

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

**RECONCEPTUALIZING LANGUAGE IN COMMUNITY-BASED ADULT ESL:
A VYGOTSKIAN SOCIOCULTURAL THEORETICAL PROFESSIONAL
DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTION**

A Dissertation in
Applied Linguistics

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2021

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ABSTRACT

Although untrained volunteers represent a primary English language teaching force within community-based adult education contexts in the U.S. (Durham & Kim, 2018), researchers and practitioners alike are seeking to develop effective, sustainable, and meaningful ways to help volunteers develop more pedagogically-sound language teaching practices (Altherr Flores et al., 2019; Perry & Luk, 2018). Given that the majority of volunteers are assigned full teaching responsibilities despite having little to no prior training or experience teaching language or teaching adults (Durham & Kim, 2018; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003), the preparation of such teachers is of critical importance. Unfortunately, however, the available research (Belzer, 2006a, 2006b, 2013; Perry, 2013) has indicated that the predominant approaches to volunteer preparation have been largely ineffective. Moreover, the limited body of literature on community-based adult ESL teaching has been found to contain unclear, inconsistent, or absent methodologies (Mathews-Aydinli, 2008) and is often based on “conventional wisdom and experiential insights, with little emphasis on philosophical underpinnings” (Perry & Luk, 2018, p. 22).

To address these concerns, this dissertation employs Vygotskian sociocultural theory (1978, 1986) and its extensions to activity theory (Leontiev, 1978; Engeström, 1987) and concept-based instruction (Galperin, 1999; Arieivitch, 2008) to promote and trace the development of theoretically grounded and pedagogically sound language tutoring practices among a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors. By designing, implementing, documenting, and analyzing the outcomes of an SCT-informed professional development intervention, this study aims to provide a theoretically informed empirical investigation into the unfolding development of a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors as they progress through this intervention. A central

goal of this dissertation to provide adult literacy researchers and practitioners with more theoretically robust understandings of how we might go about fostering greater levels of expertise among volunteer tutors who have little to no prior preparation for or experience teaching adult ESL.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people I want to acknowledge and thank for their support throughout this entire process, all of whom have contributed to this project in fundamental ways. To begin, I would like to thank my advisor, Karen Johnson, who provided a wealth of invaluable mediation, support, and encouragement at every stage of this project. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Deryn Verity, Uju Anya, and Matthew Poehner, for their expertise, insights, and questions, which have shaped my thinking and writing in this project and my future work.

In addition to my committee, I would like to thank my faithful writing group members, Megan Lynch and Eleanor Sweeney for the many (many) insightful conversations, laughs, and comments on early versions of dissertation chapters. It goes without saying that our time together has mediated my thinking and continually inspired me throughout this entire project and beyond.

My appreciation also goes out to the staff and volunteers at NELC. Not only did you welcome me into your organization with open arms, but your dedication and passion for serving adult literacy and ESL learners, building a strong community, and your commitment to continually re-evaluating and improving your own practice have inspired me and re-energized my passion for working in community-based adult ESL. To my friends, colleagues, and classmates within the Department of Applied Linguistics at Penn State, I have been fortunate to have known and worked with each of you.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my mother and my grandparents, whose unconditional and unwavering support, love, and encouragement have been central to this entire experience as well. In addition, I want to extend my thanks to my dear friends, Shannon, Becca,

Stephanie, and Maggie, who have provided another source of unwavering support, encouragement, and laughter, for which I am extremely grateful.

Lastly, I am very thankful to Gil Watz and the Department of Applied Linguistics at Penn State for the funding that I received through the Gil Watz Dissertation Fellowship to support this dissertation. I was also very fortunate to receive funding from the Center for Language Acquisition to support my travel to share various aspects of this project with an international community of scholars and practitioners.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Although untrained volunteers represent a primary English language teaching force within community-based adult education contexts in the U.S. (Durham & Kim, 2018), these teachers have been “overlooked and understudied” (Matthews-Aydinli, 2008, p. 198) in much of the research on second language teaching and language teacher education. Given that the majority of volunteers are assigned full teaching responsibilities despite having little to no prior training or experience teaching language or teaching adults (Durham & Kim, 2018; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003), the preparation of such teachers is of critical importance. However, researchers and practitioners alike are still working to develop effective, sustainable, and meaningful ways to help volunteers develop more pedagogically-sound language teaching practices (Altherr Flores et al., 2019; Perry & Luk, 2018).

Though it has been established that many community-based adult ESL instructors are volunteers placed into classrooms with little to no training or relevant teaching experience (Durham & Kim, 2018; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Perry, 2013), who “work in the margins” and in “left-over spaces, with inappropriate materials” (Willett & Jeannot, 1993, p. 477), there have been few theoretically grounded intervention efforts to take the task of understanding and improving volunteers’ adult ESL instructional practice as central. Moreover, the few studies that have investigated community-based adult ESL teaching often contain unclear, inconsistent, or absent methodologies (Mathews-Aydinli, 2008) and tend to be based on “conventional wisdom and experiential insights, with little emphasis on philosophical underpinnings” (Perry & Luk, 2018, p. 22). Nonetheless, much of this work (Belzer, 2006a,

2006b, 2013; Perry, 2013) has indicated that the predominant approaches to volunteer preparation have been largely ineffective.

To address these concerns, this dissertation employed Vygotskian sociocultural theory (1978, 1986) and its extensions to activity theory (Leontiev, 1978; Engeström, 1987) and concept-based instruction (Galperin, 1999; Arieivitch, 2008) to promote and trace the development of theoretically grounded and pedagogically sound language tutoring practices among a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors. By designing, implementing, documenting, and analyzing the outcomes of an SCT-informed professional development intervention, this study aims to provide a theoretically informed empirical investigation into the unfolding development of a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors as they progress through this intervention. At its core, this intervention sought to promote the development of the academic concept of *language as social practice* (Gee, 2004, 2012) among a cohort of volunteer tutors through SCT-informed teacher education pedagogy. A central goal of this dissertation to provide adult literacy researchers and practitioners with more theoretically robust understandings of how we might go about fostering greater levels of expertise among volunteer tutors who have little to no prior preparation for or experience teaching adult ESL.

1.2 Research Questions

As mentioned above, this study employs Vygotskian SCT as a theoretical framework that provides a systematic and comprehensive way of both promoting and tracing the development of theoretically grounded language tutoring practices among a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors as they progress through this intervention. The research questions addressed by this dissertation are:

1. How do the second language teacher education practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?
2. What are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in these practices?
3. How is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practice realized in activity over time?

By answering these questions, this study seeks to explore how principles of Vygotskian SCT can help adult literacy practitioners and researchers foster greater expertise among volunteer practitioners who have little to no prior training or previous teaching experience.

1.3 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of 7 chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 provides a review of the limited body of research that has addressed volunteer-taught community-based adult ESL. In particular, this review is focused on the literature that has addressed the preparation of volunteers and highlights the gaps in the literature that this dissertation aims to address. Following this, I then provide a brief overview of Vygotskian sociocultural theory, activity theory, and concept-based instruction as a unified theoretical framework for both carrying out and tracing conceptual development. I conclude this chapter by introducing and providing a rationale for the concepts that were introduced to the participants in this study.

In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the research context, research design and methodology of the present study. While introducing the research context, I also provide a description of my personal involvement as an active participant in this research context, as these experiences are implicated in this study. Following this, in Chapter 4, I present a detailed overview of the teacher education practices that comprised the first part of this professional

development intervention study. Chapter 5, in turn, analyzes the participants' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they experienced these practices. Chapter 6 provides the final analysis chapter, which analyzes the participants' continued conceptual development as they engaged in the activities of tutoring an adult learner following the workshops and participating in two observations/post-observation debriefing meetings. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings presented in chapters 4-6 and discusses implications, limitations, and directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In the first section of this literature review, I provide a brief survey of the literature on community-based adult ESL literacy education in the U.S. and demonstrate that this is an under-researched topic in the field of applied linguistics. Although this area has been “overlooked and understudied” (Mathews-Aydinli, 2008, p. 198), I will review the few studies available that have been done, highlighting relevant gaps in the literature that my dissertation aims to address, with a particular focus on the preparation¹ of volunteer adult ESL practitioners. Following this overview, I then outline Vygotskian (1986) sociocultural theory, activity theory (Leontiev, 1978; 1981), and concept-based instruction (CBI) (Arievitch, 2008; Galperin, 1989, 1992). the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. In this review, I highlight the contributions that these frameworks can offer for researching and building the professionalization of community-based adult ESL teaching. Following this, I introduce the concept of language as social practice (Gee, 2004) as a concept which offers promise for informing volunteer-taught community-based adult ESL. I conclude the chapter by introducing four additional pedagogical concepts that were included in this intervention to support the participants’ abilities to enact a tutoring approach aligned with the concept of language as social practice.

¹ I borrow Perry and Hart’s (2012) understanding of volunteer preparation as “experiences that provide the knowledge necessary to teach adult [English learners], such as formal training and/or certification programs, informal training opportunities, prior teaching experiences, in-service professional development, or independent study” (p. 110)

2.2 Community-based Adult ESL Teaching

Community-based educational organizations² fill a critical gap in the adult education system, providing free and low-cost access to ESL and literacy instruction for millions of adult learners in the U.S. (Durham & Kim, 2018). Many of the adult learners who turn to community-based organizations do not have the resources or access to such instruction elsewhere (Snell, 2013) and may perceive this learning as a matter of life or death (Warriner, 2015). Despite the recognition that these programs face a number of unique challenges, including insufficient funding, low student retention, and an overreliance on untrained volunteer educators (Crandall et al., 2008; Durham & Kim, 2018; Perry, 2013; Snell, 2013), these contexts still remain largely under-researched within applied linguistics and language teacher education research.

As noted by Durham and Kim (2018), the current U.S. adult education system is in a “discouraging” (p. 3) state with regard to providing English language instruction. While the number of individuals actively seeking to enroll in ESL instruction has steadily increased over the past 30 years, a recent report by the Migration Policy Institute (McHugh & Doxsee, 2018) found that the U.S. currently meets less than 4% of the national need for adult education. Federal funding for adult ESL programs is both limited and highly competitive. Additionally, the requirements that accompany this funding, such as accountability reporting, evaluation, standardized testing, and record keeping, also deter many smaller programs from even applying (Durham & Kim, 2018). The result has been the emergence of smaller community-based programs that operate without federal or state funding and aim to fill the above gap by providing adult learners with access to English instruction as well as “information they need for success in

² By community-based educational organizations, I am referring broadly to programs that operate out of settings such as libraries, churches, schools, and community centers, and include those that are government-funded, those that are non-profit organizations, and those organized by community volunteers (Rivera, 2008; Snell, 2013)

their roles as parents, employees, consumers, and lifelong learners” (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010, p. ix).

Many such programs, lacking the funding to hire or attract teachers with professional preparation in teaching adult English learners, must rely on a workforce composed primarily of volunteer instructors (Crandall, 1993). Research has established that many of these volunteers often have little (if any) relevant training or teaching experience for teaching ESL or teaching adults (Durham & Kim, 2018; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Yet, the “great dilemma” (Smith, 2010, p. 67) lies in the fact that many adult literacy programs lack the resources to provide professional development to help these volunteers develop relevant expertise. Further exacerbating these concerns, community-based adult ESL has also been “under-represented in TESOL research” (Snell, 2013, p. 7).

While there has been an increase in research attention to adult literacy programs, much of this work has addressed federally funded programs (Kennedy & Walters, 2013) or adult literacy instruction more broadly (Belzer, 2006a, 2006b, 2013). There has also been a recent increase in research on the second language education of adult immigrants and refugees (Altherr Flores et al., 2019; Farrelly, 2013; Young-Scholten et al., 2015). However, much of this work is primarily concerned with second language education for adult learners who are emergent readers without literacy in any language and does not include a focus on volunteer-taught adult ESL programs which serve adults who do have literacy in their first language and/or some form of previous education. As noted by Perry (2013) and confirmed by Durham and Kim (2018), volunteer teachers working in smaller, community-based, underfunded programs, still remain to be the focus of targeted research.

2.3 Volunteer Professional Development in Community-based Adult ESL

Though it has been established that many community-based adult ESL instructors are volunteers placed into classrooms with little to no training or relevant teaching experience (Durham & Kim, 2018; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Perry, 2013), who “work in the margins” and in “left-over spaces, with inappropriate materials” (Willett & Jeannot, 1993, p. 477), little research has systematically addressed the instructional needs and practices of these teachers (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010; Durham & Kim, 2018). This lack of research attention means that, although “there is a demand for qualified teachers to teach adult English language learners and a need for training and professional development for these teachers” (Schactzel et al., 2007, n.p.), there have been few theoretically grounded intervention efforts to take the task of understanding and improving volunteers’ adult ESL instructional practice as central. Moreover, the few studies that have investigated community-based adult ESL teaching often contain unclear, inconsistent, or absent methodologies (Mathews-Aydinli, 2008) and tend to be based on “conventional wisdom and experiential insights, with little emphasis on philosophical underpinnings” (Perry & Luk, 2018, p. 22). This is not to say that none of the research in this area is theoretically and methodologically sound, but rather to point out there is not yet a cohesive body of literature to enhance our understandings of this educational context.

Alisa Belzer (2006a, 2006b, 2013) is one of the primary scholars who has investigated the quality of and influences upon volunteer-taught literacy tutoring. Although her work addresses tutors in adult basic education (ABE) and is primarily descriptive, her research is currently among the most closely related to teaching in volunteer-taught ESL settings. Belzer (2006a) analyzed audio-recordings of three different tutor-student pairings over the course of three tutoring sessions and conducted one round of semi-structured interviews with each tutor

and student. Though not grounded in a theoretical framework, her findings indicated, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the tutors had difficulty in knowing how to strategically choose appropriate reading content for their learners, and that, as ‘moment-to-moment’ challenges arose, the tutors struggled to provide assistance that helped their learners comprehend texts (i.e., even with tutor assistance, students were still frequently unable to complete readings). Further, she found that, despite having been provided with short-term, pre-service training, the primary influences the tutors reported drawing upon were their “instincts, previous experiences with learning, and their own creativity” (p. 568).

This finding is not surprising considered against the backdrop of the field of language teacher education – we know that most of what novice teachers know about teaching is rooted in their everyday experiences as learners, known as their ‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie, 1975). Helping teachers overcome this apprenticeship is, as Johnson (2015) argued, the “essence” (p. 517) of language teacher education. What Belzer’s findings indicate is that, despite having participated in some form of volunteer training, the tutors in her study are still operating primarily on the basis of their apprenticeship of observation. Thus, we might conclude that current volunteer training isn’t working. However, given the lack of theoretical grounding, Belzer is unable to offer a clear explanation as to *why* this is the case. If we are going to make a case for improving volunteer literacy tutor education, then we need to have more theoretically robust analyses of *what* precisely is or is not working.

More recently, Belzer (2006b, 2013) has attempted to address this, focusing primarily on the practices and impacts of volunteer literacy tutor training. Belzer (2006b) found that when training is provided, the predominant approach consists of frontloading volunteer teachers/tutors with immense amounts of abstract information on complex topics and explaining recommended

teaching strategies prior to being matched with students, but this approach has little longevity and little transfer to practice. For instance, Belzer (2006b) followed a group of new volunteer literacy tutors from four different adult education institutions from their initial trainings and into the classroom afterward. Although each organization conducted their training with different foci, for different lengths of time and presented different information to their teachers, all four followed the same general approach of trying to “prescribe instruction” by explaining everything the teachers would need to know in the hopes that this would translate into the tutors knowing exactly what to do at the right times.

However, regardless of the topics covered and teaching strategies advocated during each training, little about the training seemed to influence the materials and activities tutors and students actually used. Moreover, during interviews, tutors did not report training as a major influence in their instructional decision-making. Although not expecting a direct causal connection between training and practice, Belzer’s point was that one would hope that at least something from training would rub off onto the tutors. She interpreted this to mean that the ‘frontloaded’ approach simply isn’t effective for volunteers.

Yet, still lacking an underlying theoretical framework, Belzer did not provide any clear explanation as to *why* this approach isn’t effective. In lieu of a theoretical explanation, she offered a list of potential reasons for the nonsuccess of the trainings, which included items such as the impossibility of covering everything in a pre-service training, the tendency to forget information that isn’t immediately relevant, and the short duration of the trainings. Nonetheless, based on her findings, Belzer argued that in order for volunteer training to be effective, it must be on-going, situated, and directly relevant to the actual experiences that tutors encounter. This approach, known as “just-in-time” training (Belzer, 2013, p. 53) has been taken up and

advocated more recently by Durham and Kim (2018) in their review of literature on volunteer training in community-based settings.

