more details of advocating for international students, scholars, and professors who struggled to meet the demands of a U.S. university. Her PRI of advocate centered on helping students to navigate academic issues. She recounted her story as an instructive example for me.

I told you about a situation where a professor had a student that he felt might be plagiarizing. Remember, it is not plagiarism in the draft stage; it is only plagiarism when it is submitted for a grade and that’s what triggers the faculty honesty committee. Anyways. So the faculty member felt like the student was likely plagiarizing unknowingly, and because we do the free tutorial service, that student was sent to the tutorial service to help educate the student, and also the faculty member, about what constitutes plagiarism.

Martha conducted workshops for non-native speakers and for faculty working with non-native speakers. These workshops centered on how the understanding of plagiarism varied according to students’ cultures and disciplines of study. Her PPK, especially knowledge of the context of teaching in a university and its policies and knowledge of how students fared in that context, informed her work as educator to teaching assistants, staff, and faculty on campus.

Although I think [cultural differences] are over-sold. I think it’s social justice and advocacy by saying, ‘Hey, maybe it’s not because of their country they do it differently, that is what you hear a lot and there is some truth to that, but it might also be because

some content area faculty do not talk to students about why sources are cited and what they require in their field. I don't think they have the opportunity, content area faculty, to think about those things. Whereas in ESL or in English it's part of our job to think about why do we use citations.... What kind of citations?

In her PRI as advocate, Martha drew on her knowledge of subject matter and applied it along with her knowledge of context (academic practices). This was evident when Martha described a situation in which she helped a non-tenured professor and his department head address negative student reviews that were imperiling the assistant professor's chances for tenure.

We came to the conclusion that it wasn't him. It was the intro level students who were looking for sort of an excuse as it were.... It was great because what we did was to develop a policy by which this man handed out a vocabulary list at the beginning of the course, you are going to think this is silly maybe, and say things like 'I'm gonna read this list so from now on when you hear aluminum I'll exaggerate and say al-u-min-ium... you'll know it's this word here which is aluminum. You say aluminum, I say al-u-min-ium. But everybody now knows when I say al-u-min-ium that it's this thing here'...

Because again it wasn't that this person had too strong of an accent, it was that the students were having a hard time with the class and I think that he was their scapegoat...

As an advocate, Martha asserted her knowledge of students and context (university teaching) when she questioned students' claim that an instructor's accent affected their learning. Referring to this situation as one in which the students sought a scapegoat for their difficulties with subject matter, she said, "This happens all the time for international TA's. All. The. Time...." She

used knowledge of subject matter (linguistics) and instructional techniques in devising a method for an assistant professor to clarify pronunciation of words.

John and Martha found their PRIs as advocate for students to be difficult to separate from their routine professional responsibilities. John was surprised to hear himself speak in terms of advocacy and social justice when describing his work with non-English speaking immigrants. John continued to present his pedagogical experience in teaching health at conferences. Martha was also reluctant to describe herself as an advocate for social justice, preferring instead to describe instances of advocacy as a routine occurrence in her job. However, she became animated when describing how departments from all over campus relied on her and other IEP instructors when problems arose with students for whom English was a second language.

I had to press all the participants to recall how social justice advocate had been a part of their PRIs. The participants did not explicitly describe advocacy as being related to social justice. Instead, they preferred to speak in terms of helping their students. It was only when I asked about their memorable experiences with helping students or the community in their jobs that the stories mentioned above emerged. With agreement from the participants, I labeled these narratives as social justice advocacy. I chose this label because the participants' stories contained elements of working with systems, both with the university (tenure review boards and academic honesty committees) and the community (legal and health services), to achieve what they perceived as fair and equal treatment for their students and in some cases colleagues.

Professional Role Identities at the Edges of the Academy

Auerbach (1991) wrote that teachers of ESOL provided training for the academy. In this role, the instructors in my study often did not have influence in university policy. Each participant recognized to varying degrees that their positions were marginalized. Throughout

their stories, they interpreted space, comments, pay, communication, or the lack of it, and job titles as symbols of how administrators and colleagues in other departments viewed the status of instructors of ESOL in terms of esteem. These symbols simultaneously spurred action and led to demoralization.

John noted that he had not experienced a lack of respect first hand but had observed it toward other colleagues. He was aware of issues facing others.

Regarding benefits that perhaps other teachers have that English language teachers do not for some reason ... I think that we are not given the respect or the place we should have because we really do a gigantic job in trying to teach a new language to these foreign students, but perhaps teachers of other fields get more recognition than we do....”

He referred to his experience of teaching in his native country as one in which he received more respect.

...In my country, the perception of English language teachers, I think, is a positive one. They are in great need because in most of the public schools in [country in South America], English is considered an important course....”

Amy gave more pointed criticism of how the university treated instructors of ESOL than John. She recalled, “I think our positions are marginalized and our program is marginalized for sure because I don’t think a lot of departments on campus know that we exist....” Note that she described her position in terms of visibility.

As a full time instructor, she was more familiar with the hierarchy of the university than John and understood marginalization according to job titles and duties.

I see myself as a faculty member because that’s what it says in my contract, but I consider myself more as an ESL instructor than a faculty member because I feel that if

I'm a faculty member I have to be involved in so many other activities on campus like doing research....

For Amy, research was an image associated with being a faculty member. I asked her if she described herself as a faculty member to others. She responded, "I [say I am] an ESL instructor...if they say 'where do you work?' I say South Tech...I don't say like 'Oh, I'm a university ESL instructor.' I don't say it like that...." She was comfortable in her work as instructor but expressed a desire for more respect through visibility on the campus. Notably she equivocated in her description of herself as a faculty member even though she had met her own criteria of providing research when she completed her dissertation.

Amy's description of her status within the university led me to review the data more closely to understand how the instructors viewed their job titles as indicators of status within the university. Anna and Martha described how they had been involved in trying to change others' perceptions of IEP instructors. As she reflected on her understanding of the history of the profession, Anna spoke of how teaching ESOL had become part of a "mass assembly." She added,

Historically, we have about as much prestige as the hourly folks on campus, being in ESL.... It's been part-timers, people whose husbands have the full time jobs and they move from place to place with their husbands. The professionalization has only really gotten off the ground in the last 20 years....

Anna further discussed the marginalization of her profession in terms of the low pay. "We have the exact same educational and experience requirements as people who are making three times what we do just in the next building to teach half of what we teach. We just don't have the prestige."

Anna was not referring to the hierarchy of tenure track professors in discussing salary disparity but referring to the hierarchy of teaching positions among non-tenure track instructors on campus. She noted that instructors' positions had been reorganized on campus. "They went from using so many adjuncts to having ... like two levels, lecturer [pause] instructor." Anna mentioned dollar amounts in reference to other instructors or lecturers. "...So they'll be making, if they have no experience, they are making 45 or 50 thousand over nine months to teach six classes over two semesters...." Anna was aware of salary disparity. "You know when I first came on full time I was making 30. So it wasn't like we didn't have the money. It was just that the pay scale... [a pause and her voice trailed off]. HR approved a change, not to where we were level with the instructor or lecturer positions on campus...." Anna appeared resigned to the status quo as it was at South Tech University.

Like Amy, Anna noted the connection between research and the recognition a position received on campus. Considering their status on campus, Anna viewed the lack of prestige as being due to administrators perceiving the instructors of ESOL as service providers.

They don't see ESL or the people in ESL as having much social capital or cache. I guess as the word gets out, we are seen primarily a service....We are not research and teaching. So many people on campus [see] teaching as secondary, but it is what you do to have access to resources and funding....

Martha interpreted her position of instructor as being a faculty member, an affiliation that she firmly defended. Echoing the importance of research expressed by other participants, Martha explained that faculty status allowed her and other instructors of ESOL to engage in research more easily.

...For me being a faculty member at South Tech, anyway, the privileges we get include things like interlibrary loan, being able to put materials on reserve in the library. As a faculty member, it gives me the opportunity to say what's going on over here [IEP] but also to ask questions. As a faculty member, I too can get IRB and do IRB approved research and have recently....

She then described a collaborative research project with other instructors of ESOL at colleges and universities in the Southeast. For her, research solidified her faculty status. Like Anna, Martha was aware of economic disparities between instructors of other departments and instructors in the IEP. Martha described her advocacy for pay equity for instructors of ESOL.

If you look at my business card from the university I'm ESL instructor two. Instructor two and instructor one are unique designations for the ESL program, because for a time people who taught in the ESL program were not faculty.... So a former director fought on behalf of his employees to raise them to faculty status ... and then our current director and [whisper] me and a couple of other people [regular voice volume] fought to get the salaries for us instructors as faculty members at a similar but not as high a rate as introductory level instructors across campus.

Martha was the only participant to connect the status of the field with campus space. She recognized that administrators and IEP instructors interpreted classroom space as an indicator of prestige.

There were times, like in the early days when our program we had dedicated classroom space in the same building where our offices were ... and so one of the justifications for the horrendously low pay for my colleagues, this is before I joined ... was oh well, you have dedicated classrooms ... it's not like other professors who have to like leave their

building and go teach in another building. So when they moved us—so now as you know we teach in other buildings—we don't have dedicated classroom space anymore. So it was at that time when they said, 'well, why should you be paid the same as other faculty?' Because we have to do what other faculty do....

Without prompting, Martha described space within the academic hierarchy in a similar manner as Pennington (2015) and Auerbach (1991) in which instructors of ESOL are service providers.

...We are not housed in an academic unit and so it has led people like my supervisor's supervisor to say things like you are service providers in the same way that the janitorial staff are service providers because we are not in an academic unit. Even though I contend strongly that I and my other colleagues are academics.... We publish, not everybody has, but we do. We attend conferences, not just as participants but to share information. We've been asked to lead workshops. Several of us have been paid to go speak on ESL and other issues on other campuses....

For Martha, the importance and visibility of research was the key to improving the status of her position. She also felt her professionalism was diminished by administrators, a feeling that led her to defend her job through noting how IEP instructors' responsibilities and practices were very similar to others on campus who were more accepted as academics.

One could argue that the participants' perception of marginalization was due to the current environment in which the IEP instructors were waiting to learn if their positions would be terminated or if they would be transferred to a company contracted by the university to manage international student programs and IEP teaching. However, Martha and Anna's references to earlier advocacy to achieve pay equity and faculty status recognition supported the notion that instructors of ESOL had been lacking recognition for some time.

Amy, Anna, and Martha expressed concern that the students had been affected by the instructors' marginal status in the university because the students believed the instructors to have more influence than they did. For Amy, her conflict over whether to act as advisor or teacher was likely due to the marginalization of the IEP. Students in the IEP came to her wanting advice on majors and trusted her. According to Amy, they were not always comfortable accessing advising services from other departments on campus. In spite of her enthusiasm to help the students, she reported being uncomfortable assuming the PRI as advisor because it was not a formal job description or a recognized responsibility. Nevertheless, because she saw herself as one of the few contacts the international students had, she felt obligated to help them in exploring questions of majors and careers. She had to forge her own roles apart from the regular academic roles for an instructor. Martha noted that students overestimated her ability to advocate for them: "Even though we are willing to [advocate for students], because of our low prestige with administrators on campus, we may not have as much pull as [the students] wish we did." Anna was most disturbed about how the uncertain future of the IEP would affect students: "It tears me apart as a teacher and as a person because I don't want to lie to them...." Her concern was about how students would maintain continuity with instructors if the program transitioned to an outside company. The instructors were told not to discuss the uncertain future of the program with students.

The results of the grounded survey (see Appendix E) indicated that my interpretation of the participants' jobs as being marginalized may have differed from how the instructors would have described their experiences. The participants agreed with the statement "My work as an instructor of ESOL is appreciated by other university staff and faculty." I expected the respondents to disagree with this statement. One reason for the difference between the

participants' responses and my data category of "marginalization" could be due to how I phrased my question on the survey. The question asked for agreement with being appreciated by staff and faculty. The phrase "appreciation by staff and faculty" may not have elicited the sense of marginalization by administrators that was clearly described by participants during our interviews.

Summary

Data from semi-structured interviews and classroom observations revealed PRIs that instructors constructed in part from their personal and professional experiences in which they asserted their agency, i.e., identity trajectory. The data also showed narratives of experiences as learners, akin to apprenticeships of observation found among literature on novice teachers (Lortie, 1975). The instructors' reflections on their experiences as students provided rich descriptions of how their past and present professional role identities developed, especially in the classroom along the categories of PPK. I also used PPK which I believe the instructors had gained in previous communities of practice, as well as in their current ones of the classroom and IEP, to understand how they formed the current PRIs. Their knowledge of instruction informed many choices such as when to bring up controversial topics, correct errors, and encourage engagement. All areas of which helped informed their PRIs of classroom manager and the sub role of teacher of controversial topics.

My interpretation of the participants' narratives provided a myriad of PRIs. For example, I used the term "Preparer for the Academy" as a descriptor that combined several sub-roles from the main PRIs, such as guide, empathizer, and teacher for the TOEFL. Farrell (2011) mentioned the PRIs of guide and empathizer in his study, but he used what I interpreted as related terms of collaborator, social worker, and motivator. Unlike Farrell's study, my results contextualized the

instructors' knowledge and its formation within a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), the IEP of a university.

The participants' narratives also showed the influence of working in a department that the instructors perceived as lacking respect from peers and the institution. Three of the participants gave stories with pointed criticism of treatment by the university hierarchy. Yet, they maintained a strong sense of responsibility toward their students, even as their immediate community of practice, the IEP, was shifting from its location in the university to being under the direction of an outside company. In this context, many of these PRIs were being formed and (re)formed with an unsettled work environment. The data indicated the instructors keenly experienced a lack of visibility and respect from the university hierarchy and traditional academic units. Further, three of the four instructors felt the marginalization of their profession affected their teaching practices and relationships with students.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study focused on the narratives of experienced university instructors of ESOL as a way to understand their professional role identities (PRIs). Farrell (2011) noted that while much research had focused on the PRIs of novice teachers of ESOL, both native English-speaking and non-native English-speaking (e.g., Amin, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Varghese et al., 2005), less work has sought to understand the PRIs of experienced instructors of ESOL. Farrell (2011) wrote:

Understanding teacher professional role identity is an important aspect of supporting experienced language teachers as they engage in professional development because these role identities are central to the beliefs, assumptions, values, and practices that guide teacher actions both inside and outside the classroom. (p. 54)

Noting Farrell's mention of actions inside and outside the classroom, I emphasized context as an influential factor in instructors' PRIs. In this study, context was the instructors' community of practice: an intensive English program (IEP) of a major research university. Keeping this community of practice in mind, I collected narratives from the instructors in order to understand how they used their personal experiences to form their PRIs in a university setting.

Statement of the Problem

This study addressed the paucity of research concerning PRI formation of experienced university instructors of ESOL. Rich, detailed narratives of these instructors' PRIs and

experiences are not common in the literature. Those that are available (Farrell, 2011; Fraser, 2011) do not provide information on how the instructors enacted their roles in the classroom.

Experienced university instructors of ESOL have weathered difficult job markets and persisted in careers that are marked with uncertainty. According to Longmate (2010), the difficulty in finding full-time teaching positions for some TESOL professionals who want to continue a career in the field will prove to be too much. These individuals will leave the field for other types of jobs (Longmate, 2010). Eliciting experienced instructors' stories of developing PRIs will provide details of their perseverance in their profession.

This study also addresses concerns from national organizations that support the teaching of ESOL. In 2014, members of the TESOL International Association Research Agenda (IARA) underscored the importance of understanding ESL instructors' identities by calling for research on this construct among the domains of the individual, community, and society. The association's guiding board provided specific questions that explored the personal agency of ESL teachers. Among their questions, two are related to this study. First, what roles do teachers take in shaping their own professional development as language teaching professionals? Second, what motivational partnerships do teachers form with supervisors, peers, and/or language learners to develop classroom practice? (TESOL International Association, 2014). In my research, I addressed variations of these questions by concentrating on the narratives of experienced university instructors of ESOL as they negotiated their PRIs in a university's IEP. I planned my inquiry with the belief that teachers construct their identities and the knowledge and experiences that undergird them in a social context (Bruner, 1991). In order to connect the social with the personal, I looked at how the instructors' personal practical knowledge (PPK) influenced their understandings of professional experiences.

In addition to filling the gap of research in the literature, the information from this study offers suggestions that may shape the training of instructors of ESOL and add to the knowledge base from which mentors and trainers of novice instructors draw. By examining the link between instructors' PRIs and PPK in training programs, one can learn how university instructors of ESOL can build on their professional strengths. Through this process student learning will likely benefit.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how experienced university instructors of ESOL developed their PRIs. As Walkington (2005) noted:

Teacher educators, whether they are university lecturers/tutors or mentoring teachers in the workplace, must seek to continually encourage the formation of a teacher identity by facilitating pre-service teacher activity that empowers them to explicitly build upon and challenge their experiences and beliefs. (p. 63)

Walkington's reference to teachers' identities is firmly rooted in their professional development. I view his discussion of teacher identity as leading to questions about specific professional role identities rather than questions about broad categories of teacher identity.

Drawing on Walkington's recommendations for teacher educators, I sought to understand how experienced instructors' knowledge from previous academic and professional experiences influenced their formations as teachers and their concomitant expressions of PRIs. To this end, I focused on obtaining narratives that reflected their experiences as learners, a process akin to apprenticeships of observation among K-12 teachers (Lortie, 1975), and academic and career trajectories (McAlpine, 2012; McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). By emphasizing the history of the instructors' PRIs, I also brought attention to their personal practical knowledge as it informed

their roles in the classroom (Clandinin, 2013; Elbaz, 1983; Golombek, 1998; Yanez-Pinto, 2014).

Research Questions

This study addressed the following question: How do experienced university instructors of ESOL construct their professional role identities? Three additional questions expanded on the main research question:

1. What are the professional role identities of experienced university instructors of ESOL?
2. How did past experiences influence the instructors' professional role identities?
3. How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

I iterated these questions during semi-structured interviews, in my observations of instructors in their classrooms, and in my data analysis and reporting.

Overview of Findings

I present this summary of research according to the research question and describe how the data fit with other research findings in the literature. To support my categorization of PRIs and related PPK, I recount salient examples from the participants' narratives.

Research Sub-question 1: What are the Professional Role Identities of Experienced University Instructors of ESOL?

A myriad of PRIs emerged from the data in answer to this question. The first broad term I used to describe the PRIs of the instructors was classroom manager. Within this PRI, the instructors enacted the sub-roles of guide, record keeper/negotiator, and technology user by using PPK. A second PRI that emerged was Preparer for the University/Academy. The sub-roles of

this category included guide, empathizer, preparer for the TOEFL, and teacher of controversial topics. These sub-roles offered detailed insight into the instructors' daily professional experiences and showed how the instructors relied on their PPK, which often originated from their work as members of the university, to make instructional decisions. A final PRI was advocate. As advocate, the instructors involved themselves in social justice advocacy at sites within and outside the academy. While I did not find sub-roles of advocate, I did distinguish related activities outside the university from those within it. The former required the instructor to interact with community agencies other than the university, while the latter was solely campus based.

To provide detailed descriptions of instructors' PRIs, I sought to understand their backgrounds and their participation in communities of practice. When exploring PRIs, I used the framework of PPK to categorize the instructors' experiences as learners, teachers, and members of the university's IEP. Throughout, I found that participants used their PPK from communities of practice, both current and past, to enact their PRIs.

Elbaz (1983) first proposed the notion of PPK. Clandinin and Connelly (1987) expanded on the idea in their studies of primary and secondary teachers. Later, Golombek (1998), Tsang (2004), and Yanez-Pinto (2014) applied PPK to second language teachers. In this study, I coded the experiences of the instructors according to Golombek's four areas of PPK: knowledge of context, instruction, self, and subject. All four categories were present, each to varying degrees, in the narratives provided by the four participants and in their interpretations of their actions in the classroom. In addition, I added the category of knowledge of students.

I initially made the decision to add knowledge of students as a category due to Yanez-Pinto's (2014) findings which showed that both inexperienced and experienced graduate

teaching assistants in Spanish drew on knowledge of students more than any other category. However, other researchers had found this category as well (Shulman, 1983; Sen, 2002; Yanez-Pinto, 2014). Knowledge of students naturally emerged as a category as I analyzed data of the experienced instructors. This was expected given my focus on enactment of PRIs and formation of PPK as occurring in communities of practice. Furthermore, like Varghese et al. (2005), I considered the classroom as an essential community of practice to instructors' understanding of how their PRIs developed.

These categories of PPK led my data collection and analysis as *a priori* codes. Drawing on Clandinin and Connelly (1987) for an interpretive framework, I used PPK to understand instructors' PRIs as expressed in their narratives. Golombek (1998) linked PPK to the narratives of instructors of ESOL. She wrote, "... teachers' knowledge interacts with and is reshaped by the reconstruction of their experiences through stories" (p. 448). Thus, instructors' narratives allowed insight into how they relied on their personal experiences to enact their PRIs.

In this study it was important to relate the instructors' stories of their past lives as students, teachers, and learners. I argue that the instructors' experiences as learners, from grade school to graduate school and later as teachers, emerged in their narratives as multiple voices from previous teachers, advisors, colleagues, and students who guided them within and outside the classrooms. These voices formed a community of practice that shaped PRIs through the narratives the teachers lived and told themselves.

Three tables follow. Table 9 is from Farrell (2011) and contains the PRIs he found in his study of three experienced university instructors of ESOL in Canada. Table 10 shows the PRIs I found in this study and my definitions and related categories of PPK. Table 11 shows how I coded data under the categories of PPK and provides examples of PPK that I gleaned from the

study. In the discussion that follows the tables, I describe the instructors' PRIs through categories of PPK and experiences as learners and teachers.

Table 9

Taxonomy of Experienced ESL Teachers' Role Identity (Farrell, 2011, p. 57)

Farrell's (2011) Roles	Definition
Teacher as Manager	Attempt to control everything that happens in classroom
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vendor • Entertainer • Communication controller • Juggler • Motivator • Presenter • Arbitrator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A seller of 'learning' of English: 'selling' a particular teaching method • Tells jokes & stories to class • Attempts to control classroom communication and classroom interaction dynamics (turn taking etc.) • Multi-tasker in the classroom • Motivates students to learn; keeps students on task • Delivers information • Offers feedback (positive & negative) in classroom
Teacher as 'Acculturator'	Helps students get accustomed to life outside class
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Socializer' • Social Worker • Care provider 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Socializes" with students; attends functions outside class with students • Offers advice and support to students on matters related to living in another country/culture • Plays care provider role for students
Teacher as Professional	Teachers dedicated to their work; take it seriously
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborator • Learner • Knowledgeable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Works & shares with other teachers • Continuously seeks knowledge about teaching & self as teacher • Knowledgeable about teaching and subject matter

Table 10

Taxonomy of Professional Role Identities and Related Categories of Personal Practical

Knowledge of Experienced University Instructors of ESOL

PRI of Instructors at South Tech University	Definitions and Most Closely Related Categories of Personal Practical Knowledge
Learner	Refers to instructors' experiences as students and their memories of their teachers.
Classroom Manager <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improviser/adaptor • Record Keeper • User of technology 	Offers guidance and leadership to keep the class on task and motivated. Solves problems that disrupt these goals (knowledge of context, instruction, self, students, and subject). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assuming a new direction, role, or technique in the classroom in response to a change in dynamic with students (primarily knowledge of context, instruction, self, and subject). • Keeps record of students' attendance and grades (primarily knowledge of context-policy, instruction, and students-their motivation). • Uses smart phones, email, classroom computers to communicate with students about classroom behavior, tardiness, subject matter and class plans (primarily knowledge of students, context, and instruction).
Preparer for the Academy	Prepares students to succeed in a college or university. This PRI may involve teaching students how to navigate the organizational and academic challenges of studying in a college or university (primarily knowledge of context, instruction, self, students, and subject).