More explicitly addressing the preparation of community-based adult ESL volunteers, Perry (2013) examined the case of Carolyn, a volunteer ESL teacher in a refugee resettlement agency/community-based literacy center. Carolyn had been a volunteer ESL teacher for 10 years following her retirement from a career as a certified librarian in international schools. Despite not having formal teacher preparation or credentialing, Perry argues that Carolyn was an effective and qualified teacher. Based on data collected from a questionnaire, a semi-structured interview, and a teaching observation, Perry argues that Carolyn demonstrated an understanding and use of pedagogical practices that were “known to be effective in teaching language and literacy” (p. 33). Additionally, Carolyn demonstrated a reflective orientation to her teaching and a sense of cultural sensitivity to her learners.

Perry traced each of these attributes of Carolyn’s teaching to various elements of her personal history and her social networks. For instance, when Carolyn had previously faced struggles in her teaching, she sought assistance and mentoring from experts including an experienced adult ESL teacher and her sister-in-law, who was a Montessori teacher. Thus, her access to communities of support and those with relevant expertise was one influential factor in her development of effective teaching practices. Her self-guided initiative to seek answers to address her struggles was linked to her experiences as a librarian certified in assisting others with identifying specific resources and research, and her familiarity with school-based contexts.

Perry concludes that volunteer professional development does not need to look like formal credentialing or training and recommends three primary ways that community-based organizations could support volunteers and cultivate more qualified teachers. Similar to Belzer

(2013), Perry's first recommendation is to provide volunteers with on-going professional development as opposed to one-off workshops. Second, she recommends that community-based organizations foster professional connections between volunteer instructors and more expert mentors. Her final recommendation is to help volunteer instructors develop self-education and reflective practices.

Yet, similar to Belzer, Perry's recommendations are not grounded in a theory of development that can help illuminate or explain how volunteers develop language teaching expertise. This leaves the readers with a set of recommendations that may point us in a helpful direction, but do not provide explicit or systematic principles for going about promoting or understanding the processes underlying volunteers' development of L2 teaching expertise. In order to both overcome the aforementioned shortcomings of volunteer professional development and inform our understandings of how we might go about fostering greater levels of expertise among untrained volunteers, in this study, I adopt sociocultural theory (SCT) (Vygotsky, 1986) and its extensions to activity theory (Leontiev, 1978) and concept-based instruction (CBI) (Galperin, 1992, 1999).

2.4 Sociocultural Theory, Activity Theory, and Concept-Based Instruction

This dissertation employs Vygotskian (1978, 1986) SCT and its extensions to activity theory (Leontiev, 1978) and concept-based instruction (Galperin, 1992, 1999), as a theoretical framework for understanding and promoting the development of theoretically and pedagogically sound language teaching practices among previously untrained volunteer adult ESL tutors. I begin by briefly introducing Vygotsky's theory with a focus on the theoretical constructs which guide this study. I will interweave this overview with elements from activity theory, as elaborated by Vygotsky's colleague and close collaborator, A.N. Leontiev (1978). Next, I

provide an introduction to concept-based instruction, a pedagogical approach explicitly grounded in the core tenets of SCT and activity theory. Last, I provide a brief overview of an SCT perspective on language teacher development.

2.4.1 Sociocultural Theory: Marxist Origins and the ‘Pedagogical Imperative’

Cultural historical psychology, referred to as sociocultural theory (SCT) within the field of applied linguistics, is the theory of human consciousness developed by Vygotsky, Luria, and Leontiev, in the early 20th century. Vygotsky was influenced by the social demand among Soviet psychologists to develop a psychology rooted in Marxism following the Russian revolution in 1917 (Kaptelinin & Nardi, 2006). However, unlike the many Soviet psychologists who “sought Marxist support ‘in the wrong places’” and “assimilated ‘the wrong material’” (Kozulin, 1986, p. 265-266), Vygotsky worked to develop a truly Marxist methodology appropriate for the study of the development of higher forms of human consciousness. As Vygotsky (2004/1926) wrote, “I do not want to learn what constitutes the mind for free, by picking out a couple of citations, I want to learn from Marx’s whole method how to build a science, how to approach the investigation of the mind” (n.p.). Given its Marxist underpinnings, SCT is, at its core, an interventionist theory. Lantolf and Poehner (2014) emphasize Vygotsky’s position, stating:

psychology cannot be a science limited to the observation of human psychological processes and their development, [rather] it must become a science that takes seriously the obligation stated succinctly in Marx’s Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach: ‘The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to change it’ (Marx, 1978)” (p. 7)

Lantolf and Poehner (2014) propose the *pedagogical imperative* as an orientation to SCT research which, aligned with the position outlined above, seeks to deploy principles and concepts

of Vygotsky's theory to promote second language development. Accordingly, in this study, I seek to deploy principles and concepts of SCT to promote the development of second language tutoring expertise among previously untrained volunteers and, by extension, the transformation of the activity of second language tutoring in a community-based adult ESL site.

2.5 Sociocultural Theory: A Brief Overview

As Lantolf and Poehner (2014) emphasize, SCT is not a theory of learning, nor is it a theory of the social or cultural influences on cognition. Rather, it is a psychological theory of mind that conceptualizes the cultural genesis of human cognition. The central premise of SCT is that the human mind develops within social activity and arises from the internalization of external forms of social interaction as internal psychological tools. To better understand this foundational premise, I begin this discussion with the concept of *mediation*.

2.5.1 Mediation

Vygotsky argued that humans do not interact directly with the world as is the case with most animals. Rather, humans create and use cultural artifacts, or tools, both physical and symbolic, to *mediate* our interactions with the world. This is seen in Vygotsky's (1978) well-known triangular model, which depicts human activity as complex activity mediated by cultural artifacts, and not as simple stimulus-reaction responses. For instance, we can use culturally constructed physical tools to direct and enhance our interactions with the material world. A characteristic feature of human tool use is that we also frequently repurpose tools in arbitrary ways. For example, Lantolf and Poehner (2014) provide the examples of using a butter knife as a screwdriver or planting a shovel in the ground to remember to plant a garden. This leads to another fundamental aspect of Vygotsky's concept of mediation – the notion of activity.

From an SCT perspective, the power of cultural artifacts “resides not in their structure but in their action potential” (Lantolf, 2011, p. 25). As Lantolf (2011) explains, the physical structure of a shovel tells us little about how it is used; only through its use do we come to understand its “capacity to mediate digging action” (p. 25). That is, it is only *in activity*³ that we come to understand and learn to use various tools. Additionally, as mentioned above, in activity, we can re-purpose and redefine the use value of tools (i.e., transforming a butter knife into a screwdriver).

In addition to physical tools, Vygotsky proposed that humans are uniquely capable of using symbolic, or *psychological tools* (i.e., language, symbols, signs, concepts) to mediate our thinking and activity in ways that regulate, enhance, and transform our cognitive capacities. Vygotsky placed a central emphasis on the psychological tool of language, arguing that “through the meaning making and meaning communication system that we use to mediate the thinking and behavior of [others] during social interaction, we also mediate our own thinking” (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014, p. 9). Vygotsky further argued that humans come to internalize psychological tools, such as language, through social interaction with more expert users of these psychological tools and it is through this process that specifically human forms of cognition are developed.

2.5.2 Internalization

As Vygotsky (1978) wrote, “every function in the child’s⁴ cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later on the individual level; first *between* people (*interpsychological*), and then *inside* the child (*intrapsychological*)” (p. 56). He referred to the

³ Further discussion of the concept of activity and, in particular, its elaboration by Leontiev (1978), will be provided later in this overview.

⁴ While Vygotsky’s work primarily dealt with children, his objective was to elaborate a general unified theory of the development of human consciousness. Following Poehner et al. (2018), I argue that his theoretical principles can be extended to the study of adult development

process by which external forms of social interaction are transformed into internal psychological tools as *internalization*⁵. Further, Vygotsky (1986) argued that adults initially use language as a way to regulate or mediate a child's behavior. Gradually, through sustained engagement in social interaction with an adult, the child begins to appropriate these forms of language to regulate or mediate their own behavior. In their illustration of this notion, Johnson and Golombek (2016) describe a child telling themselves 'hot' when they are near a stove as a way of regulating their impulse to touch the stove, as their parent had done for them previously. It is important to emphasize that, while the above examples demonstrate mediation of a child's development by an expert, the notion of internalization is about transformation rather than reproduction. As Lantolf and Poehner (2014) point out, in the transition from *interpsychological* to *intrapsychological*, "societal conventions are imbued with personal sense in accordance with an individual's motives and goals carried out in concrete, practical, or intellectual activity" (p. 45). Thus, SCT emphasizes the role of human agency, conceptualizing individuals as active tool users "who both appropriate and reconstruct the resources that have been developed and made available to them" (Johnson, 2009, p.13).

2.5.3 The Role of Education and Academic Concepts

Vygotsky (1986) proposed that, while all specifically human mental processes are mediated, mediation through word meanings, or *concepts*, is particularly powerful in the development of human cognition. Broadly speaking, he distinguished between two primary types of concepts: *everyday concepts* and *academic concepts*. Everyday concepts develop through one's everyday social interactions and are often based on unconscious empirical knowledge. Importantly, due to this, everyday concepts are often based on knowledge that is impartial and

⁵ The above quotation is also referred to as the general genetic law of cultural development by Vygotsky (1978)

incorrect. For instance, a young child may observe a needle, a coin, and a pen sink in water, and thus reach the false conclusion that all small objects sink (Karpov, 2003). Academic concepts, by contrast, refer to the “systematic and generalized knowledge that is the purview of school learning” (Johnson & Golombek, 2016, p. 24). These concepts are developed through scientific investigation of a particular phenomenon (Karpov, 2003). As Johnson and Golombek (2016) note, the value of academic concepts is that they “enable learners to think in ways that transcend their *everyday* experiences” (p. 5, emphasis in original).

As such, Vygotsky (1986) argued that schooling was the ideal venue through which to introduce children to academic concepts. However, he also argued that, in order to maximize the developmental potential of schooling, academic concepts must be presented to children through systematic and properly organized instruction. Vygotsky maintained that “children should not and cannot be required to understand the world by way of rediscovery of the principal explanatory laws already discovered by humankind” (Karpov, 2003, p. 66). Thus, a Vygotskian SCT informed approach to education places a central emphasis on the explicit presentation of academic concepts. CBI, a pedagogical approach developed by Galperin (1992) to implement Vygotsky’s theoretical arguments on the purpose of schooling, will be introduced below. First, however, it is necessary to introduce two additional central concepts: the zone of proximal development, and Leontiev’s (1978) notion of activity.

2.5.4 Zone of Proximal Development

The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is one of the most widely known constructs of SCT. Grounded in the Vygotskian premise that human cognition develops through the appropriation of mediational artifacts through social activity, Wertsch (2007) states, “when encountering a new cultural tool...the first stages of acquaintance typically involve social

interaction and negotiation between experts and novices or among novices” (p. 411, as cited in Johnson & Dellagnelo, 2013). Thus, a child or novice’s independent use of a cultural tool must first be accomplished with assistance through social interaction with an expert. Therefore, Vygotsky argued that, when observing a child’s independent tool use, we are in fact witnessing the results of an already completed developmental process. For instruction to be most effective, it should be targeted not at the already completed development, but at the “ripening” (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 188) mental processes. It was on this basis that Vygotsky (1986) argued that rather than following development, properly organized instruction “marches ahead of development and leads it” (p. 188). It was this distance between independent performance and assisted performance that Vygotsky (1978) referred to as the *zone of proximal development*:

The zone of proximal development [is] the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p. 85).

The ZPD has been described as an “arena of learner potentiality” (Johnson & Golombek, 2016, p. 25) and as emergent within activity and social interaction between novice and expert.

2.5.5 Activity Theory

While activity played a central role in Vygotsky’s theory, he was primarily concerned with the development of higher psychological functions through the internalization of *word meaning*. Beginning in the 1930s, and following the untimely death of Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev began to revise the cultural-historical approach to emphasize the mediating role of *activity*. While some have speculated that Leontiev’s revisions were motivated by the political climate of the Soviet Union rather than the theory itself (Kozulin, 1986), this discussion is

beyond the scope of the present study. Further, following scholars such as D.A. Leontiev (2002) – grandson of A.N. Leontiev – as well as Arieviditch (2008), in this study I conceptualize SCT and activity theory to be mutually informing and complementary rather than competing. While Vygotsky was primarily interested in interpersonal communication, Leontiev expanded the focus of analysis to activity as defined by Marx. Leontiev (1978) writes:

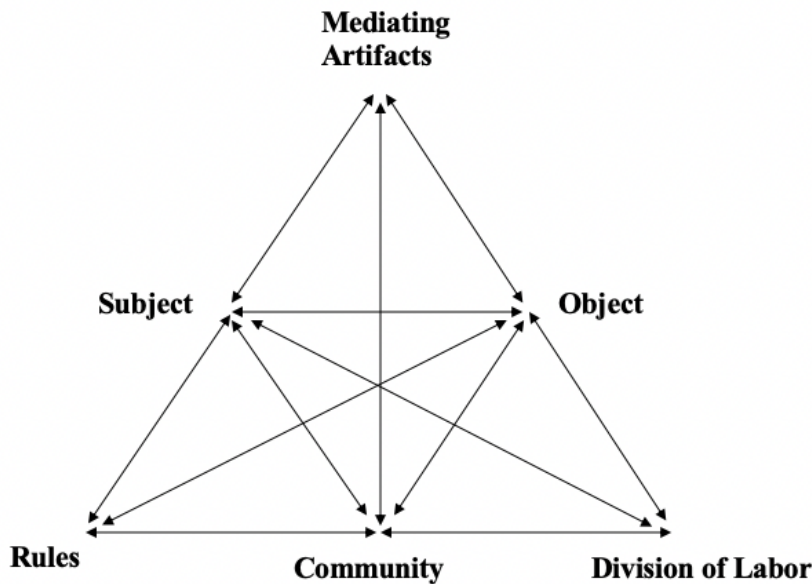
For Marx, activity in its primary and basic form was sensory, practical activity in which people enter into a practical contact with objects of their surrounding world ... acting on the external world, they change it; at the same time, they also change themselves ... In other words, thought and consciousness are determined by real life, the life of people (p. 12 -13).

From this expanded unit of analysis, Leontiev came to consider interpersonal communication, the central focus of Vygotsky's work, as only a "special case" of activity (D.A. Leontiev, 2002, p. 46). As Arieviditch and Haenen (2005) note, for Leontiev, "the development of semiotic means has its basis in the specific content of practical, human activity" (p. 158). Further, Arieviditch (2008) postulates that Vygotsky's central concern with symbolic mediation through verbal communication leaves open the possibility of conceptualizing mental development "as being the result of 'communication of minds'" (p. 12), in which the broader realm of practical human activity could be removed from the analysis. Thus, the central premise of activity theory is that the human mind develops within human social activity and "can only be understood within the context of the meaningful, goal-oriented, and socially determined interaction between human beings and their material environment" (van der Riet, 2008, p. 10).

Following Vygotsky and Leontiev, Engeström (1987) provided the canonical triangular model of human activity (Figure 1) as a unit of analysis, intended to be "the smallest and most

simple unit that still preserved the essential unity and integral quality behind any human activity” (1987, p. 81).

Figure 2-1: Triangular model of human activity system (Engeström, 1987)



Within this model of an activity system, the *subject* is the person or group of people whose point of view is selected for analysis; the *object* is the ‘problem space’ or ‘raw material’ at which the activity is directed; the object is turned into *outcomes* with the help of *mediating artifacts*; the *community* includes the individuals or subgroups who share the same general object; the *division of labor* refers to the distribution of tasks within the activity; and the *rules* are the explicit and implicit rules, regulations, and norms that constrain actions within the system (Engeström, 1987).

The value of these components is that they offer researchers “the possibility of analyzing a multitude of relations within the triangular structure of activity. However, the essential task is always to grasp the systemic whole, not just separate connections” (Engeström, 1987, p. 78). Activity theory thus helps to not only describe what is happening, but to explain why it is happening by tracing the interdependent social, cultural, and historical influences that shape that

activity in addition to the experience of individual actors. Further, through the identification of inner contradictions, activity theory helps to identify points of departure for future changes in an activity system. While Engeström (1987) further elaborated activity theory into a ‘third’ generation, this study is primarily informed by Vygotsky and Leontiev’s work as opposed to Engeström’s.

Leontiev’s activity theory approach maintained Vygotsky’s central thesis on the social genesis of the human mind. However, by emphasizing the internalization of object-related activity, Leontiev also provided a case for arguing that concepts and symbolic mediation were not necessarily the only and, perhaps, not the most significant form of mediation that gave rise to human consciousness. Yet, as Arievitch (2008) argues, Leontiev failed to provide a clear rationale for *how* external activity becomes internalized. Additionally, Leontiev, in emphasizing activity, under-theorized the role of language. It is on this basis that Arievitch (2008) proposes that Galperin’s (1992) CBI provides a coherent, explicit, and systematic approach for explaining, promoting, and documenting the process of internalization by bringing together and extending both Vygotsky and Leontiev’s projects.