PRIs of Instructors at South Tech University **Definitions and Most Closely Related Categories of Personal Practical Knowledge**

- Guide
 - Indicates a desire to help students discover knowledge. Directs students to resources and leads them in problem solving. It was process of not giving the answers to students but showing them how to obtain those answers independently (primarily knowledge of context, instruction, and students).

- Empathizer
 - Shows instructors’ attempts to put themselves in the place of their students to understand what they are experiencing. They often do this by drawing on their own personal and practical experiences (primarily knowledge of context, self, and students).

- Preparer for the TOEFL
 - Shows awareness of the demands that this test places on students as they continue their education (primarily knowledge of context, students, and subject).

- Teacher of Controversial Topics
 - Refers to how the instructor handled topics that elicited debate or discomfort among their students. These topics often dealt with political concerns that were occurring in the United States that arose as topics in the classroom (primarily knowledge of context, instruction, self, and students).

- Advocate
 - Offers support and takes action on behalf of current and former students to address a problem when they perceive a student is being treated unfairly by a system such as the university or outside agency (primarily knowledge of context, students, and self). Occasionally relies on knowledge of subject (Amy’s advocacy for incarcerated student) and knowledge of instruction (applying pedagogical techniques to increase students’ motivation to perform academically).

Note. Main categories of knowledge for each PRI are in parentheses following the definitions.

Table 11

Definitions from Codebook on Each Domain of Personal Practical Knowledge

Types of Knowledge	Definitions and Related Categories of Personal Practical Knowledge
Knowledge of Context	Evident in teaching students methods for succeeding in a college or university. This area of knowledge involved teaching students how to navigate the organizational and professional challenges of studying in a college or university. An example of this category was knowledge of university and IEP policy.
Knowledge of Instruction	Used to code when instructors explicitly explained using a particular methodology or when they explained their reasons for teaching in a particular way.. Knowledge of specific pedagogical methods, such as communicative language teaching and task based language teaching, to knowledge of instruction.
Knowledge of Self	Used to code when instructor reflected on self-characteristics such as personality traits, beliefs, emotions, teaching style, background. Relates to questioning and knowing boundaries with students, as in advocacy.
Knowledge of Students	Used to code references to knowledge about students' affective or cognitive traits, students' culture, students' motivations, and students' concerns.

Types of Knowledge	Definitions and Related Categories of Personal Practical Knowledge
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Knowledge of Subject	Used to code for teachers' comments about knowledge of English grammar, writing, listening, reading, or speaking. Least likely to overlap with other knowledge categories except instruction.
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Note. Categories of knowledge appear in alphabetical order

Classroom manager. How the instructors negotiated the demands of classroom manager was idiosyncratic. Anna assumed the PRIs of record keeper and negotiator in enacting the larger umbrella descriptor of classroom manager, and she did so with the aim of appealing to the students' sense of community in the classroom; whereas Martha, Amy, and John tried to accommodate the students by enacting the sub-role of improviser/adaptor.

Some research has focused on the social and occupational contexts for university instructors' professional identities. Haamer et al. (2012) found that the longer instructors taught (at least five years) the more they esteemed didactic knowledge and communication skills as characteristics of ideal teachers. Instructors formed these ideals in part from working with other colleagues (Haamer et al., 2012). Similarly, Lave (1991) and Wenger (1998) found that communities of practice shaped PRIs and knowledge of individuals in a work setting. In the PRI of classroom manager, the data from this study indicated the influence of the instructors' community of practice in their knowledge of context and knowledge of students.

Regarding context, instructors knew the demands that policies of the university and IEP placed on their students and them. However, their knowledge of context at times conflicted with their knowledge of students. Amy and John taught classes in which students did not receive a grade on their transcripts. As instructors, they knew the students' motivation levels ebbed and flowed. Drawing on knowledge of students and context, they had to engage students without recourse to affect their behavior by lowering their grades. Likewise, Anna's class was a pass/fail course, but it was required by the company assuming direction of the IEP. All of Anna's students were members of the company's program. They were working to pass entrance assessments of their English in order to study at South Tech University. In this setting, Anna had

to meet curricular goals designed by an outside organization, and she was unable to influence the students' behavior through grades.

In this conflicted setting, Anna enacted her roles of negotiator and record keeper by drawing on her PPK to engage students. In one class, she faced the problem of a group of students being unengaged and talking among themselves at a volume that disrupted the class. First, she warned the students, and when that failed, she negotiated by appealing to their sense of responsibility to class. She reported that in her discussions with students she acknowledged their lack of interest but told them firmly that their behavior could not continue as it disrupted the learning of others. Anna showed her knowledge of students, particularly their desire to show and receive respect from their peers, when she appealed to their sense of community as a way to encourage less disruptive behavior. She worked to keep the students engaged even though they knew she could not affect their grades. As a record keeper, she also removed points from their participation grade, although it was unlikely to affect their final pass/fail status or motivate them to change their behavior. However, in this role, she was able to point to the students' attendance and participation to underscore their need for improvement.

Martha dealt with late-comers to class by waiting until a few minutes before each class and then sending a group e-mail to students in which she outlined the class's activities. Using her knowledge of students, particularly their habits of checking phones, she enacted the PRI of technology user to help latecomers and unengaged students to catch up on classroom activities. Knowledge of context and knowledge of self also informed Martha's actions in this role. She knew that the context of studying in a university would require self-sufficiency in learning as other instructors and future professors would not be as accommodating as she. Drawing on knowledge of self, she remained committed to her personal values by avoiding the role of

disciplinarian, a role that made her uncomfortable and conflicted with her beliefs about teaching adults. Instead of that role, she chose to use technology as one way to manage the classroom.

Both John and Amy taught lower level classes in which most students were working to improve their English skills to pass admission tests to colleges and universities. As instructors at these levels, they could not affect the students' motivation by use of grades. In response they became improvisers and adaptors. In the classes that I observed, John and Amy began promptly with less than half of the students present. John began two classes with only one student in the room. He wrote his lesson plans on the board and decided to teach the one student. When I asked him about this decision, he drew on his knowledge of students, specifically their learning needs, in explaining that the student present deserved the lesson and should not lose instruction because of the absence of other students. One could also argue that knowledge of self was evident in how he felt responsible for continuing instruction to one student, a use of PPK that was moral (Golombek, 1998). In Amy's class, when students were late, she stalled by drawing on knowledge of instruction and subject in improvising a communicative activity. She told me in our debriefing interview that she made up the activity on the spot to allow the students to practice a grammar point from the previous day while waiting for the other students to arrive.

Amy was also a user of technology, recalling how she would send e-mails to students asking them to arrive to class promptly out of respect for the others. In doing this, she enacted the PRI of classroom manager. Her knowledge of students, particularly their preference for electronic communication instead of face-to-face confrontation, informed this role.

In the above descriptions of PRIs, the instructors drew on knowledge of context, instruction, self, and students to manage classroom engagement. To a lesser degree they relied on knowledge of subject, and when they did so, it was as a medium for expressing other

knowledge. The instructors were committed to carrying out the policies reified in the curriculum goals set by the IEP and university and the company that was assuming management for the IEP. Thus, knowledge of context was particularly evident in their decision making as policy changes were more prominent in their community of practice than at other times.

Freeman (2002) noted the importance of context knowledge in his review of language teacher knowledge. In his study, context was the most salient area of knowledge that informed the decisions of these instructors as classroom managers, although the knowledge of instruction, self, and students also influenced the instructors' classroom behavior. Department and university policy, as expressed in curriculum goals, influenced the instructors' enactments of PRI as classroom managers when grades were not a motivator for students and students were not self-motivated to learn.

Preparer for the academy. Because most students in the IEP were working to improve their English skills to enter an academic program, the instructors made decisions to help the students achieve this goal by enacting various PRIs related to preparer for the academy and university. They did so as providers of a service to the students *and the university*, as noted in the writings of Auerbach (1991). Breashears (2004) described the position of instructors of ESOL as falling on the spectrum “between unskilled workers and highly trained professionals” (p. 22). Crandall (1993) recognized that instructors of ESOL for adults operated in a context in which “full-time positions are rare, resources are scarce, and turnover is high” (p. 497). In light of this tenuous work environment, Crandall argued for continued support to develop a professional identity through professional development. In this study and others (e.g., Farrell, 2011; Fraser, 2011), it was evident that shifting demands from students and the university made enactments of PRIs contingent in nature. The instructors enacted PRIs associated with student

services provider, e.g., empathizer, guide, and advocate, in most cases to prepare the student for work in the university. Preparer for the academy as an umbrella term gives shape to what would otherwise be an amorphous professional identity.

Preparer for the academy is not a term of convenience for promoting prestige of the profession of instructor of ESOL. It is a central component of instructors' professional duties. I argue that preparer for the academy is an image (Clandinen, 2013; Golombek, 1998) that emphasizes the multidisciplinary knowledge and academic "street smarts" or survival knowledge required by the instructors' practices in response to students' needs. Preparer for the university merges the instructors' PRIs with their knowledge gained from experiences *within the university*, both as students and instructors.

In choosing this PRI as a descriptor, I go a bit further in detail than Auerbach (1991) who noted an ESL instructor's work was more akin to training than educating. Within the post-secondary setting Auerbach saw language as a tool, "a set of decontextualized skills to be mastered as a precondition for access" (p. 1). Her characterization of the PRIs of instructors of ESOL as teachers of skills is accurate in that it does describe what sometimes occurs in the classroom of an IEP. However, my characterizations came from looking at the instructors as members of a community of practice through the lens of personal practical knowledge. Doing so showed the complexity of being a preparer for the academy in its sub-roles of guide, empathizer, preparer for the TOEFL, and teacher of controversial topics. It also situated the instructor as a professional as argued for by Crandall (1993). According to the data, there were a number of instances when instructors enacted preparer for the academy and its sub-roles by drawing on knowledge of context, instruction, students, self, and subject (PPK).

Showing knowledge of context, students, and subject, John recognized the demands that studying for tests such as the TOEFL and the GRE placed on students and understood students' absences at certain times during the term. On another occasion, he showed knowledge of instruction, self, and subject when he brought his own graduate research paper from a master's level class in literature to show the students how he constructed an argument in a research project. He knew from experience (knowledge of self) that the process of writing a lengthy research paper (knowledge of instruction and subject) would be daunting for students without an example (knowledge of students and instruction). Similarly, Anna used her knowledge of self when recounting her experience of losing an important citation during the writing of her master's thesis. Also using knowledge of context and instruction, she told this cautionary tale to the future graduate students in her class out of hope that they would keep detailed records in the research process. In addition, her context knowledge in this situation was evident in her familiarity of university academic practices and the habits of some students in writing research projects.

Drawing on their knowledge of subject, Anna and Martha recognized that learning academic English was another linguistic demand on students of ESOL. (See Woodward-Kron, 2008 for descriptions of learning disciplinary language.) Using her knowledge of students, Martha was well aware that the students faced research demands, even over spring break, in the sciences due to data collection required by their experiments. Moreover, her knowledge of context led her to teach students about university policies, such as the binding agreement of a syllabus and guidelines on plagiarism. In another instance, Amy showed her understanding of students, particularly their lack of motivation, by bringing in a former student of the IEP who had gained admittance to the university to talk about the daily realities of his experience as a full-

time student. The impetus for this was her knowledge of students and context, i.e. being unmotivated and facing a demanding future in an academic community. She wanted to encourage the students who seemed bored and unsure of their academic futures (knowledge of students and context).

Advocate. The stories of advocacy formed the heart of the narratives. Research has shown advocacy to be an essential professional activity for teachers of ESOL at the elementary and secondary levels (Nieto, 2010). For the participants in this study, advocacy came in their actions of working for social justice and fair treatment within and outside the university. Anderson (2008) found similar actions among the PRIs of community college instructors as expressed in roles of care giving. She noted that the instructors worked to help the students adjust and navigate the academic demands of study in a U.S. community college. However, unlike Anderson's findings, mine showed specific and detailed descriptions related to social justice advocacy in addition to academic advocacy.

Both Amy and Anna were at times mediators between the community outside the university and their students. Amy's experience was primarily with the legal system, while Anna worked on behalf of students with university lawyers, administrators and health care providers off campus. Relying on her knowledge of self, Amy described the conflicted feelings she held about her work as an instructor when she undertook the PRI of advocate for a student who was jailed and later exonerated. She still wondered about her role as advocate and how it fit with her role as teacher, but she was resolute that she had followed her conscience in her actions. Anna used her knowledge of context, specifically the legal, medical, and academic systems, to advocate for a student who had serious difficulties coping with the pressure of final exams. She found the process to be stressful and frustrating, especially in dealing with administrators who

did not know the personal details of the student who was struggling. Yet, she persisted as an advocate.

John talked of giving his students a second chance to learn. He told stories of trying to understand students' personal problems that interfered with their success. However, he manifested his PRI of advocate in work outside the IEP when he taught English for health care to migrant workers. Interestingly, this experience did not stand separately from the university. In fact, he enfolded his advocacy work back into his academic life by presenting the experience at conferences with a collaborating outreach worker from the university's outreach center.

Martha, who was reluctant to describe herself as a social justice advocate but was open to the description of advocate for students, often worked within the academy to help students, international scholars, and professors. Drawing on her knowledge of subject, in one instance she advised an assistant professor who was a non-native English speaker to respond to negative reviews by working with him to develop a guide that helped students understand his pronunciation of words, which he handed out in his classes. Using her knowledge of context, she empowered future international teaching assistants in their work as teachers and students by explaining to them that university policy meant that syllabi effectively represented a contract between instructors and students. Furthermore, she also advised teaching assistants to avoid meeting alone with their students after hours or without a colleague nearby. Her advice came from knowing about international teaching assistants who had faced accusations and complaints that seemed to her to be unfair and avoidable. In Martha's class for international teaching assistants, she drew on her PPK, particularly her knowledge of subject and context, to give students the practical knowledge to advocate for themselves.

Research Sub-question 2: How did instructors construct their professional role identities?

Personal practical knowledge. To answer the second research question, I interpreted the participants' experiences through the lens of the construct of personal practical knowledge (PPK). This study's contribution to the field of second language teacher education is its examination of the connection between PRIs and personal practical knowledge among *experienced university instructors of ESOL* within the United States.

Personal practical knowledge for the profession of teaching has been written about extensively (e.g., Borg, 2004; Clandinin, 1985; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987; Connelly et al., 1997; Elbaz, 1983; Van Driel et al., 2001). Researchers have given less focus to the connection between PRIs and PPK in studying training programs and early practice for teachers of second languages (Arioğul, 2007; Golombek, 1998; Tsang, 2004; Yanez-Pinto, 2014). In the case of second language teaching, these previous studies discussed personal practical knowledge as part of teachers' cognitive knowledge. Professional identity was not a focus although classroom "image" was in Golombek's 1998 study.

Personal practical knowledge is a way for instructors to articulate their "experiential history, both personal and professional" (Clandinin, 2013, p. 68). The PRI of an instructor is akin to Clandinin's (2013) idea of image. Image offers the researcher and teacher a link between classroom observational data collected by the researcher to the teacher's interpretation of that data. As Clandinin (2013) stated:

The key idea ... is of image as an experiential construct. It is a term which reflexively links the person to her practice at one level and, at another level, offers the potential of making links between participant observation data on individual teachers with ideas about teachers in general. (p. 74)

PRIs, like Clandinin's images, were a way for the participants in this study to negotiate categories of descriptors that best fit their experiences as instructors. They also served as springboards to the instructors' recollections of their PPK.

In analyzing the data, I found it difficult to distinguish between knowledge of subject matter and knowledge of pedagogy. Nieto (2010) noted that the curriculum or subject matter was the "what" of the identities and the pedagogy was the "why" and "how" (p. 172). With subject matter being the English language, the participants' reliance on knowledge of subject naturally informed all their PRIs, but how they acted on this knowledge was most evident in their pedagogical choices, which were eclectic. Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2013) described the lengthy history of different and sometimes competing methodologies and their application in the classroom. Martel (2012) noted how second language teachers often changed role identities according to their pedagogical choices and the pressures around those choices from teacher trainers and classroom demands. I suggest that the PRI of preparer for the academy is an identity that may allow the instructors to bridge pedagogical conflicts in a way that draws on the context of university work.

In a sense, preparer for the academy allows the instructors to draw on their knowledge of context, the university, and use it as content and subject in the classroom. One could argue that the context became part of a content-based instructional approach as described by Kaspar (1997). Kaspar et al. (2000) noted:

College ESL students need instruction that will facilitate the development of their English language skills to enable them to meet requisite levels of linguistic proficiency quickly. This instruction must also prepare these students to enter and to succeed in mainstream college courses. (p.viii)

Just as instructors of second language use content-based instruction to teach an academic subject in the target language, the instructors of ESOL in this study sometimes used preparation for university study as a subject in their classrooms. The students read syllabi, regulations and policies, style books, and experiences of other students. On the part of the instructors, preparation for university study informed their pedagogy and was seen in their actions of teaching written and oral communication skills.

A counterargument to the notion of university as text is that the instructors were intuitively teaching two types of language proficiencies. This idea aligns with Cummins (2008) who described second language learning in K–12 bilingual education as involving basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). Another interpretation is that the use of the university as a subject was a response by the instructors to encountering different language learning strategies among the students, a topic explored in-depth by Oxford and Erhman (1995) and Hong-Nam and Leavell (2006).

In the regard to the latter explanation, learning strategies, the instructors may have been responding to students who favored cognitive, social, or metacognitive learning strategies. I may have misinterpreted what were pedagogical actions and decisions as being indicative of a larger PRI of preparer for the academy. For instance, Amy knew that a careful explanation of a grammatical rule and its application was at times necessary for many of her students. She also reported trying to make the language authentic and useful. In this situation, preparer for the academy does not apply. She was likely responding to students' needs in the moment. John also described working to make language authentic and, at the same time, acknowledged the need for explicit grammar explanations. He referred to his interest in applying “principled eclecticism” in his approach to teaching second languages. Here, John may have been acting solely on his

pedagogical knowledge and not his role as preparer for the university. Indeed, Salomone (1998) found conflict around these pedagogical approaches among international teaching assistants of second languages. Tsui (2007) did as well in her study of a teacher of English in Taiwan.

According to my interpretation, the participants' recollections of their pedagogical choices of emphasizing grammar or communicative competence originated from their knowledge of students and contexts, both of which were anchored in their experiences in the university. Martha and Anna taught advanced students who took a class oriented specifically to prepare as academic writers and teaching assistants. In their practice, it was easier to contextualize work as preparer for the academy. Yet, both used specific grammatical terms in their teaching. In deciding to do so, they used their PPK. Martha helped students with pronunciation, explaining how to make certain sounds with the mouth. She knew the students would need to improve pronunciation in order to be understood. Anna pointed out the problem with run-on sentences. She worked individually with the students to correct this issue and learn the rule for using commas in English writing. All of these actions were carried out with the goal of preparing the students for life in the university.

In support of my assertion of the centrality of the role of preparer for the university/academy, my member check using the grounded surveys (Appendix E) showed all participants rated their enactment of the PRI "preparer for university/college study" as occurring frequently or all the time while interacting with students inside and outside the classroom. Indicating their PPK in their understanding of this role, they also agreed or strongly agreed with the statements "I make decisions in the classroom based on my experiences as an undergraduate or a graduate student." These participants' responses support the idea that preparer for the university/academy was a felicitous interpretation that relied on the instructors' PPK. However, two questions

remain. One, it is not clear the degree to what degree this role was accepted by the instructors' students. Future work should consider the influence of learning strategies and cultural expectations of students on the PRIs of instructors. Two, conflict over pedagogical approaches and identity cannot always be sufficiently reduced by the PRI of preparer for the university/academy. More research can clarify the degree that the activity of academic preparation plays in the role identities of instructors of ESOL.

Research Sub-question 3: How are the experienced instructors still negotiating their professional role identities?

PRIs are ongoing negotiations for experienced instructors and rely foremost on the instructor's knowledge of self. Narrative inquiry, as I used it in this study, reflects an epistemological approach that requires knowledge of self. By the act of recounting their experiences, the instructors had some understanding of when and how they experienced their PRIs. In the classroom, this negotiation was tacit but nonetheless an enactment of their PRIs. The instructors transitioned seamlessly from improviser to user of technology and often combined the PRIs. However, conflicts sometimes emerged. Knowledge of students created tension for the instructors as they negotiated assigned tasks in light of their understandings of students' needs. For example, the instructors knew the importance of the TOEFL for the students; yet their understanding of best practices meant contextualizing grammar and teaching toward communicative competence rather than teaching discrete grammar points as required by the TOEFL.

The instructors negotiated these conflicting demands through a dialectical process. Sometimes they taught grammar explicitly using the present, practice, and produce methodology. At other times, especially in classes oriented toward speaking and listening, they used task-based

approaches more in line with communicative activities. The PRI that seemed to consider the conflicting demands of the curriculum and the students' needs was preparer for the academy. In classroom practice the instructors enacted this PRI in the sub-roles of guide, empathizer, and teacher of controversial topics. Instructors formed these roles primarily from knowledge of context, self, and students, which were knowledge domains that complemented instructors' knowledge of instruction and subject in forming PRIs.

At the time of this study, the IEP had been and was a site for negotiating role identity. However, instructors' PRIs became problematic for them when they felt their knowledge and positions were under-appreciated by the academic community. They experienced doubt about whether they would be able to continue in the role of instructor of ESOL. Martha reflected the feelings of the other participants, particularly Amy and Anna, when she noted:

ESL programs and writing centers in particular are often ghettoized. So it's kind of not uncommon as it is sad. Because without any ESL program, many universities couldn't function as well because they rely so much on international student enrollment which is a service to the university.

Martha's comments echoed those of Auerbach (1991) and Breshears (2004) who described teachers of ESOL as providing a service. Pennington (2015) connected the lack of prestige often given to the instructors with their lack of affiliation with an academic department. In their PRIs, the participants in this study perceived that other members of the academy, in both academic departments and administration, did not appreciate the work and contributions they as instructors of ESOL made to the academic community.

Implications

In enacting their PRIs in the classroom, the participants showed similarity to elementary teachers who have more than a cursory knowledge about all fields and combine this broad subject matter knowledge with pedagogy. Concerning elementary teachers, Freeman (2002) noted that teaching the students was primary and teaching the subject secondary. He asserted that the reverse was true in high school teaching. While this explanation offers a facile description of teaching at the different educational levels, perhaps the university instructors of ESOL evidenced more of a balance between teaching students and subject in their PRIs (e.g., guide, empathizer, and preparer for the TOEFL) than other post-secondary teachers who are members of an academic discipline. Thus, knowledge and experiences used to prepare K–12 ESL instructors can be employed for training post-secondary instructors of ESOL and vice versa.