2.5.6 Concept-Based Instruction (CBI)

Informed by Vygotsky’s (1986) central thesis that higher forms of human thinking are mediated by concepts, Negueruela and Lantolf (2005) explain that CBI derives from Vygotsky’s “theoretical arguments on the importance of schooling for development” (p.1), more specifically, his proposal that:

schooled instruction [should be] about internalizing and developing control over theoretical⁶ concepts that are explicitly and coherently presented to learners, who in turn are guided through a sequence of activities designed to prompt the necessary internalization and control over the relevant concepts. (p.2)

Combining Vygotsky's argument with Leontiev's emphasis on practical activity, the primary aim of CBI is to promote the internalization of systematic, abstract, academic concepts which can provide "learners with a systematic orienting basis for action that allows them to deal with novel, more complex, and ever-changing circumstances precisely because they are not bound to one's everyday empirical experience" (van Compernelle & Henery, 2014, p. 353).

Following Vygotsky and Leontiev, Galperin (1989, 1992) elaborated these theoretical propositions into a concrete pedagogical approach which begins by explicitly presenting learners with holistic understandings of academic concepts through the use of visual aids/materialized representations of concepts, or SCOBAs.⁷ For Galperin, this first phase of instruction, the orienting basis of mental action, is crucial, as it is here where the instructor "presents learners with as complete a picture as possible of the relevant concept that learners can appropriate to guide mental action in a particular domain" (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014, p. 65). According to Galperin, the value of visualized or materialized representations of concepts in this phase is that purely verbal explanations are often insufficient and must be supplemented by materialized representations/SCOBAs to be used by learners in guided practical activity. The challenge,

⁶ Negueruela and Lantolf (2005) note that they opted to use the phrase 'theoretical concept' while acknowledging that Vygotsky himself used the phrase 'scientific concept.' More recently, Johnson and Golombek (2016) adopted the phrase 'academic concept,' which they link to Vygotsky's later writings about schooling. Accordingly, in this study I adopt the phrase 'academic concept.'

⁷ Schema of a Complete Orienting Basis of an Action (Galperin 1989, 1992)

however, is to develop “pedagogically effective SCOBAs that capture the systematic essence of a concept in ways that are not only understandable to learners, but at the same time allow them to deploy the concept in a broad array of concrete goal-directed activities” (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014, p. 65). Gradually, through systematically organized instruction, learners are guided toward increasing verbalization of the concept and the removal of the material support, finally giving way to internalization of the concept. Further explanation of CBI and its extension to second language teacher education is provided below, while a discussion of the implementation of CBI in this study is provided in Chapter 4.

2.6 Extending SCT to Language Teacher Development

An SCT perspective on language teacher development recognizes that the development of teaching expertise arises from the internalization of external social forms of interaction as internal psychological tools (Johnson & Golombek, 2016). Further, drawing from activity theory, this perspective also recognizes that development is mediated by the social, historical, and institutional contexts within which teachers learn to teach, by the quality and character of the interactions between teachers and teacher educators, and by engagement in the practical activity of teaching. While teachers bring with them internalized *everyday concepts* from their apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975), these concepts are frequently unsystematic and, in many cases, inaccurate. The role of teacher educators is to provide novice teachers with *academic concepts* to confront their everyday understandings and explicitly shape their process of internalization by purposefully designing the psychological tools that teachers receive while also providing properly organized mediation that attempts to move teachers toward the internalization of these academic concepts through engagement in meaningful goal-directed

activity. This is, as Johnson (2015) argued, the “essence” (p. 517) of second language teacher education.

2.6.1 Responsive Mediation

Informed by their explicitly Vygotskian stance on second language teacher education, Johnson and Golombek (2016) propose the concept of *responsive mediation* to capture the “emergent, contingent, and responsive nature of teacher educator mediation” (p. 170). Johnson and Golombek (2020) postulate that responsive mediation “begins with teacher educators making explicit their motives, intentions, and goals underlying their [language teacher educator (LTE)] pedagogy” (p. 123). Responsive mediation further requires that teacher educators commit to learning as much as possible about the teachers with whom they work, including “their histories, knowledge, abilities, *perezhivanie*, goals, and identities to which they aspire” (p. 124) and “the particulars embedded in teachers’ current instructional context, including the challenges, tensions, and joys the teachers are experiencing” (p. 124). Responsive mediation, therefore, encapsulates the “fine tuning” (p. 124) of teacher educators’ mediation in response to all the above, with the ultimate goal being to introduce teachers to relevant academic concepts which can “restructure their everyday concepts” (p. 124) and, thereby promote the development of L2 teaching expertise.

2.6.2 The Role of Research: The Genetic Method

The genetic method is Vygotsky’s approach to studying the development of human consciousness. Following Marx’s dialectical method, Vygotsky (1997) argued that human psychology must be studied historically, which he defined as follows:

To study something historically means to study it in motion. Precisely this is the basic requirement of the dialectical method. To encompass in research the process of

development of some thing in all its phases and changes – from the moment of its appearance to its death – means to reveal its nature, to know its essence, for only in movement does the body exhibit what it is (n.p.).

Thus, the genetic method posits that, rather than studying the fully formed or final stages of a developmental process, we must study the process as it unfolds from its earliest stages. As Vygotsky argued, it is only by studying the genesis and development of the process that we can uncover its essence. Further, Vygotsky proposed that this could be done by provoking developmental processes by placing individuals into situations and tasks that were beyond their current capabilities and introducing various forms of mediation that could, with assistance, provide insight into newly emerging and developing processes.

With regard to studying volunteer teacher development, the genetic method provides an alternative to proposals that we should study ‘successful’ adult ESL teachers in order to determine “how much and what kinds of professional development should be provided” to volunteers (Crandall et al., 2008, n.p.). Rather, the genetic method argues that focusing our study on the external behaviors of the expert teacher would reveal little about the “essence” of the thought processes that underlie these behaviors. Taking a genetic approach suggests that, in order to uncover and truly understand the development of second language teaching expertise in volunteers, we should study the development of novice volunteers as it unfolds. Further, we can do this by intentionally provoking and tracing novices’ development by engaging them in situations that are beyond their current abilities and introducing forms of mediation that can lead them to greater levels of second language teaching expertise.

2.7 Implementing CBI: Primary Aims of the Intervention

Within the context of L2 teacher education, Esteve Ruecas (2018) argued that CBI offers teacher educators a more effective and comprehensible way of enabling teachers to develop an understanding of the conceptual knowledge that underlies “good teaching practices” (p.85) This stands in contrast to teacher education approaches that privilege and prescribe specific instructional strategies without attention to the underlying conceptual bases that engender such strategies. When teaching practices are guided by academic concepts, as advocated by CBI, they are more easily accessible to conscious inspection, intentional control, and adaptability to new contexts. Therefore, CBI is also aligned with Shulman’s (1987) central claim, paraphrasing Fenstermacher (1978, 1986), that “the goal of teacher education... is not to indoctrinate or train teachers to behave in prescribed ways, but to educate teachers to reason soundly about their teaching as well as to perform skillfully” (p. 13).

Accordingly, this intervention employed CBI as a pedagogical approach to extend Shulman’s argument to the education of *volunteer* language tutors, endeavoring to educate volunteer educators to both “reason soundly about their teaching” and “perform skillfully” by promoting their internalization of the concept of language as social practice. Similarly, Johnson and Golombek (2016) argued that as novice teachers internalize academic concepts relevant for the activity of L2 teaching, this enables them to “enact their agency and regulate their mental and material activity of teaching in locally appropriate, theoretically and pedagogically sound instructional practices” (p. 24).

2.7.1 The Central Concept: Language as Social Practice

In this study, grounded in an SCT and CBI-informed approach to L2 teacher education, I adopt the concept of language as social practice (Gee, 2004; 2012) as the primary concept to

present to a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors. As previously indicated, the purpose of this professional development intervention is not merely for tutors to understand the notion of language as social practice nor to train them to perform specific teaching techniques, but to promote their development of an underlying conceptual understanding of language and language teaching. The benefit of this, in other words, is that the development of teaching practices that are guided by conceptual understandings of language and language teaching enables volunteers to develop conscious awareness and control over their activity and therefore, also enables them to develop their agency as language educators.

While there are a number of potentially relevant concepts that could serve this function, language as social practice (Gee, 2004; 2012) was selected due to its prominence and history as a theoretical and pedagogical approach within the field of adult education broadly (See Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Papen, 2005 for overviews) as well as within the realm of L2 instruction (Gee, 2012; Johnson, 2009). Importantly, while this concept does have a nearly 40-year history within the arena of research, it has yet to be widely adopted in practice among many adult ESL educational programs (Atkinson, 2014), including within the adult literacy program under study. Further, a social practice view offers a more socially complex and empowering way of conceptualizing language in contrast to the widely noted shortcomings of more “traditional” understandings of language as skill and as individual mental function (Atkinson, 2014; Auerbach, 1992; Gee 2012).

The concept of language as a social practice reframes language and literacy learning into a project of enabling learners to “become active participants in shaping their own realities” (Auerbach, 1992, p. 16). According to Gee (1999):

Thinking and using language is an active matter of assembling the situated meanings that you need for action in the world. This assembly is always relative to your socioculturally-defined experiences in the world and, more or less, routinized (normed) through cultural models and various social practices of the sociocultural groups to which you belong (p. 49)

In this excerpt, Gee argues that the meaning of language arises not from its structure, grammar, or vocabulary, but from its use in social activity. He further argues that using language entails ‘assembling’ the relevant situated meanings to enable one’s participation in social activity or ‘action in the world.’ This involves taking into account one’s own personal experiences, the identities they wish to convey, and the culturally patterned social practices which underlie language use.

Similarly, he posits that languages do not exist as a unitary phenomenon at the level of ‘English,’ but are instead made up of many “social languages” (Gee, 2004, p. 13). He defines social languages as the distinctive varieties of language which “allow a speaker or writer to be recognized as a socially-situated ‘who doing *what*’” (p. 13). He states:

Each social language offers speakers or writers distinctive grammatical resources with which they can ‘design’ their oral or written ‘utterances’ to accomplish two inter-related things: (1) to get recognized by others (and themselves) as enacting a specific socially-situated *identity* (that is, to ‘come off’ as a particular ‘kind of person’) and (2) to get recognized by others (and themselves) as engaged in a specific socially-situated *activity*.” (Gee, 2004, p. 13)

Thus, different social languages offer users of the language different grammatical resources which can be used to enact certain socially situated identities and engage in certain socially situated activities. The emphasis, from this perspective, therefore, is on language as socially situated, culturally, contextually dependent, and actively constructed through use.

Speaking to the relevance of this perspective for language education, a recent statement from the National Council of Teachers of English offers a succinct summary, stating “from this perspective, readers don’t learn to read once and for all as much as they learn to read particular texts, in particular ways, for particular purposes, and in particular contexts” (NCTE, 2019, para. 2). While their statement explicitly addresses the teaching of reading, their central point remains relevant to all language instruction. Similarly, in a guidebook for adult ESL literacy instructors, Auerbach et al. (1994) state:

Learners become proficient to the extent that instruction is connected to their background knowledge, life experiences, and communicative purposes ... Traditional approaches that focus on the individual’s acquisition of isolated skills without consideration of social context disconnect literacy acquisition from learners’ knowledge and lived experience (p. 10)

Taken as a whole, a language as social practice perspective offers community-based adult ESL teachers a conceptualization of language that shifts the focus of language teaching to “helping L2 learners develop the capacity to interpret and generate meanings that are appropriate within the relevant languaculture⁸” (Johnson, 2009, p. 46). It is on these grounds that the concept of language as social practice was selected as a way of potentially offering the adult literacy site under study a more socially complex and empowering way of conceptualizing and approaching ESL instruction.

2.7.2 Additional Pedagogical Concepts

Although the primary focus of this intervention was to promote the volunteers’ development of the academic concept of language as social practice, the concept is about the

⁸ Languaculture was developed by Agar (1994) as a way of emphasizing the fundamentally social nature of language and reuniting language with culture

nature of language itself rather than pedagogy. While the preceding section outlined broad pedagogical orientations that may be entailed by a language as social practice perspective, I found it necessary to include additional concepts that more explicitly addressed language pedagogy, referred to as pedagogical concepts. Table 2-1 presents the four pedagogical concepts identified for inclusion:

Table 2-1: Pedagogical Concepts Included in this Intervention:

Pedagogical Concepts	
1. Reasoning teaching	Johnson (1999)
2. Speaking from ‘within’	Cooke & Roberts (2007) cited in Moon (2012)
3. Select, adapt, supplement	Fletcher & Barr (2009)
4. Teach ‘off,’ not ‘at’ your students	Johnson & Dellagnelo (2013)

In this section, I provide a brief introduction to each concept and the rationale as to why each concept supports the ability to adopt a language as social practice perspective in language tutoring.

2.7.3 Reasoning Teaching

Because many volunteers enter training programs hoping to learn the best practice or set of practices that represent the definitive right way to teach language, the concept of reasoning teaching (Johnson, 1999) was included as a way of understanding that teaching is a “highly situated, interpretive, and at times idiosyncratic” (p. 2) activity and, therefore, there often is no best way to teach. From this perspective, decisions about what and how to teach must be informed by an understanding of the purposes and experiences of the learner, the cultural contexts in which the learner wants to engage, and the teacher’s own familiarity with these

contexts and the types of practices one needs to know engage in these contexts. This concept, therefore, aligns with a language as social practice perspective by encouraging the tutors to begin with an understanding of the learner, the contexts in which the learner wants to function, and the language practices associated with that context. Additionally, the concept of reasoning teaching provided a conceptual basis for promoting the volunteers' agency by placing a focus on understanding and developing their own reasoning as language educators.

2.7.4 Speaking from Within

The second pedagogical concept, "speaking from within" (Cooke & Roberts, 2007 as cited in Moon, 2012), aligns with a language as social practice perspective by encouraging tutors to intentionally provide space for un-scripted, meaningful dialogue with learners as a form of instruction. The core of this concept is presented in the following excerpt:

The most effective teachers ...drew upon learners' own experiences and lives outside the classroom ... and, crucially, encouraged them to *speak from within*. We observed that where learners were *speaking from within* they produced longer, more complex stretches of talk, which we know to be essential for language learning to take place." (Cooke and Roberts, 2007)

2.7.5 Select, Adapt, and Supplement Materials

The pedagogical concept of "select, adapt, supplement" (based on Fletcher and Barr, 2009), was introduced as a way for the volunteers to use their emerging understandings of their learner and language as social practice to select, adapt, and supplement teaching materials. The concept also served as an additional consideration to inform their reasoning about teaching. Here I present an explanation of the concept provided by me within the intervention:

Nick: So, again, it's not just here is a material, use it. It's what can I, as the tutor, select from this material that's relevant? How can I adapt what's in here to make it more relevant for this learner? And how can I potentially supplement this material to make it more relevant? (Nick, Session 3)

2.7.6 Teach ‘off’ not ‘at’ your Student

The final pedagogical concept that was included in the intervention was teach ‘off’, not “at” students (Johnson & Dellagnelo, 2013). This concept is based on a play on prepositions and encourages novice teachers to shift from teaching ‘at’ their learners (i.e., teacher-controlled, knowledge-transmission teaching) toward teaching ‘off’ their learners (i.e., dialogic and responsive teaching). This concept, therefore, aligns with the pedagogical concept of ‘speaking from within’ by encouraging the tutors to create space for their learners to meaningfully engage with them, and to use that meaningful interaction as an instructional resource.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I began by surveying the literature on volunteer preparation in community-based adult ESL. I emphasized that this is an under-researched topic and highlighted relevant gaps in the research that has been done in this context. The scant research available indicates that the predominant approaches to volunteer preparation have been largely ineffective. While scholars, such as Belzer (2013), Perry (2013), and Durham and Kim (2018) have provided recommendations for improving volunteer professional development, these approaches have not been grounded in a firm theoretical framework. As such, these recommendations may point us in a helpful direction, but do not have much explanatory power. Additionally, the absence of a theoretical framework has resulted in speculation about the non-success of volunteer professional development, including the potential limitation imposed by the short length of professional development workshops.

I then outlined Vygotskian SCT, activity theory, and CBI as a coherent and systematic theoretical framework that offers significant potential for addressing and advancing research that

can provide adult literacy researchers and practitioners with more complex understandings of how we can foster greater expertise among volunteers. Throughout this review, I outlined the theoretical constructs that are most relevant for understanding this study. I then introduced the concept of language as social practice (Gee, 2004) as a concept which offers promise for informing volunteer-taught community-based adult ESL. I concluded this chapter by briefly introducing four additional pedagogical concepts which were included in this intervention in order to further support the volunteers' abilities to use the concept of language as social practice in their tutoring activity. In the next chapter, I present an overview of the methodology and research design that guided this professional development intervention.