The data also suggested the roles may be fitting for an approach that looks at IEP instructors as practitioners of andragogy. Andragogy is a term used by Malcom Knowles (1970) to describe adult learning. One of the key ideas of andragogy is self-directed learning (SDL) (Knowles, 1975). Asserting that a tendency to be self-directed separated the adult learner from the child learner, Knowles situated adult learning as part of adults' everyday lives. The adult learner acts from her or his own initiative. Knowles (1975) described SDL as the “process in which individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes” (p. 18).

The instructors in this study showed roles that responded to the students' need to be self-directed learners. The PRI of preparer for the academy/university and its sub-roles of empathizer

and guide along with the PRI of classroom manager and its sub-roles of record keeper/negotiator and user of technology reveal that the instructors were not directing the students' learning but facilitating it. Wanting to treat the students as adults, the instructors avoided direct interventions and worked to remind the students in non-confrontational ways that learning English would help them meet their academic goals. Grover, Miller, Swearingen, and Wood (2014) discussed the self-directed learning behavior of adult ESL students and found they initiated their own learning activities of watching English programs, making friends with English speakers, practicing English at work, using electronics such as phones and tablets, and spending time with an English-speaking person. Being aware of the needs of the students to initiate their own learning and the avenues in which they do so were concerns of the participants in this study. However, in regard to the findings of this research, a question remains about how the students' learning style and cultural beliefs about classroom learning affect the practice of andragogy in a university's IEP.

Some questions have arisen around the idea of the instructor of ESOL as a vendor (Farrell, 2011) and customer service provider. With regard to Pennington's (2015) frames approach, the economic frame would support a PRI as a customer service provider. However, the instructors in this study did not explicitly describe their PRIs as relating to vendor or customer service provider, preferring terms such as mentor and guide. Two participants flatly rejected the terms.

Walker (2014) explored the tension and challenges that ESL teachers face when working in the private sector in English language teaching enterprises. These enterprises, according to Walker, combined the goals of educating according to professional and ethical standards (where there are systems of regulation and oversight) with the goal of profitability. Walker made strong

arguments for ESL teachers working in private teaching enterprises with the proviso that they maintain best practices and ethical boundaries. Writing about the changing nature of the field of teaching ESL, Walker contextualized the job of ESL teacher as having much "...in common with colleagues in other fields of education, including some that are within the jurisdiction of public sector educational authorities..." (p. 168). Furthermore, he noted that "ESOL teachers are increasingly required to operate in contexts that are market oriented" (p. 168).

His comments are pertinent to this study as the instructors were working in an environment in which their jobs were transitioning from a public university to a private company. In fact, they had known about the transition, although not the specifics of the timing or their exact nature of their future employment, for more than a year. Having worked in such uncertainty, it is reasonable to assume that they had questioned how a business model in higher education was affecting them and even how they might market their program to remain independent. Indicative of this state was Anna's comment in which she referred to the commodification of education as a concern that affected her in the classroom.

Walker's discussion only hinted at the question of boundaries and identities of teachers who engage in work with commercial teacher centers and suggested that a business and market oriented identity could be a helpful component of the identities of instructors of ESOL. Notably, the participants in this study rejected the role of vendor or customer service provider, a finding common in literature on the subject of university students as consumer that has shown academics and support staff reluctant to view students as customers (Franz, 1998; Obermiller, Fleenor, & Raven, 2005; Pittman, 2000). Svensson and Wood (2007) cautioned against the use of customer as a descriptor for university students, suggesting instead that students be viewed as citizens of the university.

Language, as it relates to the role of the instructors and students as producer and product, is a contentious matter as it frames the discussion of PRIs in relation to for-profit settings. The instructors saw themselves as providing qualities associated with good customer service—empathy, guide, and advocate—yet refused the term of vendor or customer service provider. The use of this terminology indicates a view that learning English was anchored in an academic setting, with the instructors resisting an identity that conjured ideas of a business. Research that focuses on students' perceptions of experienced instructors of ESOL may explain how the term vendor and customer service provider affects both positively and negatively students and instructors understandings of roles. Furthermore, studies that focus on the cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of the students as they interact with their instructors could portray their roles of consumer and service provider, respectively, in greater relief.

In keeping with narrative inquiry, I wish to end this study with a look to the future of our protagonists/participants. The instructors indicated conflict about their future as instructors and possible shifts in PRI; however, this conflict was likely due to the upcoming outsourcing of IEP to a private company. Their future employment was uncertain. This status is emblematic of the instructors' positions at the margins of the university. At the time I completed this research, Anna had left the IEP program and returned to graduate school to pursue her Ph.D. to “have a place” at the table. Martha was negotiating several options to work in either the university or with the company taking over the IEP. Amy was doing the same but faced issues over sponsorship for a work visa, as she contemplated working for the private company. A possible full-time position with the university did not present problems for her work status, therefore she was pursuing that option, even though it would not involve classroom teaching. John was finishing his Ph.D. and continuing to work as an instructor to help the remaining IEP students to

transition to the private company's program or to colleges and universities as fully admitted students. He was debating whether to search for positions in the United States or to return to his home country to teach English and train other teachers in his field.

Limitations of Study

I conducted this study over a three to four-month period. Longer engagement would have increased the confirmability and credibility of the research. As is, this study is a snapshot, albeit a detailed one, of the instructors' PRIs. Observing over an academic year would allow more opportunities to capture the rhythms particular to the instructors' teaching and their response to changes in the classroom and work environment.

Because the results of this study were from in-depth interviews with four experienced instructors at a southeastern research university, they are not transferable to other institutions or settings. I would expect that descriptions of PRIs would differ greatly among instructors in private companies, private colleges, and two-year institutions. The differences would likely be evident in the community of practice because of factors such as organizational structure and economic demands. The fact that participants would soon be working for a private company influenced how the instructors viewed their experiences. Likewise, a settled and secure work environment would likely elicit different responses to my questions and the participants' understandings of their PRIs.

The identity labels and descriptions of knowledge, while based in previous research, were arbitrary to the extent that the participants embraced or rejected them. In short, this limitation is one of how the participants used language to describe their experiences. Each participant saw himself or herself in a different way, and, therefore, they used different labels to describe similar

ideas. For instance, three participants described how they only somewhat related to the PRI of advisor, but John rejected this role descriptor, preferring one that connoted empathizer. For him, advisor did not fit with how he understood the term and its relationship to his actions in the classroom.

Teacher knowledge may be interpreted differently if a theoretical construct other than personal practical knowledge is used. Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) (Shulman, 1983) would not necessarily include the biographical details of participants. In this study, my aim was to connect the personal experiences and knowledge of the participants to their PRIs. Thus, the results and interpretations would vary through a different theoretical lens.

Recommendations for Future Research

More qualitative studies are needed that focus on instructors in intensive English programs in college and universities. Such studies should consider how the hierarchy of the academic environment influences the ways that instructors enact and understand PRIs (Pennington, 2015). For example, IEPs in private companies or ESL instruction programs at community colleges would likely provide data that differ from those in the academic hierarchy of four year colleges and universities.

Research is also needed that focuses specifically on how programs of ESOL assign PRIs related to teaching and student affairs and the reasons for doing so. Do instructors hold to these PRIs or do they experience conflict as they relinquish involvement with students' personal issues to colleagues who specialize primarily in student services? A focus on how instructors of ESOL create boundaries between the professional actions as instructors and student advisors would be helpful in understanding the professional responsibilities that emerge in their careers. Moreover,

understanding the role of PPK in this negotiation process would add clarity to understanding conflicts experienced by instructors around their PRIs.

Future studies of post-secondary instructors of ESOL should incorporate the instructors' small narratives as suggested by Vásquez (2011). These narratives would rely on discussions with office mates, meetings with other staff and instructors, and e-mail exchanges to gain a more intimate and less structured view into how instructors enact the PRI daily. While not approved for this study, department e-mail discussions could have provided insight into PRIs and the university as a community of practice that informed how the instructors dealt with teaching issues around grammatical points and the teaching of writing.

Moreover, I recommend that future qualitative studies of instructors of ESOL be conducted over a longer period to capture subtle changes in their PRIs and use of PPK. This would be particularly helpful in observing novice instructors as they transition to experienced instructors. Such a study could incorporate an analysis of small group reflections like those conducted by Farrell (2011).

Finally, future work should focus on obtaining quantitative data. One possible route for this is to develop and administer Likert surveys on PRIs and instructors' use of personal practical knowledge. Studies could also quantify instructors' use of the different domains of knowledge in the classroom by following stimulated recall through video recording of instructors teaching a short class. Such studies could follow the protocols of Gatbonton (1999, 2008) and Mullock (2006), but also query instructors on how they would link classroom demonstrations of knowledge with categories of PRIs.

Conclusion

One clear implication of this study is that instructors of ESOL in post-secondary settings can use reflection on PRIs and personal practical knowledge to advocate for increased acceptance and recognition as professionals. Because the PRIs and experiential knowledge are tacit, professional preparation programs and professional development should emphasize reflective practice (Farrell, 2007, 2011). From this practice, instructors of ESOL can better observe and articulate their skills in order to gain recognition of their professional contributions to the broader academy. These PRIs, once identified, can be used to delineate transferable skills as instructors seek increased professional recognition and respect within post-secondary settings due to their multiple capabilities to work as an academic instructors and student affairs professional.

Finally, reflective practice will be helpful for teachers at all levels of experience to assess the how and why of their decisions by looking at PRIs and related PPK. Beginning teachers and experienced ones can use these constructs to negotiate the meaning of observational data from teaching supervision or training. By knowing who they are as professionals in the classrooms, instructors can shape their own practices and the preparation of future instructors.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Interview 1

Guiding questions for biographical information and experiences

- 1) Describe your experiences as a language learner.
- 2) Describe one of your better memories as a language learner.
- 3) Describe one of your better memories as a student preparing to be an ESL teacher.
- 4) When did you decide to become a teacher?
- 5) What were your earliest experiences as a teacher?
- 6) Describe your education to become a teacher.
- 7) Describe one of your less pleasant memories as a language learner. Describe one of your less pleasant memories as a student preparing to be an ESL teacher.
- 8) Why did you become a language teacher?
- 9) Describe one of your better memories as a language teacher?
- 10) Describe one of your less pleasant memories as a language teacher?
- 11) What classes have you taught?
- 12) How would you describe yourself as a teacher?
- 13) What are your strengths as a teacher?
- 14) What are your weaknesses as a teacher?
- 15) What methods do you use in teaching?
- 16) How do you think your students would describe you as a teacher?
- 17) How do you think your colleagues would describe you as a teacher?
- 18) How do you think your supervisors would describe you as a teacher?
- 19) Describe one of your more memorable classes that you have taught? Why was it memorable?

- 20) What classes would you like to teach?
- 21) Describe some times that you have collaborated with colleagues in your department on a project or task?
- 22) What are some of your concerns for your students?
- 23) What are some of your concerns for your profession?
- 24) How would you describe your purpose in the classroom?
- 25) Describe your ideal ESL teacher.
- 26) Describe your typical day as an instructor.
- 27) How do you see yourself as a teacher in 5 to 10 years?
- 28) What do you wish others on campus knew about your job?
- 29) How do you think universities perceive the role of ESL teachers within the university?
- 30) What professional development activities do you participate in?

Interview 2

Finish questions from interview one. Discuss teaching philosophy and what experiences the instructor is having in current classes.

Interview 3

Using notes from observation proceed chronologically through events observed in the classroom.

I noted critical incidents. The semi-structured interview included questions on what the instructor was thinking, what role he or she was enacting, and what feelings and reflections the instructor recalled from when the event or critical incident occurred. From previous interview of the following roles per Farrell (2011): teacher as entertainer, cross-cultural expert, oral interviewer, language expert, language model, disciplinarian, counselor, curriculum planner,

curriculum evaluator, story teller, team builder, materials developer, friend, surrogate parent, interaction manager, needs assessor, and joke teller.

APPENDIX B
OBSERVATIONAL PROTOCOL

Length of activity: 60 to 90 minutes

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
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APPENDIX C
OPEN CODING

Open coding ID/Role/Theme

1) Identity trajectory (stories about how they became teachers)

Evidence

Anna in reference to her illness and its impact on her career trajectory: “I needed to have a more flexible job; I needed to be able to sit at home and work as needed. I needed to be able to take some rest; but I also needed a job that was intellectually fulfilling and demanding, that also worked with my own, with my own character traits I guess. My need and desire to help people...uh...of course I was only...was I only 24 at the time...25 at the time...I didn’t know all of this then. A lot of this is in retrospect...so I decided that the job I had was physically too demanding. I wasn’t ...the job I had was neither intellectually fulfilling nor was I physically able to handle it...so I went and met with a professor here in the English department who had had a great deal of influence on my thinking of language when I took the required intro to linguistics...and she agreed to take me back as a graduate student on the condition that I eventually go get a Ph.D. So...I uh went and did my master’s in linguistics and then through a previous employee.”

Definition

Code for when teachers talk about how they came to their current positions. How they made the decisions-paying attention to their assertion of agency. Code for how teachers became instructors of ESOL. May involve descriptions of being in the right place at the right time.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

McAlpine, L., & Amundsen, C. (2012).

2) **Experience as learner**

Evidence

Martha: “So I loved that...somebody I followed around here at Auburn was a linguistics professor here, which makes a lot of sense since I did that degree here...but he too, he would like sing for us in class, and I don’t mean silly songs, we were in one case studying old English and he could sing...he knew old English obviously and would sing to us. I loved that. He was so enthusiastic...Tom...I haven’t thought about him in a while, but he was so enthusiastic and loved what he did so much that I took Old English...there was no reason for me to take that awful class...[laugh] but I did it because I knew that like if anybody could get me excited about it, it would be him...And he did...”

Definition

This category includes stories of teachers (elementary, secondary, and post-secondary, even graduate school) who influenced the teachers. These are narratives of learning in the classroom. For me these are stories about teachers who influenced them. Code for when instructors talk about their experiences as students.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori Farrell (2011)

3) **Use of space**

Evidence

“There were times, like in the early days when our program we had dedicated classroom space in the same building where our offices were...and so one of the justifications for the horrendously low pay for my colleagues, this is before I joined...was oh well, you have dedicated classrooms...it’s not like other professors who have to like leave their building and go teach in

another building. Okay...so when they moved us...so now as you know we teach in other buildings...we don't have dedicated classroom space anymore...so it was at that time when they said, well, why should you be paid the same as other faculty...because we have to do what other faculty do...uhhh.....”

Definition

Code when instructor talks about use of space in the classroom; OR talks about space on the university campus and what it means.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

4) Roles in conflict

Evidence

Amy: “Do I go and advocate for that person. I still like, it’s my internal conflict...I think it will be my internal conflict like throughout my teaching career, but that doesn’t, I don’t think that will stop me from doing what I believe.”

Definition

Code for when instructor mentions a feeling of conflict about a role or boundaries with students or department/university policy. May refer to conflicted feelings over received roles.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

5) Discouragement/Questioning future. Was Generativity

Evidence

John: “... I enjoyed that part [Observing] classes and [helping] teachers in their professional development.”

Anna is aware of the higher education system and will get Ph.D. to “have a seat at the table” for policy and practice toward international students.”

Amy: “Do I go and advocate for that person. I’m still like, it’s my internal conflict...I think it will be my internal conflict like throughout my teaching career, but that doesn’t, I don’t think that will stop me from doing what I believe.”

Definition

Code when desire to help future generations of teachers or students is mentioned in terms of limitations or possibilities. Wishing things could be different. Code when instructors express fear or uncertainty of future. Code for expressions about how things used to be.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging. Drew on Erikson (1963) and Andrzejewski (2008) when it was generativity

6) Future self

Evidence

Anna knows the system and will get Ph.D. to “have a seat at the table” for policy and practice toward international students.”

Amy: That’s something that in the long run, eventually, that’s one of the reasons why I got my Ph.D. because I wanted to like, you know, like mentor and train future ESL teachers...um I haven’t really officially done that yet...but then unofficially if people come in and ask for help...I wouldn’t say no...Like I share my materials and I also like what worked for me and what didn’t work for me Martha

Example of how they imagined their futures in previous circumstances: “Some friends of mine were teaching in the IEP at South Tech and said, ‘you really ought to try it out’ so I did and it

really helped me to...capitalize on the linguistic work I had already been doing and because I was already looking at varieties of English it felt right to me..."

Definition

Code for when teacher talks about future plan; the teacher he or she would like to be; plans for career change. Also, may be coded for how a teacher chose to enter the field, i.e., how they imagined their futures in previous circumstances.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging. Draws on ideas of McAlpine (2012) and McAlpine, L., & Amundsen, C. (2012).

7) Linguist

Evidence

John: Teacher of linguistic terms: "time markers" "collocations", "corpora linguistics"

Definition

Code for references to grammar and linguistic terms. May be coded as teacher of grammar. Note that this category is limited to formal linguistic or grammatical terms.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging but rooted in knowledge of subject and instruction (e.g., Shulman, 1983; Golombeck, 1998)

8) Preparer for the academy

Evidence

Anna: "Like right now in my writing class we are finishing up a data commentary unit, so I've made them go out and ask questions from five people and create a visual and then write about it. And it seems kind of like busy work...but these are graduate students...they are all going to have

to have visuals in their final research papers...so I started with...I actually started with the final product.”

Definition

Not only academic preparation but also “street smarts” for succeeding in a college or university. This role may involve teaching students how to navigate the organizational and professional challenges of studying in a college or university (knowledge of context, students, and self)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging as a synthesis of other roles as described by Farrell (2011) and Auerbach, E.R. (1991)

9) Multidisciplinary

Evidence

Martha: “Everybody needs rest, plus, see, everybody, not everybody, but most of those students are science students...let me tell you who doesn’t give them a break over spring break...their lab work...their experimental data collection is still going on....”

Anna: “I’ve never left science behind.”

Definition

Code specifically for when instructor knows details about other disciplines or fields that their students are studying; code when instructor expresses knowledge gained from other fields either through study or experience (Anna’s engineering background)

May be coded as knowledge of students and self. **May overlap with preparer for the academy.**

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

10) Empathizer

Evidence

John, “I try to put myself in their shoes.”

Anna: Narrative of feeling an outsider when she moved from the north.

Definition

Code when teacher mentions understanding situation of students’ affective experiences related to learning and being a student in an IEP. For example: expresses a desire to put themselves in the place of their students to understand what they are experiencing. They often do this by drawing on their own personal and practical experiences (knowledge of self, students, and context)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

11) Marginalized academic

Evidence

Anna: “I think that our roles and responsibilities are that of faculty. I don’t think the rest of the university recognizes that.”

Definition

Code when teacher mentions perception of unfair treatment by university administrators; lack of appreciation by peers; describes their roles as trainer to faculty and administrators in the university; a lack of appreciation by university; may involve economic disparity in comparison to other instructors in other departments.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. Auerbach (1991)

12) Advisor/Mentor

Evidence

Amy: “They just had no idea why they had to study and even though a lot of them wanted to go to university eventually, but they had no goals. So I had to show them an example of a success....Like, being in class in the IEP and you think it’s really hard, but trust me, once you go to the real world, it’s a completely different story and I had been repeating that over and over and they would not take it seriously.

Definition

Code when instructor explicitly uses this term; code when instructor talks about helping students make academic choices about classes or majors. Code when teacher gives examples from their own experiences as a student. Do code this when instructor talks about being a role model or example for teachers and for when they discuss helping or not being able to help future teachers.

May overlap frequently with the code “guide” and will be found in experiences as learner.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. From Farrell (2011)

13) **Advocate**

Evidence

Martha: “I think we get to play advocate and you know...I tell you we’ve got to advocate for professors as well.”

Definition

Offers support and takes action on behalf of current and former students to address a problem in which the student is being treated unfairly by a system such as the university or outside agency (knowledge of context, students, and self)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging and informed by Farrell (2011)-his role of social worker.

14) **Academic advocate**

Evidence

Martha: “doing workshops for non-native speakers and for faculty working with non-native speakers about how the issues of plagiarism is different in different cultures, although I think that’s over sold...I think it’s social justice and advocacy by saying...hey, maybe it’s not because of their country they do it differently, that is what you hear a lot...and there is some truth to that, but it might also be because some content area faculty do not talk to students about why sources are cited and what they in their field, like why do they do citations?”

Definition

Offers support and takes action on behalf of a student who is needing help to achieve fair treatment in academic matters (knowledge of context and students)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

15) **Social justice advocate**

Evidence

John: “I was an advocate of this population’s...I mean giving education to this population that in a way are, you know, underprivileged...um most of these people are really poor, they worked in the chicken factories...they worked on farms, and they were not being given, you know, any education, so umm in one way or another by teaching them I was making their voices being heard.”

Definition

Offers support and takes action on behalf of a student who needs help or a voice to receive fair and equitable treatment in a U.S. social system (knowledge of context, students and self).

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging. Informed by Farrell (2011).

16) **Improviser**

Evidence

Amy: “I improvise a lot of things, cause I didn’t expect, like, this is something you can’t predict...”

Definition

Assuming a new direction, role, or technique in the classroom in response to a change in dynamic with students (knowledge of instruction, context, and self). Include when teacher describes an activity they came up with on the spot; when teacher describes responding to an unexpected situation in the classroom such as behavior or attendance.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. From Farrell (2011).

17) **Learner**

Evidence

Amy: “So as a teacher you always have...not conducting research, but you always have to be involved in, what do you call that...new?...not trends...but maybe trends in teaching...” In response to continuing education: “TESOL, of course is one of the biggest one, but I also, um, read the original TESOLs as well and the Asian EFL, I don’t know if you know, that one is also a pretty good one”

Definition

Code when teachers talk about learning something new; learning about another field that relates to their students (science, math, history, social sciences). **Also code for their assessment of**

their needs for continuing education such as conferences. Do not code for return to graduate school.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Both. Based on Farrell (2011)

18) Guide

Evidence

Martha: "I'm a bridge between students and resources... I mean there's a human connection too, and I told you before I think...I like to build connections between students..."

Anna: "to guide them through the means of figuring that out...not only to provide them information but also so that they can figure out on their own so that they become over time independent learners."

Definition

A desire to help students discover knowledge. Directing students to resources and leading them in problem solving. A process of not giving the answers to students but showing them how to obtain those answers independently (knowledge of context, students, and instruction)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging. Based on Farrell (2011)

19) Classroom manager

Evidence

Amy: "I try to encourage them to come to class and I usually e-mail them after class. So for instance, today, um, there were a couple of students who walked in class after 20 minutes and I emailed them after Core and I told them um from tomorrow I want you to come to class on time"

Definition

Role of offering guidance and leadership to keep the class on task and motivated. Solves problems that disrupt these goals. (knowledge of students, context, instruction, and self)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging as a code for narratives.

20) Record keeper

Evidence

Anna: “so I kinda keep track through their attendance... who’s here and who’s not...and then after about a month of class usually I know who’s going to be getting partial attendance for not engaging during class and I just kind of keep a rough record of that and at the end of the term...”

Definition

Grade recorder; keeper of attendance

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging as part of classroom management.

21) Facilitator of communication

Evidence

John: “...This is something you didn’t see actually being done yesterday but today what I did was I brought, like, clip art, pictures of people facing different, you know, different health problems and I gave the pictures to the students and had them form small groups and they had to talk about those problems.”

Definition

Code when instructor describes directing conversation and classroom discussions. May be seen in describing group work or teaching of controversial topics.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. Farrell (2011) described this as Communication Controller.

22) Formal teacher

Evidence

“Inter: What were some, ummm, examples in the classes when you were informal...? I’m thinking about when you were sitting with them.