Chapter 3

Methodology

*"The philosophers have only **interpreted** the world in various ways; the point, however, is to **change** it" (Marx, 1975/ [1845], p. 3)*

3.1 Introduction and Research Questions

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to study the design, enactment, and outcomes of a professional development intervention in the context of volunteer-taught community-based adult ESL. Grounded in Vygotskian (1978, 1986) sociocultural theory, activity theory (Leontiev, 1978; Engeström, 1987), and concept-based instruction (Galperin, 1992, 1999; Arievidtch, 2008) this dissertation is an interventionist study that seeks to promote and trace the development of the academic concept of language as social practice (Gee, 2004, 2012) among a cohort of volunteer language tutors through theoretically guided and well-organized instructional practice. Inspired by Marx's Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach, this study considers research as active participation in the developmental change of subjects. The research questions addressed by this dissertation are:

1. How do the second language teacher education practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?
2. What are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in these practices?
3. How is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practice realized in activity over time?

By answering these questions, this study seeks to explore how principles of sociocultural theory can help adult literacy practitioners and researchers foster greater expertise among volunteer practitioners who have little to no prior training or previous teaching experience.

3.2 Research Context

3.2.1 Locating Myself within the Context

Prior to developing, carrying out, and analyzing the professional development intervention under study, I spent over two years locating myself as an active participant-researcher in the adult literacy site in which this study was carried out. Because Vygotskian sociocultural theory is a theoretical framework that integrates theory and practice (Vygotsky, 1926/1982) and recognizes research as active participation in and transformation of the world (Engeström, 2015), my experience participating in this activity system served as an integral part of this research project. I consider my engagement in this activity system prior to the development of the professional development intervention to be constitutive of what Engeström (2015) has referred to as the first stage of an activity theoretical intervention: the phenomenological inquiry. The primary purpose at this stage was to develop an understanding of the inner workings of the context by locating myself as a participant in this activity system. Using the lens of activity theory, I sought to gain an emic perspective on the activity system in order to uncover and identify inner contradictions that could be addressed through the design of a professional development intervention.

3.2.2 Timeline of Research and Practice

I first became involved with the adult literacy site under study, Northeast Literacy Center⁹ (NELC), primarily as an outside researcher collecting data for course papers in my doctoral program. However, beginning in 2018, I began to develop a more involved role within the organization by serving as a volunteer teacher myself. I then became increasingly involved with the organization and began to develop a role as a member of the activity system with

⁹ This is a pseudonym

authority. This began with being invited to join the newly formed ‘volunteer training team’ and culminated with being hired as a fixed term paid staff member of the organization in fall 2019. This position was created for me and was designed to last only one semester, as this happened to be the semester in which I was on a temporary released from a Graduate Assistantship. In this role, I was able to devote time to collaborating with the newly hired Assistant ESL Coordinator/ESL Specialist to complete an overhaul of NELC’s traditional training model. I was also able to teach a “Workplace ESL” course as a paid instructor and develop a curriculum that could be used for future volunteers to teach this course. My timeline of research and practice with NELC is summarized in the table below:

Table 3-1: Timeline of research and practice with NELC

Month/Year	Description
Spring 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewed four Spanish-speaking students at NELC (in Spanish) for course paper as first-year doctoral student
Spring 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewed four additional adult learners, four volunteer teachers, and ESL Coordinator for course paper • Observed two classes
Summer 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteered to develop and teach a course • Invited to join newly formed volunteer training team (along with 3 others)
Fall 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyzed previously collected data through lens of activity theory • Coordinated field experience with College of Education ESL Certification Course • Co-developed and co-facilitated NELC’s volunteer training
Spring 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinated second field experience with different College of Education ESL certification course • Collaborated with training team to re-design and facilitate NELC’s volunteer training
Summer 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewed two trainers, the ESL Coordinator, and the Executive Director about their definitions of literacy

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducted small pilot study with the above-mentioned individuals to share the content and purposes behind the professional development intervention under study • Collaborated with training team to continually re-design and facilitate NELC's regular volunteer training
Fall 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implemented professional development intervention under study and collected dissertation data • Hired as a fixed term "Assistant Program Coordinator"

In the following sections, I share general descriptions of the understandings of this context that were developed throughout the above timeline. The purpose of this discussion will not be to present or analyze data that was collected throughout the above timeline, but rather to give the reader a sense of my involvement in this context and provide a brief description of the setting in which this study was carried out.

3.2.3 The Adult Literacy Site

NELC is a small non-profit adult literacy organization located in a college town in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Founded in 1971, the organization's stated mission is to "educate and empower" adults by "bringing [them] literacy in all forms¹⁰" (NELC, 2019). To this end, NELC offers small-group instruction and one-on-one tutoring in ESL and ESL literacy. NELC also offers a smaller program in adult basic education, but there is little to no overlap between the two. NELC does not receive federal or state funding and thus relies on a combination of private donations, fundraising, and grants from local foundations. For this reason, the organization charges a negotiable enrollment fee of \$195 per semester, which grants students access to enroll in up to three classes and meet with a one-on-one tutor weekly. In a typical year, NELC reportedly relies on approximately 100 volunteers to provide instruction for roughly

¹⁰ While this information was provided on the organization's website, a pseudonym is used for in-text references and the URL is not included to maintain anonymity

150 adults seeking to learn English and English literacy (NELC, 2019). All ESL instruction at NELC is delivered by volunteers. From 2017-2019, NELC employed only three paid staff members (Executive Director, ESL Coordinator, and Literacy Coordinator). However, during the Fall 2019 semester, the organization hired a fourth paid staff member, an ESL Specialist who had previously worked as an ESL teacher and program assistant in the Department of Language Learning¹¹ at the nearby university.

3.2.4 Paid Staff Members

At the time of my initial involvement with NELC, there were three paid staff members: 1) the Executive Director (ED), 2) the ESL Coordinator, and 3) the Literacy Coordinator. However, in fall 2019, a fourth paid staff member was hired, 4) an Assistant ESL Coordinator/ESL Specialist. Additionally, as mentioned above, I was temporarily hired as a paid Assistant ESL Program Coordinator in fall 2019. In this section, I provide a brief overview of the roles of each of the paid staff members.

- ***Executive Director:*** Until 2018, the Executive Director collaborated with the ESL Coordinator, Beth¹², to design and conduct all teacher/tutor training. Her primary responsibilities, however, are related to fundraising and logistics of managing the non-profit organization.
- ***ESL Coordinator:*** The ESL Coordinator, Beth, is the primary point of contact for all teachers, tutors, and adult learners in the ESL program at NELC. Beth was hired as the ESL Coordinator in fall 2017 after having served as a volunteer ESL tutor and teacher at NELC for nearly 20 years (intermittently). In the 2016-2017 academic year, just prior to

¹¹ This is a pseudonym

¹² I have opted to only provide a pseudonym for Beth, as she was the staff member who was most involved in the day-to-day operations of volunteers and adult learners in the ESL program

being hired as the coordinator, NELC had applied for and was granted an Americorps position for Beth to fulfill. When the previous ESL Coordinator left in August 2017, Beth was hired in this role. In 2018, Beth also assumed primary responsibility for leading the “training team,” which will be discussed below. Additional details of Beth’s role in the organization will also be discussed below.

- ***Literacy Coordinator:*** In addition to the ESL program, NELC also offers a much smaller program in Adult Basic Education and Literacy. This program primarily caters to “native” English-speaking adults living in rural areas throughout the region. There is typically no overlap between the two programs.
- ***Assistant ESL Coordinator/ESL Specialist:*** In fall 2019, NELC was granted approval by its executive board to open a new part-time paid staff position in the ESL program. Thus, they created the position of the Assistant ESL Coordinator/ESL Specialist. This role was initially created to assist Beth with managing the day-to-day operations of the program.

3.2.5 Adult Learners at NELC

As is common among community-based programs, the adult learners who enroll at NELC represent a diverse range of linguistic, cultural, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Although specific demographic data was not available at the time of this study, I was able to glean general demographic trends through personal interactions with Beth, the ESL Program Coordinator. According to Beth, the primary population of learners enrolled in the ESL program at NELC includes a combination of long-term immigrants residing in the local community and short-term visitors who are typically spouses and adult family members of visiting scholars at the nearby university. While there are adults enrolled in the ESL program who have experienced

limited or interrupted formal education, the majority of learners at NELC do have at least a beginning level of literacy in their first language.

3.2.6 The Small-Group Instruction Program

NELC offers two main programs for providing ESL and English literacy: a small-group program and an individual tutoring program. Due to NELC's proximity to a large public university and the prevalence of university-affiliated adult learners and volunteer-teachers, both small group classes and the tutoring program run on the same 15-week semester schedule as the university and NELC does not offer instruction during holidays or breaks scheduled by the university. Each semester, NELC offers approximately 20 small-group classes. A particularly unique feature of NELC's small-group instruction program is that many volunteers take primary responsibility for creating the class they teach. That is, volunteers are often able to determine nearly every element of each class they teach; this includes class title, focus, and content, the class "level" (Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced), the target number of students, the class objectives, and the time, day, and frequency at which the class meets. Example course titles from the Fall 2020 semester include "Beginner Conversation", "Culture and Conversation (Intermediate)", "English for Doctor's Visits (Intermediate)," and "News Discussion" (Advanced). Additionally, a small portion of the 20 small-group classes includes 3-4 TOEFL preparation classes. However, unlike the previously discussed courses, the TOEFL classes are not typically designed by volunteers and follow a combination of commercial test preparation curricula.

Prior to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, all classes were held in the NELC office, which contains four small classrooms. From my personal experience observing small group classes and conversing with volunteers, typical enrollment per class ranges from 3-12 students.

Aligned with trends in the literature on student retention in community-based adult ESL programs (Durham & Kim, 2018), it is common for a class to begin with 12 students enrolled, but by the third or fourth week, have only 2-4 students remaining. As previously mentioned, the \$195 enrollment fee grants students access to enroll in up to three courses per semester. While students are free to self-select their three classes, they must take a placement test and register at the beginning of the semester with Beth, who advises students on class selection (I.e., a student who tested at the ‘beginner’ level would be advised to select from the beginner level courses).

3.2.7 The Individual Tutoring Program

In addition to the small-group instruction program, NELC offers an individual ESL tutoring program in which an adult learner is matched with a volunteer tutor at the beginning of the semester and meets with this same tutor each week throughout the semester. The meeting day, frequency, and length of each tutoring session is negotiated between tutor and tutee and often changes throughout the semester. At the time of this study, it was also common for adult learners to be enrolled in both the small-group and individual tutoring programs. Individual tutoring sessions were typically held for a combined total of 2-4 hours per week, dependent on the tutor and tutee. Additionally, prior to the global pandemic, tutors were free to hold sessions in the NELC offices or in public spaces including the nearby university, local cafés, parks, or community spaces.

3.2.8 The Role of Instructional Materials within the Individual Tutoring Program

According to Beth, the individual tutoring program was designed to be tailored to the individual adult learner. For this reason, Beth typically meets with each adult learner prior to matching them with a tutor in order to conduct a needs analysis and determine the learner’s goals and proficiency level. The specific procedures used to conduct this needs analysis were not

provided to me. Following her needs analysis, Beth would curate a folder of materials, including various worksheets and a list of recommended textbooks, which was typically given to the tutor 15 minutes immediately prior to the first tutor-learner meeting.

Analyses that I conducted during fieldwork (Doyle 2019; Doyle, 2018) found that, while the packets were envisioned by the ESL Coordinator as lists of possibilities, in many cases, volunteers relied on and based tutoring activities on these materials as predetermined curricula. Volunteers often did so even if they didn't find the materials appropriate or helpful, and even when they were aware that their learner was neither satisfied with the materials nor this approach to tutoring. Similarly, students reported their awareness that their tutors were simply following packets of materials, were not preparing for their sessions, and therefore, were not able to respond to unanticipated questions or prompts from learners.

A final important finding about the role of these packets included the ways in which the materials featured in the Beth's conceptualization of teaching and approach to supporting teachers/tutors. Beth primarily conceptualized ESL teaching and tutoring as the delivery of materials and, as such, framed most of her interactions with volunteers around materials. It was also partially for this reason that Beth reported that she didn't perceive a need to observe or meet with volunteers throughout the semester. That is, because the materials were intended to regulate tutoring, there was not a perceived need to follow up with tutors. If a volunteer did approach Beth or reach out for support, she typically responded by suggesting additional materials that the volunteer might use.

3.2.9 Volunteers at NELC

All forms of instruction at NELC (i.e., small-group and individual tutoring) are delivered by volunteers. It was reported by the ESL Coordinator that the volunteers generally fall into four

primary categories: community members, MA TESOL students, undergraduate students from the nearby university who are enrolled in an upper-level undergraduate course in the department of human health, and university students who do not fall into any of the above categories.

Community Members

Community members who volunteer at NELC encompass a range of individuals who do not currently have a direct affiliation with the local university. These include individuals, both currently working and retired, from a wide range of professions. The motivations behind community members volunteering are diverse and, as there were no such participants included in the cohort under study in this dissertation, are beyond the scope of this discussion.

MA TESOL Students

A second group of volunteers at NELC include a number of MA TESOL students from the nearby university. A large portion of this group are typically international students from China. Although there was no official partnership between the MA TESOL program and NELC, MA TESOL students were regularly encouraged by faculty to volunteer in order to garner teaching experience.

Students Enrolled in HEALTH 400: Introduction to Epidemiology¹³

A particularly interesting population of volunteers at NELC come from the HEALTH 400 (H400) course at the nearby university. The exact origin of this partnership was not known by the ESL Coordinator at the time of data collection. Undergraduate students enrolled in H400 were offered the option of volunteering at NELC for 40 hours in exchange for having several of their lowest test scores dropped. Given that H400 was a lecture-based course which typically

¹³ This course title is a pseudonym

offered approximately 5 sections per semester with 140 students in each section, many NELC volunteers come from this partnership.

Other University Students

The final group of typical volunteers at NELC includes those who are students at the university but are not enrolled in the MA TESOL program or the H400 course. This includes students across a range of disciplines and degree programs. Some of these volunteers are associated with student organizations and are seeking to meet community service requirements.

3.2.10 NELC's Traditional Training Model

Prior to this study, NELC provided an initial four-and-a-half-hour new volunteer training for an average of 40 new volunteers per semester. The training was divided into two sessions and was inclusive of both volunteers teaching small-group classes and individual tutors. Training took place prior to the beginning of the semester and, therefore, prior to matching tutors with tutees and followed a frontloaded approach similar to the approaches described by Belzer (2006a, 2006b, 2013). Across the two sessions, the training sought to address a wide range of technical skills and teaching strategies related to teaching grammar, pronunciation, reading, and writing. The table below presents, in order of presentation, an overview of each topic addressed in NELC's traditional training as well as the length of time allotted to cover each topic.

Table 3-2: NELC's traditional training model

Session 1 – 120 minutes	Session 2 – 125 minutes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language learning (15 minutes) • Communicating across cultures (10 minutes) • Student goals and successes (10 minutes) • Break time (20 minutes) • Conversation starters (5 minutes) • Total Physical Response (30 minutes) • Dialogues with health literacy (30 minutes) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pronunciation (10 minutes) • Teaching Writing and Grammar (10 minutes) • Teaching Reading and Color Vowel Chart (60 minutes) • Break time (15 minutes) • Materials and Lesson Planning (15 minutes) • Practice and applying new skills (15 minutes)

Until summer 2018, all trainings were designed and conducted by Beth and the executive director (ED). However, in summer 2018, Beth and the ED assembled a ‘training team’ composed of myself, two long-term volunteer teachers, and a retired Regional English Language Officer residing in the community. After facilitating the trainings several times with the training team, I approached the ED and ESL coordinator in spring 2019 to propose a professional development intervention study that would offer a different approach to training and supporting new volunteers. The design of this professional development intervention and the data collected throughout its implementation are provided in the next section.

3.3 Research Design

Having provided an overview of adult literacy site in which this study was carried out, I now turn to the design of the professional development intervention that lies at the core of this study. In this section, I will share a timeline of the intervention, the data collected from each phase of the intervention, and the methods of analysis utilized to answer the research questions.