John: Yeah, that’s right... that’s right...Cause I was more like an equal. I was a participant.

Remember that I try to take different roles in the classroom... sometimes I’m a facilitator...sometimes I become more like a companion”

Definition

May be described vis-à-vis informal roles in the classroom. Code for classroom descriptions. Use formal when instructors talk about keeping with the plan; staying in formal space; may also be related to when instructors reject formal roles.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging from the narratives in this study.

23) Teacher of controversial topics

Evidence

Anna: “I’m not gonna talk about my politics, you know? I’m trying to teach them a lot...like when I’m teaching persuasive writing or argumentative writing...I want them to be able to construct their own argument...I personally disagree with some of their political and cultural

stances...but I'm not gonna be that teacher who fails them because I think they are wrong...and because I do carry a lot of authority...that if I start talking about what I think and what I feel in regards to these sensitive issues, they're not gonna feel comfortable talking about it..."

Definition

Coded for when teachers described debates in class; when they described critical incidents in which social or political issues came up in class (examples: immigration, same sex marriage, gender roles, politics-U.S. or otherwise)

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Emerging

24) Knowledge of subject

Evidence

Amy: "So their first writing assignment is comparison essay and that's where we start talking about adjectives, the comparative forms and then the adjective clauses so that they could add more description in their writing, so I think everything is connected, eventually...and students don't see it, so I have to constantly remind them.. I want to see these structures in your essays and I want you to use them to add more details..."

Definition

Code for teachers' comments about knowing or teaching grammar, writing, listening or speaking of English. Least likely to overlap with other knowledge categories. .Knowledge of subject may also be knowledge of pedagogy/instruction. Language is part of the teaching. The process of teaching ESOL itself becomes hard to decouple from knowledge of subject. Example: how to teach clauses and when to teach prescriptive grammar through labels.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. Golombeck (1998); Yanez-Pinto (2014). Overlap with other roles is an emerging theme.

25) **Knowledge of context**

Evidence

Martha: “But also I think because in the TA class we are talking so much about teacher’s responsibilities in a classroom, you know, but we also talk about things as a graduate student, if these are the rules for you as a TA you must tell your students in writing the grading policy, the same applies to you as a student in grad school...that means your teacher can’t say here’s the grading scale and then mid semester change it.”

Definition

Knowledge of university, university policies, status as international students. Likely to overlap with other categories except knowledge of subject. May most often inform roles of empathizer and preparer for academy. Likely to inform role of teacher at the margins. Knowledge may not be closely aligned with roles. Some overlap at times. It is in the overlap, as seen in the narratives, that I connected K of context with roles. Context may influence roles and knowledge.

Knowledge of context can inform other categories and many roles.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

A priori. Golombeck (1998); Yanez-Pinto (2014). Overlap with other roles is an emerging theme.

26) **Knowledge of instruction/pedagogy**

Evidence

John: “Well, I am quite aware of the different language methodologies, especially those around the ELT, the English language teaching field, umm...I consider myself...umm...there’s a word

I'm trying to remember now...oh eclectic...I practice what is called principle eclecticism in my classes. What I do is I take from different methods...I take different principles and techniques from different methods and put them into practice in my own way. I take what works, and I discard what doesn't work"

Definition

Code when instructor explains using a particular methodology explicitly. Or when they explain how they know to teach in a particular way. Code for references to communicative activities such as group work. Code for when they mention teaching writing.

Knowledge of pedagogy may be hard to distinguish between knowledge of subject.

Caveat: knowledge may not be closely aligned with roles. Some overlap at times. It is in the overlap, as seen in the narratives that I connected K of pedagogy with roles. May overlap with knowledge of students. Do not use to code for linguistic terms like corpus linguistics or lexical items.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Golombeck (1998); Yanez-Pinto (2014). Overlap with roles is an emerging theme.

27) Knowledge of students

Evidence

Martha: "but for semester long classes, I remember as a student getting all these big writing assignments before spring break and I mean I guess they were thinking "So during spring break this 20 something is gonna write this seminar paper" Well, golly, no. Everybody needs rest..."

Definition

Code for references to knowledge about students' affective or cognitive traits, or students' culture. May overlap with role of mentor and guide and preparer for academy. Likely to overlap with role of empathizer.

Anna has received role of student affairs coordinator. Caveat: knowledge may not be closely aligned with roles. Some overlap at times. It is in the overlap, as seen in the narratives that I connected K of students with roles.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Golombeck (1998); Yanez-Pinto (2014). Overlap with roles is an emerging theme.

28) Knowledge of self

Evidence

Amy: "I'm emotional and I'm very personable in a way, so I sometimes don't know how to draw boundaries...so there was a case, actually recently, one of my students, she was really sick, and as a teacher, I don't know what my roles are...Like my roles are not really defined clearly, so I don't know like how much help is enough"

Definition

Code for when instructor reflects on self as personality traits, beliefs, emotions, style, background. May overlap with apprenticeships of observation and identity trajectory. May overlap with role of empathizer. Overlap with preparer for academy, guide and mentor.

Narratives of becoming a teacher do not necessarily reflect knowledge of self.

Type of code-emerging or a priori

Golombeck (1998); Yanez-Pinto (2014). Overlap with roles is an emerging theme.

APPENDIX D
AXIAL CODING

Axial Codes

Roles of Instructors at South Tech University	Definitions. Related Categories of Person Practical Knowledge
<p>Preparer for the Academy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guide • Empathizer • Preparer for the TOEFL • Learner 	<p>Not only academic preparation but also “street smarts” for succeeding in a college or university. This role may involve teaching students how to navigate the organizational and professional challenges of studying in a college or university (knowledge of context, students, and self)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A desire to help students discover knowledge. Directing students to resources and leading them in problem solving. A process of not giving the answers to students but showing them how to obtain those answers independently (knowledge of context, students, and instruction) • Expresses a desire to put themselves in the place of their students to understand what they are experiencing. They often do this by drawing on their own experiences (knowledge of self, students, and context) • Awareness of the demands and the effect that this test placed on students as they tried to continue their education (knowledge of students, context, and subject) • Inquiring about academic topics that are new to them. May be related to teaching ESOL or students’ academic interests. A desire to reflect on their experiences as learners and teachers (knowledge of self, students, context, subject, and instruction)
<p>Advocate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic Advocate • Social Justice Advocate 	<p>Offers support and takes action on behalf of students or faculty to address a problem of unfair treatment by the university or outside agency (knowledge of context, students, and self)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offers support and takes action on behalf of a student or faculty who needs help to receive fair treatment in academic matters (knowledge of context and students) • Offers support and takes action on behalf of a student or faculty who needs help to receive fair and equitable treatment in a U.S. social system (knowledge of context, students and self)
<p>Classroom Manager</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Record Keeper • Encourager • User of technology • Improvisor/adaptor • Teacher of controversial topics 	<p>Role of offering guidance and leadership to keep the class on task and motivated. Solves problems that disrupt these goals. (knowledge of students, context, instruction, and self)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keeping record of students’ attendance and grades (knowledge of subject, instruction, and students) • Providing support to students. Showing students support in their academic endeavors. • Using smart phones, email, classroom computers to communicate with students about classroom behavior, tardiness, subject matter and class plans (knowledge of students, context, and instruction) • Assuming a new direction, role, or technique in the classroom in response to a change in dynamic with students (knowledge of instruction, context, and self) • Use when teachers described debates in class; described critical incidents in which social or political issues came up in class (examples: immigration, same sex marriage, gender roles, politics-U.S. or otherwise)

Personal Practical Knowledge

Types of knowledge	Definitions and Related Categories of Person Practical Knowledge (categories are in order of importance)
Knowledge of self	Code for when instructor reflects on personality traits, beliefs, emotions, style, background. May overlap with apprenticeships of observation and identity trajectory. May overlap with role of empathizer. Overlap with preparer for academy, guide, and mentor. Narratives of becoming a teacher may reflect knowledge of self.
Knowledge of context	Not only academic preparation but also “street smarts” for succeeding in a college or university. This role may involve teaching students how to navigate the organizational and professional challenges of studying in a college or university (knowledge of context, students, and self)
Knowledge of subject	Code for teachers’ comments about knowing or teaching grammar, writing, listening or speaking of English. Least likely to overlap with other knowledge categories. Knowledge of subject may also be knowledge of pedagogy/instruction. Language is part of the teaching. The process of teaching ESOL itself becomes hard to decouple from knowledge of subject. Example: how to teach clauses and when to teach prescriptive grammar through labels.
Knowledge of students	Code for references to knowledge about students’ affective or cognitive traits, or students’ culture. May overlap with role of mentor and guide and preparer for academy. Likely to overlap with role of empathizer. Anna has received role of student affairs coordinator. Caveat: knowledge may not be closely aligned with roles. Some overlap of knowledge categories with roles at times. For example, it is in the overlap, as seen in the narratives, that I connected K of students with roles.

Types of knowledge	Definitions and Related Categories of Person Practical Knowledge (categories are in order of importance)
Knowledge of instruction/pedagogy	<p>Code when instructor explains using a particular methodology explicitly.</p> <p>Or when they explain how they know to teach in a particular way. Code for references to communicative activities such as group work. Code for references to teaching writing.</p> <p>Knowledge of pedagogy may be hard to distinguish between knowledge of subject.</p> <p>Caveat: knowledge may not be closely aligned with roles. Some overlap at times. It is in the overlap, as seen in the narratives that I connected K of pedagogy with roles. May overlap with knowledge of students. Do not use to code for linguistic terms like corpus linguistics or lexical items.</p>

Additional Codes

Theme	Definition
Marginalized Profession	<p>Describes their roles as trainer; a lack of appreciation by university; may involve economic disparity in comparison to other instructors in other departments.</p>
Experience as Learner	<p>This category includes stories of teachers (elementary, secondary, and post-secondary, even graduate school) who influenced the instructors. These are narratives of learning in the classroom. For me these stories about teachers who influenced them. Code for when instructors talk about their experiences as students.</p>
Use of Space	<p>Code when instructor talks about use of space in the classroom; OR talks about space on the university campus and what it means.</p>

Theme	Definition
Discouragement	Code when desire to help future generations of teachers or students is mentioned in terms of limitations or possibilities. Wishing things could be different. Code when instructors express fear or uncertainty of future. Code for expressions about how things used to be.
Conflict about roles	Code for when instructor mentions a feeling of conflict about a role or boundaries with students or department/university policy. May refer to conflict with received roles.

APPENDIX E
GROUNDED SURVEY

Grounded Survey

I. Complete this section by considering how often you enact these roles as an instructor of ESOL while interacting with students both inside and outside the classroom. Circle the most appropriate response.