3.3.1 The Professional Development Intervention

Grounded in Vygotskian sociocultural theory, the professional development intervention in this study employed principles of concept-based instruction (CBI) (Arievitch, 2008; Lantolf & Poehner, 2014; Negueruela & Lantolf, 2005) and activity theory (Leontiev, 1981) to reconceptualize NELC’s training model and promote the development of the concept of language as social practice among a cohort of new volunteer adult ESL tutors. The intervention served as an alternate training route for a subset of the population of new volunteers at NELC and was divided into two primary phases, both of which took place over the course of one 15-week semester. The first phase consisted of a series of three workshops while the second phase consisted of me observing each tutor two times and meeting with them after each observation. In

this section, I will explain the design of each phase of the intervention and share the data that was collected from each phase. It is also important to highlight at this point that this intervention was carried out with volunteers within the Individual Tutoring Program. An overview of the intervention timeline is presented in the following table:

Table 3-3: Intervention timeline

Intervention Timeline		
Phase I:	Week 1	Workshop Session 1 & 2
	Week 2	No Workshop Session; Begin tutoring
	Week 3	Workshop Session 3
Phase II:	Week 6-8	1 ST Observation and Debriefing Meeting
	Week 10-13	2 ND Observation and Debriefing Meeting

3.3.2 Phase I: The Professional Development Workshops

The first phase of the intervention consisted of a series of three CBI workshop sessions conducted with a total of 8 participants. Each workshop lasted for 2.5 hours and included both conceptual discussion and engagement in practical activity using the concept of language as social practice to design activities, teach mini lessons, and adapt materials¹⁴. The series of workshops took place over a three-week period in early Fall 2019. The table below presents an overview of the timeline and data collected from the first phase of the intervention:

¹⁴ A detailed discussion of the language teacher education practices that comprised each workshop session is presented in Chapter 4

Table 3-4: Phase I: Professional development workshops

Phase I: Professional Development Workshops				
Timeline	Week 1		Week 2	Week 3
Intervention Stage	Workshop 1: Understanding and Teaching Adult ESL	Workshop 2: Teaching Language as Social Practice (Part I)	No Workshop: First tutoring session with adult learner	Workshop 3: Teaching Language as Social Practice (Part II)
Data Collected	Video-recorded session, instructional materials and artifacts, artifacts produced by participants	Video-recorded session, instructional materials and artifacts, artifacts produced by participants	Participants' notes recorded on index card	Video-recorded session, instructional materials and artifacts, artifacts produced by participants

The first two workshops were held two days apart within the first week of the intervention. During the second week, in lieu of a workshop, participants were matched with an adult learner and held their first tutoring session. During their first meeting with their learner, participants were asked to take notes on an index card to record their impressions of the interests, goals, and target language practices of their learner. The final workshop was held in the third week after participants had met with their adult learner for the first time. This was done so that in this workshop, participants would be able to draw upon their experiences having met with their learner. Each workshop session was video-recorded, and any material artifacts produced by participants within the session were collected and scanned at the end of each session. Data collected from workshops also included any instructional materials that I developed for and/or utilized within each session. This included PowerPoint presentations, handouts, and any other artifacts or materials brought in by me for instructional purposes.

3.3.3 Phase II: Tutoring Observations and Debriefing Meetings

The second phase of the intervention encompassed the remainder of the semester and consisted of the participants' continued engagement in tutoring an adult learner and participation in two observations and observation debriefing meetings with me. The table below presents an overview of the timeline and data collected from the second phase of the intervention:

Table 3-5: Phase II: Tutoring observations and debriefing meetings

Phase II: Tutoring Observations and Debriefing Meetings				
Timeline	Week 6-8		Week 10-13	
Intervention Stage	Tutoring Observation 1 (3-5 weeks after final workshop)	Debriefing Meeting 1 (Within 48 hours of observation)	Tutoring Observation 2 (4 weeks after 1 st observation)	Debriefing Meeting 2 (Within 48 hours of observation)
Data Collected	Video- or audio-recorded tutoring session, materials used by tutor	Audio-recorded meeting; My preparation notes	Video- or audio-recorded tutoring session, materials used by tutor	Audio-recorded meeting; My preparation notes

3.3.3.1 Tutoring Observations

For each tutor/adult learner pairing, I conducted two video- or audio-recorded tutoring observations at 4-6-week intervals following the final professional development workshop session. The first round of observations was conducted roughly at 6-8 weeks into the intervention and the second round of observations were conducted 10-13 weeks into the intervention. I arranged the observations and debriefing meetings via email in consultation with each individual tutor. One week prior to each round of observations, I sent an email to each participant requesting that they provide a date and time in the next 2-3 weeks in which the observation could take place. I also requested that they inform their learner of the observation ahead of time. In the interest of remaining as un-intrusive as possible, I conducted observations by setting up a small camera focused on the tutor and tutee and then leaving the room (or café, community space, etc.)

for the duration of the session. If the adult learner was uncomfortable being video recorded, I also offered the option of using a voice-recorder.

3.3.3.2 Debriefing Meetings

Within 48 hours of each video- or audio-recorded tutoring observation, I then conducted audio-recorded debriefing meetings with each participant. These meetings were designed to be safe mediational spaces that would extend into the activity of tutoring an adult learner and create opportunities to promote the volunteers' continued conceptual development in relation to their engagement in tutoring. In the first debriefing meeting with each participant, we watched and/or listened to selected portions of their own individual observation recordings. We then engaged in dialogue in which I asked each participant to externalize their interpretations of their thinking in the moment, externalize and clarify their pedagogical reasoning, and verbalize their understandings of the concepts from the training workshops and their relevance to their tutoring. A major feature of this process was my responsive mediation (Johnson & Golombek, 2016), which was, by definition, emergent, responsive, and contingent on my understanding of each participants' unfolding development and my goals as a teacher educator¹⁵. In the second debriefing meetings, many participants had already completed their final tutoring session. As such, the focus of these meetings shifted from reviewing their observation recordings to discussing their reflections on their tutoring more broadly and verbalizing their understandings of concepts from the workshops.

Prior to each debriefing meeting, I reviewed each observation recording and made note of specific interactions that I intended to review with each participant in the meeting. Because each debriefing lasted between 30-60 minutes, it was not possible to watch or listen to the entire

¹⁵ In Chapter 6, I closely analyze my engagement with participants in this phase of the intervention.

observation recordings in any of these meetings. Therefore, I selected 2-4 specific interactions from each recording to review in the debriefing meeting. These interactions were selected on the basis of exemplifying either an attempt at or successful use of a concept from the workshops, contradiction with a concept from the workshops, or moments of struggle. In addition to this, I also offered space for the participants to select portions of their recordings to watch and discuss as well as raise their own concerns or questions. As mentioned above, while the majority of the first round of debriefing meetings was centered on watching and discussing these recordings, in the second round of debriefing meetings, we often referred only implicitly to the recordings and did not watch and/or listen to them together.

3.3.4 Participant Recruitment

The participants for this study included two cohorts of new volunteers. Recruitment was accomplished with assistance from Beth, the ESL Coordinator at the adult literacy study under study. I prepared a recruitment email which was forwarded by Beth to approximately 15 new volunteers who were selected by Beth at her discretion. From the pool of potential participants who received the email, 9 agreed to participate in the intervention. In the interest of maintaining as authentically as possible the range of individuals who volunteer at NELC, all 9 participants were accepted for inclusion in the intervention. Participation in this study was voluntary. Given the exempt status of IRB approval for this study, prior to starting the recording in the first workshop session, I provided each participant with a detailed overview of the purposes and procedures of the study and obtained verbal consent. This included explanations of exactly what this study would require from them as well as my procedures for maintaining their anonymity. Written consent was not required.

3.3.5 Participant Cohorts

To accommodate differing schedules and availability, each intervention workshop was offered at two different times in the same day. The first time slot was a 150-minute session in the mid-afternoon while the second time slot was a 150-minute session during the early evening. Participants were given the option to self-select the afternoon or evening track but were asked to consistently attend the same time slot for all three workshops. Initially, there were 5 participants in the afternoon slot and 4 participants in the evening slot. However, one participant from the afternoon slot was unavailable to attend the second and third workshops and was, therefore, removed from the remainder of the study and placed into the organization's traditional volunteer training program.¹⁶ This left 4 participants in each cohort. Due to the ethnographic nature of the study, it was not feasible to include all 8 of the remaining participants in this dissertation. As a result, I chose to focus my analysis on the afternoon cohort. I selected this cohort as they represented a range of distinct histories and motives for volunteering. However, by chance, all four participants in this cohort were placed into the individual tutoring program and were not, therefore, teaching classes. As a result, I refer to them as tutors and to the activity of tutoring throughout this study, as opposed to teachers and the activity of teaching.

3.3.6 Participants

All four participants in the cohort selected for analysis were, in some way, connected to the nearby public university. One participant was a graduate student, two were undergraduate students, and one worked as a security officer at the university. More detailed information about each participant is presented in Chapter 4.

¹⁶ Although data collection for this participant ended after the first workshop, her presence and participation in the workshop were directly implicated in this cohort's workshop experience. Therefore, I include data from her engagement in the first workshop, but I do not analyze her participation. Rather, I discuss her data only as it pertains to analyzing the focal participants.

Table 3-6: Participants

Participant	Background and University Affiliation	Previous teaching/tutoring experience
Andrea	2 nd year Ph.D. student in Human Development and Family Studies	None
Ashley*	4 th year undergraduate student in Medical field	None
Lisa	Campus security officer	3-4 weeks tutoring at NELC prior to intervention
Rebecca*	Undergraduate student in Medical field	None
Ruby	3 rd year undergraduate student in Communication Sciences and Disorders (Speech Language Pathology)	None

*Note: Ashley and Rebecca were both enrolled in the H400 course

3.4 Data Preparation and Transcription

All data were stored in digital form on a secure university server. Data that were collected in paper form (i.e., artifacts from interventions) were scanned and only a digital copy was saved. Transcription followed orthographic conventions (Jenks, 2011) in which the primary function was to capture the content of what is being said. Following data collection, all audio and video data were reviewed, and only relevant data were transcribed. All video data from the Phase I workshops were transcribed. Additionally, all audio data from Phase II debriefing meetings were transcribed. However, only portions of video data from Phase II tutoring observations that were directly referenced in debriefing meetings were transcribed. Prior to the transcription process, all participants were given a pseudonym to maintain anonymity. A master list containing pseudonyms and participants' true names was saved until transcription was completed and was then deleted.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis began with transcription of data collected from the Phase I workshops and Phase II debriefing meetings. Following transcription, I first conducted a grounded content analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to identify emerging patterns and themes among the data sources with a close focus on how the participants were experiencing this intervention. To answer each research question, different principles of sociocultural theory and activity theory were applied to trace the developmental trajectories experienced by the cohort and to locate the participants within the social, historical, institutional activity system in which their development unfolded. The specific data utilized to answer each research question is provided in the following table:

Table 3-7: Overview of data analysis

Research Question (RQ)	Data Analyzed
RQ 1: How do the second language teacher education practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?	Phase I Data: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My instructional artifacts (PPTs, notes, materials) • Transcripts of video-recordings from all three workshops
RQ 2: What are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in these practices?	Phase I Data: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcripts of video-recordings from all three workshops
RQ 3: How is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practice realized in activity over time?	Phase II Data: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcripts of video- or audio-recorded tutoring observations • Artifacts used by tutors in tutoring sessions • Transcripts of audio-recorded debriefing meetings • My notes to prepare for debriefing meetings

3.5.1 Research Question 1

In Chapter 4, I analyze data from the Phase I professional development workshops to answer the first research question. Through a comparison of the instructional artifacts that I developed and used in each workshop and the transcriptions and video-recordings from each workshop, I first re-constructed an outline of the teacher education “practices” of the workshops. I used Johnson & Golombek’s (2016) definition of the “practices of L2 teacher education” (p. 3) as the various activities and tasks teachers and teacher educators engage in within teacher education programs, the goals that teacher educators seek to accomplish through these practices, and the quality and character of the interactions between teachers and teacher educators within these practices. Following Johnson and Golombek (2016), I sought to examine not only the activities and tasks that participants and I engaged in, but also, and more importantly, what “[I was] attempting to accomplish through these practices,” and “how [I went about] accomplishing [my] goals through the quality and character of [my] interactions with teachers” (p. 3). Using CBI as a conceptual framework, I wrote a description of each of the practices throughout the workshops. I then made the rationale behind each practice explicit, stating how each practice was designed according to principles of CBI and, accordingly, sought to make the academic concept of language as social practice explicit, concrete, and understandable to the participants.

3.5.2 Research Question 2

In Chapter 5, I analyze the videos and transcripts of all three professional development workshops in order to answer the second research question, which seeks to examine what participants are learning through their engagement in the practices described in chapter 4. To this end, I analyzed transcripts to trace the concept development of each individual participant. For each participant, I first highlighted all instances in which they either contributed to a group discussion, collaborated privately with a partner, or engaged in dialogue with me. I then searched

for evidence of verbalization of concepts, instances of responsive mediation, or moments of tension or cognitive dissonance. Following Johnson's (2009) extended exegesis on a sociocultural theoretical perspective on L2 teacher education, the above moments could provide insight into the conceptual development of each participant. Once these moments had been identified, I then used each participant's own language to characterize selected episodes in order to maintain a focus on how each participant was experiencing the workshops.

3.5.3 Research Question 3

In Chapter 6, I analyze data collected throughout Phase II of the intervention to address the third and final research question, which examines how participants' conceptual development was realized in activity. In this chapter, I analyze the participants as a cohort in order to provide a more holistic view of the ways in which the participants' development was realized in activity. I began by reviewing the transcripts from the debriefing meetings and tutoring observations to identify patterns across all four participants. Corresponding the most prevalent themes, I generated a list of 5 themes. I then employed sociocultural theory to interpret these themes and their relevance to understanding the participants' development. Lastly, after having identified a general idea of each participants' development, I used activity theory (Leontiev, 1981) as a conceptual framework to trace the mediating influence of the activity system in the development of the participants.

Chapter 4

The Professional Development Intervention

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the professional development (PD) intervention that lies at the core of this study and, in so doing, addresses the first research question: *how do the practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?* To document the practices of the PD intervention, I follow Johnson and Golombek's (2016) definition of the practices of second language teacher education. They consider practices to be the activities that teacher educators and teachers engage in during teacher education programs, but state explicitly that their "interest in these practices is not much with the practices themselves, but what we, as teacher educators, are attempting to accomplish through these practices" (p. 3). Thus, accounting for the practices of this PD intervention requires not only recounting the activities in which the participants and I were engaged, but also making explicit my intentions and goals behind these practices. As such, this chapter will be primarily descriptive in nature and will document how the practices of the intervention, grounded in a Vygotskian Concept-Based Instruction (CBI) inspired approach (Esteve Ruesca, 2018, Lantolf & Poehner, 2014; Negueruela & Lantolf, 2005), sought to make the academic concept of *language as social practice* (Auerbach, 1994; Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 2004, 2012; Moon, 2012) concrete, understandable, and actionable for a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors.

The PD intervention was divided into two primary phases, both of which were predominantly focused on developing an understanding of and ability to enact in tutoring the

academic concept of *language as social practice*. The first phase of the intervention consisted of a series of three group workshops developed and led by me as a teacher educator/researcher, while the second phase consisted of two tutoring observations and debriefing meetings with each participant conducted by me as well. A key feature of the first phase was the inclusion of an initial tutoring session with an adult learner that occurred between workshop sessions one and two. Grounded in Vygotsky's (1986) emphasis on the importance of intentional, well-organized instruction leading development and the central importance of academic concepts in this endeavor, this chapter will focus on the first phase of the intervention (i.e. the series of three workshops) in order to answer the first research question, which is centered on understanding both the LTE practices of the intervention and their relation to participants' emerging conceptual understandings of language as social practice. However, before proceeding to the discussion, I will first briefly summarize how CBI served as a guiding framework for carrying out and understanding the practices of the intervention.

4.2 Implementing CBI: Primary Aims of the Intervention

Prior to implementation the intervention was presented to the leadership of NELC as motivated by the following goals:

1. To help tutors move beyond their own experiences to develop more 'sound' language teaching practices.
2. To offer an approach that is *ongoing* (three sessions distributed over time followed by two rounds of observations).
3. To offer an approach that is *situated in activity* (each session provides space for tutors to learn how to teach by experiencing and using new concepts in the context of teaching at NELC).

4. To begin with an understanding of *language* and an orientation to *language teaching* rather than specific strategies (aim to develop underlying orientation that can be achieved by *many* strategies – i.e., target their underlying reasoning rather than surface techniques without understanding).

Goals 1 and 4 are derived from Vygotsky's (1986) emphasis on the importance of deep conceptual knowledge as the purview of education, while goals two and three derive from Galperin's (1999) emphasis on practical activity. Goal four is also grounded in Galperin's primary concern with the *orienting basis of an action*. The following sections of this chapter will be devoted to illustrating how these goals were concretely realized through the practices of the intervention. Although the primary focus of this intervention was to promote the volunteers' development of the academic concept of language as social practice, the concept itself is about the nature of language itself rather than pedagogy. Therefore, several other academic concepts related to adult learning and to language teaching were also included in order to support participants' ability to enact a language teaching approach that aligns with an understanding of *language as social practice*. Table 4-1 outlines all of the concepts that were included in the intervention and displays the session(s) in which each concept was explicitly addressed through deliberate LTE pedagogical activities.