		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	All the Time
1.	Academic advisor	N	R	S	F	A
2.	Advocate for social justice	N	R	S	F	A
3.	Advocate for the field of teaching ESOL	N	R	S	F	A
4.	Advocate for fair treatment of my students	N	R	S	F	A
5.	Applier of department/university policy	N	R	S	F	A
6.	Autonomy supporter for my students	N	R	S	F	A
7.	Challenger	N	R	S	F	A
8.	Constructor of knowledge	N	R	S	F	A
9.	Counselor	N	R	S	F	A
10.	Disciplinarian	N	R	S	F	A
11.	Empathizer	N	R	S	F	A
12.	Encourager	N	R	S	F	A
13.	Facilitator of Communication	N	R	S	F	A
14.	Friend	N	R	S	F	A
15.	Grammar teacher	N	R	S	F	A
16.	Guide to academic resources	N	R	S	F	A
17.	Guide to community resources	N	R	S	F	A

		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	All the Time
18.	Guide to understanding U.S. culture(s)	N	R	S	F	A
19.	Leader in the field of ESOL	N	R	S	F	A
20.	Learner	N	R	S	F	A
21.	Linguist	N	R	S	F	A
22.	Mentor	N	R	S	F	A
23.	Moderator of debates	N	R	S	F	A
24.	Performer	N	R	S	F	A
25.	Preparer for the TOEFL	N	R	S	F	A
26.	Preparer for university/college study	N	R	S	F	A
27.	Record Keeper	N	R	S	F	A
28.	Reflective practitioner	N	R	S	F	A
29.	Researcher	N	R	S	F	A
30.	Social Worker	N	R	S	F	A

II. This section of the questionnaire is designed to explore how your experiences and knowledge affect your roles as an instructor of ESOL. Please complete the following section by circling the most appropriate response.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	As an instructor of ESOL, one or more of my previous teachers in elementary, high school or post-secondary training have influenced my classroom behavior	SD	D	A	SA
2.	I entered the field of teaching ESOL by being in the right place at the right time	SD	D	A	SA
3.	I have planned much of my career as an instructor of ESOL	SD	D	A	SA
4.	My experiences as a student of a second language have influenced my teaching	SD	D	A	SA
5.	Members of my family and friends have affected decisions I've made about my career (jobs I have taken)	SD	D	A	SA
6.	University policy and practices have affected my classroom activities	SD	D	A	SA
7.	My work as an instructor of ESOL is appreciated by my students	SD	D	A	SA
8.	My work as an instructor of ESOL is appreciated by other university staff and faculty	SD	D	A	SA
9.	My colleagues contribute to my growth as an instructor	SD	D	A	SA
10.	In the classroom I use examples from my personal life	SD	D	A	SA

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11.	In the classroom, I make decisions based on my past experiences as a student of a second language	SD	D	A	SA
12.	I make decisions in the classroom based on my experiences as an undergraduate student	SD	D	A	SA
13.	I make decisions in the classroom based on my experiences as a graduate student	SD	D	A	SA
14.	My political beliefs influence my decisions in the classroom	SD	D	A	SA
15.	Training in the grammatical structures of English is necessary to being a good instructor of ESOL	SD	D	A	SA
16.	Knowledge of corpus linguistics is important to being a good teacher of ESOL	SD	D	A	SA
17.	Knowing what students need to know to pass the TOEFL is important to being a good teacher of ESOL	SD	D	A	SA
18.	A teacher of ESOL should understand how to teach writing	SD	D	A	SA
19.	My knowledge of phonetics affects how I teach	SD	D	A	SA
20.	An effective instructor of ESOL knows about their students' cultures	SD	D	A	SA
21.	An effective instructor of ESOL always requires students to purchase the textbook	SD	D	A	SA

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
22.	What I know about my students personal and professional lives affects how I teach	SD	D	A	SA
23.	My primary concern is that students engage in authentic communication activities in the classroom	SD	D	A	SA
24.	A good instructor of ESOL rarely lectures	SD	D	A	SA
25.	My coursework in second language teaching methodology influences my daily decisions in the classroom	SD	D	A	SA
26.	I consider myself sufficiently experienced to train other teachers of ESOL	SD	D	A	SA

III. Please add any roles you think describe your work as an instructor. These can be in addition to those mentioned in section I or a repeat of those in section I.

IV. What other personal and educational experiences would you like to add as being influential in your classroom decisions and interactions with students?

Results:

Section 1. If the respondent answered the first survey section with sometimes, frequently, or all the time, I considered that the PRI was one the participant enacted. These PRIs came from my code book. For some of the roles I expected a rarely or never, such as disciplinarian or leader in the field of ESOL.

One discrepancy occurred between what I had interpreted as PRIs and how the participants responded on the questionnaire. I expected that the participants would not identify with the role of disciplinarian. In response to this role, Amy was the only participant who responded as frequently enacting this PRI as an instructor. The other respondents chose the response “rarely” to describe how often they enacted this role. I accounted for this discrepancy in my interpretation of the data by using the term classroom manager. I noted that Amy used various techniques to deal with students who arrived late or did not participate. However, none were more direct than others. The broader term of classroom manager may have resulted in a different response from the other participants. Moreover, this discrepancy may be the result of how each of the participants and I understood the meaning of PRIs in different ways.

I designed section 2 to verify my interpretation of the participants’ personal practical knowledge, biographical narratives, experiences as learners, understanding of their teaching decisions, and experiences of being in a marginalized department within the academy. In most cases, responses were in agreement with my interpretations of the data. Some discrepancies should be noted as they provide a more nuanced understanding of my interpretations by relaying the participants’ feedback.

The participants agreed with the statement “My work as an instructor of ESOL is appreciated by other university staff and faculty.” This response indicated to me that my

interpretation of their status as marginalized members of the academy could be incorrect. I acknowledge this discrepancy in my discussion of results. One reason for the difference in the participants' response and my data category of "marginalization" could be due to how I phrased my question. The question asked for agreement with being appreciated by staff and faculty. This feeling may not have elicited a sense of marginalization as expressed by Martha and Anna during our interviews when they described how they perceived treatment by *administrators*. Nevertheless, the explicit acknowledgement by all participants of some degree of awareness and experience of marginalization in their professional lives support my use of this theme in interpreting the data. I mention this discrepancy as disconfirming evidence for applying this theme to the narratives of Amy and John in my presentation of results in chapter four.

A second area of disagreement between my coding and the grounded survey occurred in answer to the prompts "I entered the field of teaching ESOL by being in the right place at the right time" and "members of my family and friends have affected decisions I've made about my careers (jobs I have taken)." John disagreed with my interpretation of a career originating from being in the right place at the right time. John's disagreement may indicate that I misinterpreted the data, which showed that John entered the field as an undergraduate who had attended an English-speaking elementary and secondary school in his native country. In other words, he likely viewed his transition as a natural progression of his language abilities and desire to be a teacher—both of which were present at by middle school. Both John and Amy disagreed with the second statement that family and friends had affected their career decisions. Their narratives indicated that they chose their training and subsequent jobs as a part of an original plan to pursue a career as a teacher of ESOL. However, both Amy and John did mention the influence of family. Amy chose Southeast Tech for graduate school in part because here family was nearby.

John reported struggling with future plans because of whether a job location would fit best with his family's needs. Martha and Anna agreed with both statements. They had obtained their graduate degrees in the department of English, and their studies had included linguistics, rhetoric and writing, and literature. Therefore, their entrance into the profession of instructors of ESOL came as an opportunity to combine all their studies and transition to full-time work at the university where they had obtained their graduate degrees.

All respondents agreed that they had "planned much of their careers" as instructors' of ESOL. This answer fit with my assertion that the participants used their own agency to determine their career paths. Thus, this assertion of self-agency in the midst of external demands of job market and family was in line with the theory of identity trajectory (McAlpine, 2012). Martha noted in a follow-up notes to the survey that her spouse's job security in the area was a major factor in her remaining at South Tech.

Finally, the participants' interpretations of influence of the TOEFL, linguistic terminology, and lecturing as part of their classroom identities differed somewhat from my coding. Their responses to the grounded survey questions about these areas indicated a broader interpretation of their PRIs than I had used. Amy and John both taught IEP classes that included students who were trying to pass the TOEFL. Not surprisingly, they agreed with my statement that "knowing what students need to know to pass the TOEFL was important to being a good teacher of ESOL." Martha also agreed with this statement. Only Anna did not. Perhaps Anna's disagreement may have been due to the nature of the question which linked knowledge of the TOEFL with being a "good teacher of ESOL." In our interviews, Anna questioned the role of testing in education and wondered about its effect on quality of instruction.

Only Amy agreed with the statement “a good instructor of ESOL rarely lectures.” Her answer may have reflected the nature of our interviews in which we discussed how grammatical explanations often had to be explicit. Yet, John and I had a similar discussion, and he noted the importance of principled eclecticism as a way of combining explicit grammatical teaching and more communicative teaching that used inductive methods. One explanation for the different responses may be my failure to define what I meant by “lectures.”

All participants expressed agreement that knowledge of linguistics played a role in the classroom. The specific areas of linguistic knowledge that the participants described using varied. All agreed that “training in the grammatical structures of English is necessary to being a good instructor of ESOL.” Anna and Amy disagreed that knowledge of phonetics affected how they taught, while John and Martha agreed that it did. Although the participants differed in how they used linguistic knowledge, all but Anna described enacting the role of linguist in the classroom as occurring frequently. However, the data from interviews and observations and from the grounded survey did indicate the role of linguistic knowledge in PRIs.

APPENDIX F
INFORMED CONSENT

The Auburn University Institutional
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02/09/16 to 02/08/17
Protocol # 15-526 EP 1602

Dm lJf\$J
AUBURN UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS, LEADERSHIP AND TECHNOLOGY

(NOTE: DO NOT SIGN THIS DOCUMENT UNLESS AN IRB APPROVAL STAMP WITH
CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THIS DOCUMENT.)

INFORMED CONSENT

for a Research Study entitled "Negotiation of Classroom Identity by University Instructors of English to Speakers of Other Languages"

Dear

You are invited to participate in a research study to understand how experienced instructors of ESL at colleges and universities experience their professional identity. The study is being conducted by Dee Fowler, Ph.D. student under the direction of Maria Witte, Professor in the Auburn University Department of Educational Foundations, Leadership, and Technology. You were selected as a possible participant because you have been identified as an ESL instructor with at least three years of teaching experience and are age 19 or older.

What will be involved if you participate? If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to participate in an initial open-ended interview about your educational and teaching background, two observations of a class you teach, and two follow-up interviews concerning your reflection on your roles in the classes observed. These will be followed by one confirmation interview concerning data analyzed and a final written survey. The two observational sessions of classes you teach to understand how you experience your professional identity as an instructor and express that identity in your classes. This study is not a critical evaluation of your teaching. It is observational only and will focus on roles you enact as an instructor. Your total time commitment to interviews will be approximately three to four hours in total. I anticipate spending a total of 2 hours observing two classes you teach in order to take notes on activities you do with students so that we may discuss these in context of your professional identity as an instructor.

4036 Haley Center, Auburn, AL 3684-5221; Telephone: 334-844-4460; Fax: 334-844-3072

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The interviews will be conducted using digital audiotape recordings. Audio tapes are for transcription purposes only and will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study. In addition to digital audiotape recordings, I will take notes on the interview and your classroom interactions. No audiotape recordings will be made of your classroom teaching.

Are there any risks or discomforts? The risks associated with participating in this study may include breach of confidentiality. All data collected will be confidential and your name will never appear on any document. Pseudonyms will be used in place of your name. Direct quotes from interviews will be used to support categories of professional identity that emerge from data collection. To minimize these risks, we will store recordings and associated identifying information off-campus. There will be no information in any report or publication that names your institution or links you to it.

Are there any benefits to yourself or others? If you participate in this study, you can expect to add to the knowledge base concerning ESL teachers at the post-secondary level. This information can be used to enhance professional development and instructor training. We/I cannot promise you that you will receive any or all of the benefits described.

Will you receive compensation for participating? To thank you for your time you will be offered a \$75.00 gift certificate to Target or Walmart.

Are there any costs? There are no costs associated with participating in this study.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw at any time during the study. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn as long as it is identifiable. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Educational Foundations, Leadership, and Technology.

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Your privacy will be protected. Any information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential. We will protect your privacy and the data you provide by excluding your identity and restricting access to only those individuals who are conducting this study. Information obtained through your participation may be used to fulfill an educational requirement, published in a professional journal, and/or presented at a professional meeting.

If you have questions about this study, please ask them now or contact Dee Fowler at (334) 750-5902 or via email at fowlewd@auburn.edu or Dr. Maria M. Witte at (334) 844-4460 or via email at wittemm@auburn.edu.

A copy of this document will be given to you to keep.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334)-844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED, YOU MUST DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES YOUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE.

Participant's signature	Date	Investigator obtaining consent	Date	

Printed Name	Printed Name