Table 4-1: Focal concepts

Focal Concepts	Session(s) explicitly focused on concept
Adult learning/Instructional Context ¹⁷	Session 1

¹⁷ While the understanding of adult learning/context developed in session one was relevant for and brought up in the subsequent sessions, it was only explicitly addressed explicitly in a pre-planned way in the first session and is thus only shown as having an intentional focus in session one in this table.

Language as social practice	Sessions 1, 2, 3
Speaking from within	Sessions 2,3
Reasoning teaching	Sessions 2,3
Select, adapt, supplement materials	Session 3
Teach ‘off’ not ‘at’ your students	Session 3

As seen in Table 4-1, the first concept introduced in the intervention is the nature of adult learning (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 2005), which is integrated with an understanding of the instructional context. The pedagogical concepts that were included in this intervention (as introduced in Chapter 2) include: *speaking from within* (Cooke & Roberts, 2007, cited in Moon, 2012), *reasoning teaching* (Johnson, 1999), *selecting, adapting, and supplementing materials* (Fletcher & Barr, 2009), and *teach ‘off’, not ‘at’ your students’* (Johnson & Dellagnelo, 2013). The remainder of this chapter will detail how these concepts were materialized and how the workshops were organized to promote their development. In the following discussion, although each concept will be addressed to some extent, the primary focus will be on the concept of language as social practice as this was the central focus of the intervention.

4.3 General Summary of Intervention Workshops

To initiate the discussion of the intervention, in this section I briefly introduce each of the three intervention workshops by sharing the specific objectives that guided each session and the rationale behind these objectives. Every session began by explicitly sharing the relevant objectives in writing with participants and as such, the specific written language that was utilized to introduce the objectives in each session is provided in a series of tables (Table 4-2, Table 4-3, and Table 4-4). Following the general overview of session objectives, I provide a more detailed

explanation of the specific concepts and activities that comprised each workshop session and the ways in which these activities were organized through CBI to achieve the objectives.

4.3.1 Session 1

At the beginning of the first workshop, the participants were presented with three primary session objectives (Table 4-2):

Table 4-2: Session 1 objectives

Session 1 Objectives
1. Orient to teaching community-based adult ESL
2. Define language and literacy
3. Illustrate connections between practical teaching activities and this definition of language

The first objective was grounded in Johnson & Freeman's (1998) proposal that a knowledge-base for L2 teaching must include a focus on the context of schools and schooling, as well as Belzer's (2006a, 2006b, 2013) findings that volunteer trainings that take place prior to actual teaching are better suited to conveying broader concepts about adult learning and contexts of learning than specific teaching strategies. This objective was also grounded in the CBI principle that instruction should be targeted toward the orienting basis of action. Consequently, the first objective was designed to introduce a new orienting basis to the participants by examining the context of teaching in a community-based adult ESL program. The second and third objectives were grounded in the proposition that a Vygotskian approach to L2 teacher education must "create opportunities to externalize everyday concepts while internalizing relevant academic concepts through authentic, goal-directed activities of teaching" (Johnson & Golombek, 2020, p. 122). To this end, the first workshop session was primarily devoted to raising volunteers'

conscious awareness of the concept of language as social practice and its relevance for the activity of language tutoring.

4.3.2. Session 2

At the beginning of the second workshop, participants were presented with two primary objectives (Table 4-3):

Table 4-3: Session 2 objectives

Session 2 Objectives

1. Practice *using* our understanding of language/literacy to help learners (emphasis original)
 2. Prepare for your first meeting with your learner
-

The first objective was grounded in Johnson & Golombek's (2003) argument that, from a Vygotskian perspective on L2 teacher development, in order for theory (i.e. academic conceptual knowledge) to have relevance to teaching, it must be situated in and connected to the goal-directed activities of teaching. This objective was, therefore, targeted toward using and enacting the concept of language as social practice in activity. In this session, the majority of the PD practices were grounded in the first objective, while the second objective was primarily addressed through one specific activity toward the end of the session. It is important to highlight that the second objective served to prepare the tutors for their first meeting with their adult learner, which was scheduled to happen in between sessions 2 and 3. As will be discussed below, this was done so that, in the third and final workshop, the tutors would be able to draw upon their experiences having met with their actual adult learner. Additionally, within the second session, I also introduced the pedagogical concepts of 'reasoning teaching' and 'speaking from within.'

4.3.3 Session 3

For the third and final workshop session, the volunteers were presented with two main objectives (Table 4-4):

Table 4-4: Session 3 objectives

Session 3 Objectives
1. Practice <i>using</i> our understanding of language/literacy to help your learner
2. Adapt materials for your learner

The first objective for session three was the same as the first objective from session two. Grounded in SCT and CBI, in this session, the objective took on a new meaning; now that participants were increasingly familiar with the concept of language as social practice and had met their actual learner, this objective was oriented toward increasing their competence with using the concept in their tutoring activity while decreasing TE guidance and dependence on the use of the visual representation. The second objective was grounded in the proposition that a Vygotskian approach to LTE must be “located” or “socially, culturally, historically, and institutionally situated in and responsive to teachers’, students’, and community needs” (Johnson & Golombek, 2020, p. 120). As such, the objective of “adapt materials for your learner” was integrated into this workshop in response to my understanding of the ways in which instructional materials often function within this institution to inhibit volunteers’ agency (See Chapter 3), typically seen in volunteers following materials that have been assigned by the ESL coordinator without having a clear theoretical or pedagogical rationale for doing so. To meet this objective, I introduced the pedagogical concept of ‘select, adapt, supplement.’ Lastly, in the third workshop session, I also introduced the final pedagogical concept, teach off your student, not at them (Johnson & Dellagnelo, 2013).

Having introduced the overall objectives of each workshop session, I now turn to a more detailed exposition of the specific focal concepts of each session and the activities and tasks that were included to promote the internalization of these concepts in each session.

4.4 Detailed Exposition of Intervention Workshops

In this section I provide a more detailed account of the practices through which each concept was addressed in the corresponding workshop session. This discussion will include the visual representations, written and verbal explanations provided, task requirements, and types of verbalization and conceptual manipulation required of participants. In the next chapter (Chapter 5) I analyze the participants' emerging understandings as they engaged in these practices. Table 4-5 presents a summary of the concepts and activities within each workshop organized in order of the first appearance of each concept.

Table 4-5: Detailed overview of intervention practices¹⁸

Concept	Activities/Procedures (Session 1)	Activities/Procedures (Session 2)	Activities/Procedures (Session 3)
Adult learning/ understanding the context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orienting to the activity setting: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Reading learner profiles and mediated group discussion 	-	-
Language as social practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Externalizing pre-understandings • Introducing SCOBA, verbal, and written explanations of concept 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarifying the concept • Putting concept to use in planning for tutoring; Emphasis on verbalization/using SCOBA to deploy concept in activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing and verbalizing initial tutoring session; • Practice teach for an actual learner

¹⁸ Note that a dash (-) within the table indicates that a given concept was not brought in with an explicit pedagogical focus in a given session

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using SCOBA to analyze familiar context of use • Using the concept to re-envision instructional materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice micro-teaching
Reasoning teaching	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing the concept through reading, mediated group discussion, and envisioning strategies to enact the concept 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice teach for an actual learner
Speaking from 'within'	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing the concept through reading, mediated group discussion, and envisioning strategies to enact the concept 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice teach for an actual learner
Adapting materials	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing the concept through mediated group discussion, use of concept to evaluate given materials • Practice teach for an actual learner
Teach 'off your student'	-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing the concept and verbalizing understandings • Practice teach for an actual learner

4.4.1 Adult Learning and Orienting to the Activity Setting

The intervention began with a group reading and discussion designed to orient participants to adult ESL instruction in community-based contexts. Informed by Wertsch et al.'s

findings¹⁹ on the importance of one's understanding of the activity setting in which they are engaged in, this first task was intended to establish a shared understanding of the current activity setting and the nature of adult ESL tutoring. To achieve this, I began the first session with a brief reading and mediated group discussion (based on Paton and Wilkins, 2009) in which I asked the participants to read the profiles of two adult learners and consider both learners' backgrounds, reasons for learning, and conditions for learning. The purpose of the discussion was to convey the adult learning theory (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 2005) points that adult learning in community-based contexts tends to be driven by learners' real-life experiences and a perceived need for certain forms of learning to engage in and influence these experiences. Therefore, tutoring should be oriented toward uncovering these perceived needs and helping learners address them.

The first profile described a learner who would likely resonate with the experiences of the tutors – a predominantly 'monolingual' speaker of English who was living in a predominantly English-speaking area and had taken LOTE²⁰ courses as a requisite in high school and was now looking to study a new LOTE for personal enjoyment. While this is not the profile of the typical learner who would enroll in the ESL program at NELC, it was intended to initiate a discussion about the differences between this person and the typical NELC student. The second profile was written to align with the typical experiences of the adult learners who enroll in the ESL program at NELC. This profile described a predominantly 'monolingual' speaker of Spanish who had recently migrated to the local area with his wife and teenage children. He had been a math

¹⁹ By examining their goal-directed actions and their operational composition, Wertsch et al. (1984) found that the mothers interpreted the task as 'work' activity while the teachers interpreted it as 'educational' activity. For instance, the mothers tended to assume primary control of the task in order to ensure that errors were minimized and productivity was maximized, while the teachers tended to engage collaboratively with children, encouraging them to take control of the task and allowing for mistakes as part of the process of learning.

²⁰ Languages other than English

teacher in his country of origin but was at the time working in a restaurant kitchen and had enrolled in English classes in the hopes of re-establishing his career in teaching. The following table provides an overview of the task description, my follow-up questions, and samples of the participant engagement generated by the task.²¹

Table 4-6: Overview of Adult Learning Tasks

Task Overview: Adult Learning & Orienting to the Activity Setting	
Task Requirements:	<p>Read the two profiles provided and be prepared to discuss:</p> <p>What do these two individuals have in common (or not) in relation to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Their background and experiences 2. Their reasons for learning a second language 3. The conditions in which they are learning a second language
TE Follow-up Questions:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What does this suggest for adult ESL learning? • What connections can we make between these cases and learning at NELC? • What do you think this means for teaching adults here?
Samples of Participant Engagement:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The second case is more of a necessity, and the importance of their children’s education to them and trying to be able to navigate the new school system and then try to be able to like, maintain his passion...” (Andrea) • “I think knowing this...can help you structure what you’re going to teach them around what their needs are. It helps you focus on what their needs are in this moment because maybe it’s not specifically grammar, or maybe it’s just okay- wouldn’t be grammar first so to speak...” (Lisa) • “I mean, we’re helping them with everyday function rather than learning just leisurely” (Ruby)

²¹ Participant responses included in this table were selected based on each participants’ first contribution to the group discussion. The purpose of including responses here is not to analyze or discuss their content, but simply to offer a glimpse into the nature of the engagement generated by the task.

4.4.2 Language as Social Practice

The primary focus of the intervention was *language as social practice* and, as such, portions of all three workshops were devoted to materializing, manipulating, and verbalizing the concept to varying degrees. This section will look across all three sessions to provide a more holistic view of the ways in which the concept was integrated throughout the PD intervention workshops. I drew on Gee (2004, 2012), Barton and Hamilton (2000), Moon (2012), and Auerbach (1986, 1994) to develop the various materialized representations, verbal and written explanations of the concept, and pedagogical activities. I begin this discussion with an overview of the verbal and written definitions of the concept provided throughout the workshops, followed by an explanation of the visual representation of the concept (SCOBA), and conclude with a discussion of the specific instructional tasks and activities through which these definitions and materialized representations of the concept were introduced and used.

4.4.3 The Minimal Unit of Instruction

As noted by Negueruela and Lantolf (2005), the first stage of a CBI approach is to determine the appropriate concept(s) that will serve as the focus of instruction. This concept must then be organized into a “coherent pedagogical unit of instruction” (p. 6), which they refer to as the minimal unit of instruction. They further stipulate that this minimal unit “must have two fundamental properties: it must retain the full meaning of the relevant concept and it must be organized to promote learning understanding, control and internalization” (p.6). In this intervention, the primary minimal unit of instruction was the concept of *language as social practice* as articulated by Barton and Hamilton (2000), Gee (2004, 2012) Auerbach (1986, 1994), and Moon (2012). Table 4-7 presents an overview of the written definitions and explanations of the concept provided to participants throughout the sessions:

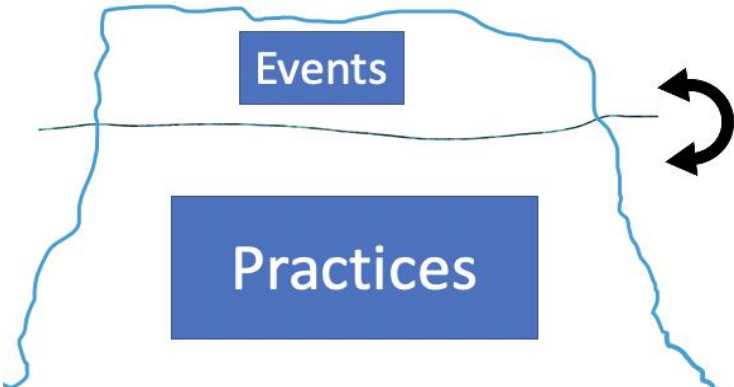
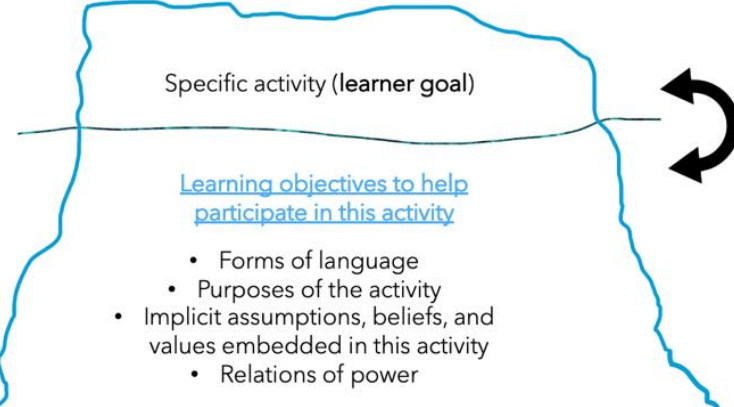
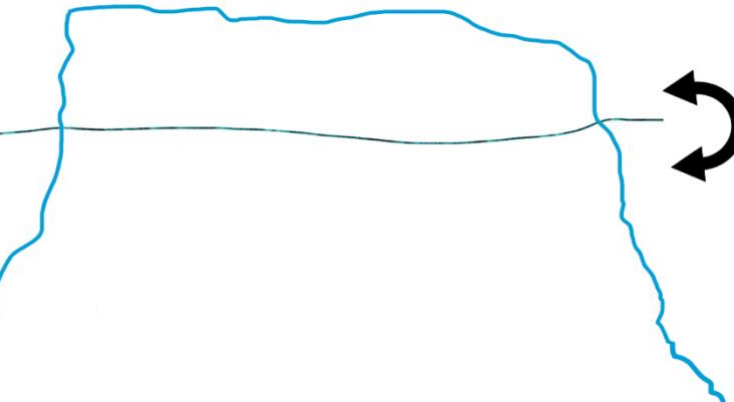
Table 4-7: Explanations and definitions of language as social practice

Explanations / Definitions Provided to Participants:	
Written Definitions: (Bolding in Original)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From Barton and Hamilton (2000), cited in Moon (2012): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Language and literacy <u>events</u> are activities where language and literacy have a role. Usually there is a written text or texts central to the activity and there may be talk around the text” ○ “In everyday events, people draw on language and literacy practices... events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them” ○ Events are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visible and observable everyday interactions that are shaped by the culture and context in which they take place ○ Practices are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Less obviously observable, but <i>extremely</i> important in understanding <i>how</i> we use language ▪ Conventions that affect how we communicate with each other ○ “Language and literacy practices are the general cultural ways of utilizing language which people draw on in their lives” ○ “In deciding who does what, where, and when it is done, along with the associated ways of talking and the ways of writing ... participants make use of literacy practices” ○ “People’s language and literacy practices are situated in broader social relations. This makes it necessary to describe the social setting of literacy events, including the ways in which social institutions support particular literacies, [This includes power relations]” • From Auerbach (1994): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “Traditional approaches that focus on the individual’s acquisition of isolated skills without consideration of social context disconnect literacy acquisition from learners’ knowledge and lived experience” • Adapted from Moon (2012): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language and Literacy are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Socially and culturally situated activities ○ Not decontextualized technical skills ○ Purposeful activity, located in time and place ○ Implications for learning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Present language and literacy in this way to learners ▪ Learners investigate language and literacy practices and learn to use them in their everyday lives ▪ Decontextualized tasks do not teach learners about language and literacy practices

4.4.4 The SCOBAs

The SCOBAs developed to materialize the concept of *language as social practice* took the form of an iceberg diagram (Table 4-8) adapted from Moon (2012). The iceberg diagram concretized and extended the theoretical explanations and definitions in table 4-7 by showing, through a visual representation, the notion that any given instance of language use (the visible portion ‘above the iceberg’) is merely the immediately visible portion of a particular set of social practices. This includes particular assumptions, purposes, values, beliefs, ways of acting, and social relations (the portion ‘under the iceberg’). The double-ended arrow to the right of the iceberg (Shown in Table 4-8) was meant to depict a mutually constitutive relationship between language events and social practices. As a basis for action, the iceberg diagram was introduced as a tool for identifying and unpacking the social practices relevant for understanding and engaging in specific language activities in order to conceptualize and teach language as inherently unified with social and cultural context. As such, the purpose of the diagram was to provide volunteers with a process for making the relationship between language and social practice visible for themselves when planning, carrying out, and reflecting on their tutoring activity. In the first workshop, I introduced three different versions of the SCOBAs in the following order: the first form was broad and utilized Barton and Hamilton’s (2000) generalized distinction between ‘events’ and ‘practices,’ while the second form elaborated specific points that aligned with these categories, and the third form was an empty outline of an iceberg diagram which could be filled with appropriate information by the participants. These three forms are shown in table 4-8:

Table 4-8: The Iceberg SCOBA

Iceberg Diagram 1	
Iceberg Diagram 2	
Iceberg Diagram 3	

4.5 Overview of Session 1 Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

The table below provides an overview of the progression of PD practices within the first session that were explicitly centered around introducing, materializing, and verbalizing the

concept of language as social practice. These practices are presented in sequence, as each practice built upon previous ones.

Table 4-9: Session 1 Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

Practice:	Task Configuration/Requirements:
1. Externalizing pre-understandings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With a partner, discuss the following questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What is language / literacy? ○ What do you think it means to say that language and literacy are social or socially situated activities? • Followed by mediated group discussion
2. Introducing the academic concept through explicit explanation, visual representation, and goal-directed activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce SCOPA and initial theoretical definition by analyzing and teasing out culturally situated language practices in a dialogue between several individuals • Followed by reading and responding to several additional theoretical definitions and explanations
3. Using the SCOPA to analyze familiar context of use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In partners, use an empty iceberg diagram to analyze a Starbucks encounter for the specific ‘event features’ and ‘social practices’ that shape the interaction; Fill in the iceberg with relevant information • Followed by ‘language as social practice’ analysis of a professional email writing exchange
4. Connecting to teaching: Using the concept to re-envision instructional materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In partners, each pair is given a randomized ‘scripted’ teaching material from a packet given to a previous tutor • The material is not written to align with ‘language as social practice’ • With partner, analyze the material and come up with one way to adapt it to align with a social practice view

4.5.1 Externalizing Pre-Understandings

I began by prompting participants to externalize their pre-understandings of language by discussing their responses to the prompts “what is language/literacy?” and “what do you think it

means to say that language and literacy are social or socially situated activities?” Participants first discussed their answers with a partner and then the whole group. These questions aimed to provide participants the opportunity to externalize their everyday understandings while also potentially influencing and guiding this process of externalization by setting the parameter that language is a “social or socially situated activity.”

4.5.2 Introducing the Concept: Explanation, Practical Activity, and the SCOA

Following the group discussion and externalization of their pre-understandings of language as socially situated, I then introduced Barton and Hamilton’s (2000) definition of language and literacy as social practice. I began by sharing their statement, “Language and literacy events are activities where [language and] literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text or texts central to the activity and there may be talk around the text” (cited in Moon, 2012, n.p.). This definition was provided in writing and aimed to orient the participants to conceptualizing language and literacy in terms of social activities as opposed to language dissected into discrete skills or grammatical rules

After establishing that the purpose of the following activity (adapted from Moon, 2012) was to begin to understand what it means to think of language in terms of ‘events’ or ‘activities,’ I then informed participants that they were going to analyze a language event using a visual aid to help them do so. In partners, I distributed transcripts of an interaction (ESL Library, n.d.) between one individual and a series of strangers as the individual attempts to navigate to a post office in an unfamiliar city. Below the interaction were six statements describing the dialogue in which three of the statements described specific instances of language use in context, while the other three described social and cultural conventions that shaped the dialogue. For instance, the first three turns of the dialogue are presented here (for the full dialogue, see Appendix D):

Man on the street:	Excuse me. Can you tell me how to get to the post office?
Second man:	I'm sorry. I don't know. I'm from out of town.
	<i>(a minute later)</i>
Man on the street:	Excuse me. Do you know where the post office is?

After previewing the content of the dialogue, I then introduced the first visual representation of the iceberg. I asked participants to read the transcripts more closely and, with their partner, identify from the list of six descriptive statements those which, like the portion of an iceberg above the water, would be immediately visible. For instance, this included statements such as “the man on the street asks two different people for directions.” Once most of the participants appeared to have completed the task, I brought the group together for a mediated group discussion in which each dyad was asked to share and explain their responses. Following this, I asked the group to consider the three statements that did not seem to fit the ‘above the iceberg’ criteria and develop a label to characterize these statements. These included statements such as “the man on the street is polite and/or impolite when he asks for directions.” This was done as a whole group with mediation from me in the form of confirming participant responses and providing additional explanations to link their responses to the concept of language as social practice.

I then offered an explicit explanation of the SCOPA in which I introduced the second form of the iceberg diagram and highlighted the meaning and function of the SCOPA as a way of thinking about language in terms of social practices by making visible the portions of the iceberg that remain submerged when language is disconnected from social context. This was followed by providing, in writing, several additional explicit explanations of the concept (See

Table 4-7), including those by Barton & Hamilton (2000), and Auerbach (1994) after which, I prompted participants to share their initial reactions and questions. This segment of the workshop concluded by prompting the volunteers to consider connections between the concept and their understanding of the activity of language tutoring at NELC.

4.5.3 Using the SCOBAs to Analyze a Familiar Context of Use

Participants then practiced using the SCOBAs to unpack linguistic and social content from a specific context of use with which they were familiar: entering and ordering coffee in a Starbucks. In partners, I distributed a handout with the third form of the SCOBAs (a blank diagram of an iceberg) and asked each pair to consider how they would engage in this activity. Participants began by generating as many different ‘above the iceberg’ elements as possible, or specific instances of language they would use in this type of ‘language event,’ and writing these items in the top portion of the diagram. As the participants worked in groups, I circulated the room and asked questions, provided hints and suggestions, offered explanations as needed. After generating the ‘above the iceberg’ elements, participants then generated a list of some of the social practices that they consider when engaging in this setting, especially related to deciding what to say and how to say it. Similarly, I once again circulated the room to pose questions and provide guidance when needed. Participants then wrote these items ‘under the water’ on the iceberg diagram. In a whole group discussion, I asked each participant to share their ‘findings’ from their analysis, providing space for them to verbalize their understandings of the concept and receive additional guidance and mediation.

4.5.4 Using the SCOPA to Analyze an Additional Familiar Context of Use

Following the use of the ‘iceberg’ model to analyze the language and literacy practices of ordering at a Starbucks, I then asked the participants to conduct another analysis using this materialized representation, but with less guidance from me. To do this, I provided each participant with a printout of a brief email exchange (Appendix A) between a visiting scholar and a university instructor at the local university. The email exchange was authentic and had occurred only days before the session, although names had been changed to protect the identities of the individuals involved. I asked the participants to imagine they were working with the visiting scholar who had sent these emails and identify the social practices that appeared to be influencing the nature of the email exchange. This task concluded with a mediated group discussion to enable participants to verbalize their emerging understandings of the concept as they attempted to use it to understand another familiar context of use.

4.5.5 Connecting the Concept to Tutoring: Re-envisioning Instructional Materials

The final language-as-social-practice-centered activity of the first session was intended, from a CBI perspective, to create a situation in which the participants would attempt to complete a task that would likely be beyond their independent capacities, but achievable with my assistance. In other words, this task was designed to create conditions for the emergence of an individual ZPD for each participant, through which the participants’ development could be pushed forward. The culminating activity of this session was to evaluate and adapt an existing material using their newly developing language as social practice perspective. To set up this activity, I began by informing the participants that once they were matched with an adult learner, they would likely receive a folder (Appendix B) of materials from Beth. I then cautioned them

that many of these materials do not take the perspective of ‘language as social practice’ and will provide only a focus on the ‘tip’ of the iceberg.

With the same partners as in the email analysis activity, I randomly distributed one such handout from Beth to each dyad and asked them to imagine that they were working with either the person involved in the email exchange they had just analyzed or the person from the profile they had read at the beginning of the workshop. Given what they knew about the idea of language as social practice and the goals of each person, I asked the participants to re-design or re-frame their given material from this perspective and come up with one activity they could do with a learner to highlight the notion of language as social practice. For instance, one group (Ashley, Lisa, Ruby) was given a handout that was a one-page worksheet on “Idioms” in English, while the other group (Andrea, Rebecca) was given a handout with a list of roughly 30 job interview questions. As the groups discussed the possibilities for how they might go about re-envisioning their given materials, I circulated and provided mediation in the form of questions to probe their reasoning as well as explanations and suggestions to support their ability to accomplish the task. As with previous practices, this task was concluded with a group discussion in which each pair presented their re-designed activity to the rest of the group, providing space for their verbalizations of their understandings of the concept. To conclude this session, I distributed a blank index card to each participant and instructed them to write their main takeaway from the session on one side and one remaining question on the other side. The responses to these prompts will be shared and discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 5).

4.5.6 Summary of Session One Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

In summary, the first session of the intervention workshops materialized the concept of language as social practice by: 1) priming participants for introducing new conceptual

knowledge by providing them space to externalize their pre-understandings of language, 2) introducing the concept of language as social practice through explicit written/verbal explanation and the use of a visualized representation, 3) setting up tasks to use the visual representation to analyze familiar contexts of use, and 4) using the concept to re-envision instructional materials to align with language as social practice.

4.6 Overview of Session 2 Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

Given that the first session accomplished an explicit introduction to the concept of language as social practice, the second session was centered around using the materialized representation of the concept in activity and verbalizing. The table below provides an overview of the progression of activities within this session.

Table 4-10: Session 2 practices addressing language as social practice

Task/Practice:	Task Configuration/Requirements:
1. Clarifying the concept	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Considering two questions that had been posed at the end of session one, analyze the TOEFL exam <i>from</i> a language as social practice perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What social practices can you identify <i>in</i> the TOEFL exam?
2. Putting the concept to use in planning tutoring; Emphasis on verbalization/using SCOPA to deploy concept in activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyze a randomly drawn context of use for the language and social practices that are relevant for engaging in this context Suppose you're going to address this topic with your learner in the next session: What would you start with? What would you prioritize? How would you decide?
3. Introducing the first two pedagogical concepts ('Reasoning...' and 'Speaking from within')	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Read the excerpt from Johnson (1999) Group discussion on reasoning teaching Group discussion on speaking from within
4. Practice micro-tutoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Now that you've made a choice about a starting point (based on what you know about yourself, your learner, the content,

and the context), with a partner, design a short activity to
teach the rest of us how to *use* language to engage in the topic

4.6.1 Clarifying the Concept: Bringing “Exams” and “Social Practices” Together

The first activity of the second session was developed as an adjustment in response to the participants’ emerging understandings of language as social practice as evidenced in the questions that they had submitted at the end of session one. Two of the participant questions submitted in session one suggested a need for clarification of the conceptual meaning of ‘language as social practice.’ The session began by displaying these questions and informing participants that the first activity would be targeted toward helping them find answers for their own questions.

The participant questions that guided this activity were: “if a learner’s goal is to pass the TOEFL, how can we link their test prep to bigger social and cultural practices?” and “should we teach more towards and exam or everyday use?” The questions, which juxtaposed “test prep” and “exams” with “social and cultural practices”, suggested that the volunteers were conceptualizing language exams as distinct from or opposed to social practices and therefore, to teach a learner who is interested in passing a standardized exam like the TOEFL, means to eschew a social practice approach. Thus, this first activity was intended to clarify the meaning of the concept by considering and analyzing the TOEFL exam itself from a language as social practice perspective. This portion of the workshop began by posing the two framing questions to the group for initial responses.

I then provided a brief verbal introduction to the TOEFL exam in which I informed them that the TOEFL is a standardized test of English proficiency and an institutional gatekeeper for university-bound international students. Next, I distributed a printed page with a brief overview

of the TOEFL speaking exam (Exam English, 2019) to each participant. The page included a description of the testing procedures and the various types of tasks that are required for the speaking portion of the exam. For instance, in one portion of the overview, the independent speaking tasks for the TOEFL were explained in the following way:

Independent Speaking Tasks:

1. **Personal Preference** – Preparation time: 15 seconds, Response time: 45 seconds
This question will ask you to speak about a person, place, object or event that is familiar to you.
2. **Choice** – Preparation time: 15 seconds, Response time: 45 seconds
You will be presented with two situations or options. You'll be asked which you prefer and you need to explain your choice

With a partner, I asked participants to read all of the information provided on the document. I then reminded them of the two ‘framing questions’ and asked them to analyze this exam from a language as social practice perspective. To do this, I provided each pair a blank iceberg diagram in which they could write down the social and cultural practices embedded within the TOEFL exam. After 10-15 minutes of working with a partner, I brought the group together to share and discuss their thoughts collectively. I then distributed a lesson plan for a TOEFL class that aligned with a language as social practice perspective. This particular lesson plan (Appendix C) had been developed to teach students to engage in the TOEFL listening exam and included a printout of several slides that would accompany the lesson plan. I gave each group the lesson plan materials and asked them to see if they could identify any specific social/language practices that were being taught in this lesson plan. Following a brief period of

pair-discussion, I brought the group together for a mediated group discussion in which I ensured that connections were made between the exam and the notion of social practices.

4.6.2 Putting the concept to use in planning tutoring: Emphasis on verbalization/using SCOPA to deploy concept in activity

After having clarified their emerging understandings of language as social practice, the next portion of the intervention was designed to concretize the concept of language as social practice in the activity of language tutoring. This practice involved providing opportunity for the participants to engage deeply with the materials while developing their autonomy as I began to withdraw explicit support. In addition to reduced TE mediation, this practice also involved a reduced timeframe, which was intended to create conditions in which the volunteers could practice using this concept of language as a tool to guide their thinking and activity *in* the activity of preparing for tutoring. Additionally, the final step of the task was also intended to stimulate a problem-solving task (how to decide where to start teaching) among the volunteers, setting the stage for introducing the first pedagogical concept ('reasoning teaching' from Johnson, 1999) as a mediating artifact that could help 'solve' the problem.

To accomplish this, I asked the participants to imagine that they had been matched with a learner and the learner had identified a particular language/literacy event in which they wanted to participate. In partners, the participants randomly drew a topic from a stack of cards (i.e., "preparing to get a driver's license" or "ordering in a sit-down restaurant"). Using their understanding of language as social practice, I asked each dyad to unpack the language, social, and cultural practices relevant for their given language/literacy event, and then decide the first thing they would want to teach a learner and why. The design of this task was intended to be both familiar to the participants, in that they had completed a similar task in session one (i.e.

analyzing a “Starbucks encounter”), but also unfamiliar, in that they were now being asked to complete this task in less time with less explicit guidance and to additionally consider how to use this concept to inform their decision-making as a tutor (i.e. deciding how to use this understanding to decide what to teach, what to prioritize, and why).

4.6.3 Introducing the First Pedagogical Concept: Reasoning Teaching

Once participants had analyzed their given context for the relevant language and social practices, I asked each group *how* they would decide what to do next as a tutor. This discussion provided an opportunity for the volunteers to externalize and make their thinking public and occurred first in partners and then as a whole group. Once each participant had shared their responses, I summarized their ideas and then connected them to the concept of ‘reasoning teaching’ (Johnson, 1999) to help the tutors plan for and think about language tutoring/teaching. I then shared an excerpt from Johnson (1999) (p.1-2) which introduced and defined the concept of reasoning teaching. After reading the excerpt, I highlighted that the participants’ previous responses were examples of their reasoning and constituted an answer to the question of what decisions about teaching “depend on” (p.1). The participants then generated additional ideas about what else these decisions might depend, thereby verbalizing their understanding of the concept. I concluded this brief segment of the training by highlighting that an important point of their tutoring would be their own ability to make reasoned and informed decisions about tutoring.

4.6.4 Introducing the Second Pedagogical Concept: Speaking from ‘Within’

Following the group discussion on reasoning teaching, and in order to set up their first practice tutoring activity, I then introduced the second pedagogical concept: speaking from ‘within’ (Cooke & Roberts, 2007, as cited in Moon, 2012). To accomplish this, I first presented volunteers with the following excerpt in writing:

The most effective teachers ...drew upon learners' own experiences and lives outside the classroom ... and, crucially, encouraged them to *speak from within*. We observed that where learners were *speaking from within* they produced longer, more complex stretches of talk, which we know to be essential for language learning to take place.” (Cooke and Roberts, 2007)

After reading the excerpt aloud as a group, I asked the participants to verbalize their thoughts on the meaning of this concept. As participants offered their thoughts, I mediated their responses by posing questions to prompt clarifications, providing feedback, and providing explanations.

Following this, I prompted the participants to generate strategies to incorporate this concept into their future tutoring sessions. To initiate this discussion, I offered the following explanation, based on Moon (2012):

Nick: Because very often highly structured or decontextualized grammar lessons and activities don't provide space for learners to speak from within, what do you think are some ways that we might be able to try to encourage and make space for that to happen in your tutoring? (Nick, Session 2)

After having several minutes to consider the prompt and discuss their thoughts with a partner, I asked participants to share their thoughts as a group. As they did so, I provided mediation through posing questions to prompt clarifications, highlighting the interconnectedness of their suggestions, and affirming or challenging their ideas.

4.6.5 Practice Micro-Tutoring

For the final task of the second session, in the same partners as in the previous practices, I gave the participants time to create and lead a short tutoring activity grounded in the concept of language as social practice (as well as the concepts of ‘reasoning teaching’ and ‘speaking from within’). For this task, participants returned to the brainstorm they had completed prior to being introduced to the two pedagogical concepts. They now used their brainstormed content to design and lead a short activity to the rest of the group. Participants were asked to think about and meet the following conditions:

Nick: How are you going to make space for the learner, i.e., us, to speak from within and how are you going to teach the language in a way that's connected to social context? So you've come up with some really good ideas but now let's put it into action and you're actually going to teach us (Nick, Session 2)

As each pair led their tutoring activity, the remainder of the group acted as 'students.'

Additionally, I would pause the mini tutoring activities to pose questions, highlight places in which the tutoring activities contradicted or conflicted with the focal concepts, and offer validation and suggestions. Many times, when I paused the mini tutoring activities, the participants who had been playing the role of 'students' also offered suggestions and evaluations.

4.6.6 Summary of Session Two Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

In summary, the second session of the intervention workshops materialized and sought to promote the development of the concept of language as social practice by 1) guiding participants through an activity to externalize, clarify, and verbalize their understandings of the concept, 2) engaging participants in the use of the visualized representation of the concept in the activity of planning for tutoring, 3) introducing the first two pedagogical concepts: reasoning teaching and speaking from 'within,' and 4) engaging participants in a practice peer micro tutoring activity in which they had the opportunity to use the concept to guide their activity while receiving feedback.

4.7 Overview of Session 3 Practices Addressing Language as Social Practice

The table below provides an overview of the progression of activities within the third and final workshop session:

Table 4-11: Overview of Session 3 Activities Addressing Language as Social Practice

Task/Practice:	Task Configuration/Requirements:
1. Sharing and verbalizing initial tutoring sessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share with the group what you learned from your first session <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Who is your learner?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What language and social practices do they want to participate in?
2. Introducing two additional pedagogical concepts ('Select, adapt...' and 'teach off...')	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Practice selecting, adapting, and supplementing the folder of materials received from NELC ● What do you think the concept 'teach off' your learner means? How might you do this with your learner?
3. Practice teach for your actual learner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Given your learner, how might you select, adapt, and supplement <i>your</i> materials? ● Using one of these materials, create a short activity that you might actually use in a future session ● Practice teaching this activity with a partner

4.7.1 Sharing and Verbalizing Initial Tutoring Sessions

As mentioned earlier, in between sessions two and three, participants were each matched with their adult ESL learner and conducted their first tutoring session. In order to link their initial tutoring session to the training intervention, participants had been given a blank index card at the end of session two and instructed to fill the card with information about the learner on one side, and specific language and social practices that the learner wanted to participate in on the other. The index cards were intended to provide the volunteers with a space for verbalization after their initial tutoring session by asking them to identify and list the various language and social practices that would be relevant for their future tutoring sessions with this learner. They were also requested to bring these index cards with them to their third tutoring session, which began with a mediated group discussion in which each participant shared with the group what they had learned in their first session and what they had written on their notecards.

In the third workshop session, the first activity was to share the notes that each participant had recorded from their initial tutoring session. Before the participants began to share about their first tutoring sessions, I recommended that they use their notecards as a resource for sharing not

only the information and ideas that they *did* include on the card, but to also think about anything they didn't put on the card that they were thinking of now. I offered the examples that each participant might note interesting ideas from other participants that they hadn't thought of, which they could then use for future meetings with their learners. I chose this activity to begin the third session for several reasons: to create a space for each volunteer to externalize and clarify their thoughts and impressions of their first session, to promote their verbalization of the concept of language as social practice, to establish a sense of community among the volunteers in which each person shares and each person learns from the contributions of their peers, and to engage the participants in the process of considering what they know about their learner as an important starting point for tutoring.

In light of the small group size and my goal of establishing a sense community, the discussion took place in a whole group setting. As each participant shared their thoughts, I provided mediation in the form of questions to prompt clarifications or verbalizations of concepts, to explore their reasoning, and to provide comments and suggestions to affirm and validate the participants' ideas.

4.7.2 Introducing the Third Pedagogical Concept: Select, Adapt, Supplement

Although the activity of 'adapting materials' occurred in all three sessions, it was most explicitly addressed as such in the third workshop session. In this session, I introduced the phrase "select, adapt, supplement" (Fletcher and Barr, 2009) as a way to use their emerging understandings of their learner and language as social practice to select, adapt, and supplement materials grounded in these understandings. The concept also served as an additional consideration to inform their reasoning about teaching, which I modeled explicitly:

Nick: So, again, it's not just here is a material, use it. It's what can I, as the tutor, select from this material that's relevant? How can I adapt what's in here to

make it more relevant for this learner? And how can I potentially supplement this material to make it more relevant? (Nick, Session 3)

To help concretize this concept, volunteers evaluated and adapted an exercise from commercial listening and speaking textbook for adult ESL learners based on a given learner profile. This was followed by a mediated group discussion in which participants externalized their plans and reasoning.

The participants then spent roughly 35 minutes evaluating the folders of materials that they had been given by Beth during their first meeting with their adult learner. As part of the process, I asked the volunteers to find at least one exercise from the materials that they might want to use with their learner in a future session and come up with at least two ways they could they might select, adapt, and supplement the material for their learner. They were also informed that, once they had identified and adapted an exercise, they would have the opportunity to practice their ideas with a partner. During this evaluation time, two participants decided that the materials they had been assigned were not suited to their learner or the language practices that their learner wanted to participate in. Given that the training occurred at NELC in a classroom that was one door down from NELC's library of textbooks, I accompanied these two participants to the library to assist them in searching for alternatives.

4.7.3 Introducing the Fourth Pedagogical Concept: Teach 'Off' your Student

Once each participant had identified and adapted an activity from NELC's materials, I introduced the fourth and final pedagogical concept (Teach 'off' your student, not 'at' them, Johnson & Dellagnelo, 2013), just prior to their peer micro-tutoring. I introduced the concept both in writing and verbally. The written explanation of the concept included only the phrase itself, and one additional sentence that stated, "teaching is not just the delivery of information to your students." I then asked each participant to explain in their own words what they thought this

concept meant for tutoring. After a brief mediated discussion, I asked the participants to try to think about this concept as they engaged in their peer micro-tutoring activities with a partner.

4.7.4 Practice Peer Micro-Tutoring

For the final activity of session three, participants were given time to lead a mini activity that they might actually use with their learner. This activity was designed to be an opportunity to bring together all the concepts and activities that had been previously covered in the training and give the participants another mediated space to practice deploying these concepts in their tutoring activity. As with previous activities, I circulated the room and provided mediation as the participants planned and actually taught their mini lessons. A discussion of the participants' engagement in this activity will be reserved for the next chapter (Chapter 5).

4.7.5 Summary of Session 3

To summarize, the third session was organized around promoting the participants' conceptual development of language as social practice by 1) asking participants to use the concept to verbalize and interpret their first tutoring session with an adult learner, 2) introducing two additional pedagogical concepts, and 3) asking participants to practice using all of the concepts they had been introduced to as they designed and led a micro tutoring activity that they could use with their learner.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide an answer to the first research question: *how do the practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?* The chapter considered the PD intervention as an instantiation of Vygotskian CBI and provided an explanation of why the practices of the intervention were organized around the explicit presentation, materialization, verbalization, and use of the conceptual knowledge that

the intervention sought to develop in the participants. Furthermore, the chapter showed how the concept of language as social practice was organized into a *minimal unit of instruction*

(Negueruela & Lantolf, 2005). The minimal unit included

- the explanations of the concept provided to participants through the materialized representation of an iceberg,
- the written theoretical explanations of the concept displayed in table 4-7 (on p. 68), and
- the pedagogical activities in which participants were asked to verbalize and *use* the concept in multiple forms of goal-directed activity.

Finally, the chapter also showed how the concept of language as social practice was supported by the inclusion of four additional pedagogical concepts that aligned with tutoring from a language as social practice perspective.

Chapter 5

Emerging Understandings of Language as Social Practice

5.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter (Chapter 4) described the CBI-informed practices of the three professional development (PD) intervention sessions, this chapter traces the development of participants' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engaged in these practices. In so doing, this chapter addresses the second research question: *what are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in the intervention practices?* Although the intervention was conducted with all four participants as a group, in this chapter, I consider each participant's development as an individual case while recognizing that each case is situated within and constitutive of a collective activity. As will be shown, each participant followed a distinct developmental trajectory throughout the intervention. To illustrate and trace each individuals' concept development as they engaged in the PD intervention workshop sessions, several key episodes²² were identified for each participant on the basis of exemplifying either moments of cognitive/emotional dissonance²³, responses to TE mediation, or attempts to think through concepts in activity. These episodes are provided in a series of tables for each participant using their own words to capture the essence of each episode.

²² Note that I will not examine each participants' engagement in all of the practices described in the previous chapter (Chapter 4). Rather, I will examine the practices that appeared to be most developmentally significant for each participant.

²³ This refers to Johnson & Worden's (2014) Vygotsky-informed notion of instances of cognitive/emotional dissonance in learning-to-teach experiences, which signal the need for mediation from teacher educators.

5.2 Andrea's Emerging Conceptual Development

Andrea began the workshops with a pre-understanding of language that, in her view, was aligned with the concept of language as social practice. Despite this, in practice, she initially experienced difficulty with deploying the concept in activity, suggesting that it was not yet a deep conceptual understanding. By the end of the third workshop, Andrea exhibited a more nuanced understanding of the concept and an increased ability to verbalize and think through the concept in the activities of planning language tutoring and interpreting her initial tutoring session. The primary challenges she experienced throughout the workshops were recognizing and thinking through the *pedagogical* concepts that would support her in aligning her tutoring activity with the concept of language as social practice. Andrea's engagement in the intervention workshops is summarized in the table below, which highlights several key episodes that illustrate her developmental trajectory:

Table 5.1: Key Episodes in Andrea's Conceptual Development

	Key Episodes	Intervention Practices (Chapter 4)
S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I had always understood" • "Things you would expect" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Externalizing pre-understandings, Introducing SCOPA, Using SCOPA, Concluding Session 1 • Using the concept to re-envision instructional materials
S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Start with the features" • "Yeah, please help!" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbalizing the concept in planning • Practice tutoring
S3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Writing for the workplace" • "One sentence summaries" • "It's a lot of talking" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbalizing initial tutoring • Practice adapting materials • Practice teach for your learner

5.2.1 Andrea's Pre-understanding: "I had always understood"

Andrea began the workshops by articulating an understanding of language that, at least superficially, resembled the concept of language as social practice as it was presented in the first session. For instance, in the first session when the group was asked to externalize their pre-understandings of what it means to say that language is a social activity, Andrea responded that she and her partner had been trying to articulate the relationship between language and culture:

Excerpt 5-0 (AND = Andrea):

1 AND: **I was trying to get at culture**, I think, and **I could be very wrong**, but it
 2 could be in my mind, the difference between language and literacy is there's
 3 like the ability to read but then the social aspect is being able to understand
 4 what's being said and **understanding the shared meaning kind of among**
 5 **a group of people**. And so, it's **kind of inherently social** in that way,
 6 there's kind of an understated meaning to language that only comes, **I**
 7 **think...** (Andrea, Session 1)

The understanding she articulates here may be in part a reflection of her history, as she had studied sociology as an undergraduate student and thus may have been more predisposed to considering the role of culture in daily life. Moreover, although she correctly recognizes that culture plays a role in a socially situated understanding of language and that "understanding the shared meaning among a group of people" (Line 4) is also a key feature of language as social practice, it appears that this understanding is likely still an everyday concept. For instance, she begins with a strong hedge by stating "I could be very wrong" (Line 1), suggesting that she is not confident that she is operating with a well-developed understanding. This is also supported by her trailing off at the end of her final utterance: "I think..." (Line 6). Additionally, while she is correct in implicating culture, shared meanings, and stating that language is "inherently social" (Line 5), her distinction between language and literacy is not entirely clear as she did not further elaborate or specify the relationship between language and culture.

Because her pre-understanding bore a resemblance to the concept of language as social practice, at the end of the first session Andrea explicitly stated her view that her pre-understandings of language were aligned with the concept of language as social practice as it was presented to her in the first intervention session. This is seen in the primary “takeaway” she wrote on the index card distributed at the end session one (See Chapter 4):

Excerpt 5-1:

While **I had always understood** that there are both an obvious or observable part of language and a more ‘hidden part,’ the iceberg was a great way to conceptualize this concept and put it to use moving forward. (Andrea, Session 1, Index Card)

Here, she states that she had “always understood” that there was a “hidden” dimension to language but acknowledges that the iceberg diagram was a helpful tool for conceptualizing the relationship between the ‘hidden’ and the ‘obvious.’ Although her understanding may not have been a deep conceptual understanding, given that Andrea started the intervention with some pre-disposition to viewing language as “inherently social,” the concept of language as social practice did not appear to be a dramatically different way of understanding language for her. For this reason, she did not exhibit resistance and was receptive to accepting the concept as a relevant tool for tutoring at NELC. However, as will be shown below, she had not yet internalized the concept as a psychological tool through which she could regulate her language tutoring activity.

5.2.2 Attempting to deploy the concept in activity: “Things that you would expect”

Although Andrea was receptive to the idea of conceptualizing language as social practice, in her first opportunity to practice thinking through the concept in relation to tutoring activity, she and her partner, Rebecca, required my assistance (as TE) to help them successfully accomplish this. As indicated in Chapter 4, as the final PD practice of the first workshop session, participants were tasked with adapting a pre-existing instructional material to align with the

concept of language as social practice. Andrea and her partner received a worksheet that contained a list of 30 “typical” job interview questions which had been provided in a packet distributed to a previous tutor (See Chapter 3, “Research Context”). When I prompted them to verbalize their ideas as to how they could adapt this worksheet to align with a language as social practice perspective (Seen below in Excerpt 5-2), Andrea initially offered the plan that they would focus on “things that you would expect” (Line 3-4). While this response did identify some relevant social conventions of interviewing practices (i.e., shaking hands, maintaining eye contact), it did not explicitly address the interview question material itself and, importantly, did not address specific language practices.

When pressed to explain how they would use the interview questions themselves from a language as social practice perspective, neither participant was able to provide a response that linked language and social practice together, leading me to explicitly model one way to accomplish this for them:

Excerpt 5-2: (NIC = Nick, REB = Rebecca, AND = Andrea)²⁴

- 1 NIC: So what are you thinking?
- 2 AND: Assuming they’re using this because he was actually preparing for a job
- 3 interview, **things that you would expect**, like people are going to want to
- 4 shake your hand, make eye contact, those sorts of things
- 5 NIC: Okay, so you want to teach some of the social conventions of it? **What would**
- 6 **be some of the social conventions of these questions?**
- 7 REB: [...] um, like, again, I just think like eye contact, body posture, just like
- 8 answering them
- 9 NIC: So, **it could be a focus on what types of questions can you expect**, so you
- 10 may not need to go through every single question but try to get a sense of what
- 11 types of questions are asked. I think it could even go further and even go to *why*
- 12 **would they ask these types of questions?**
- 13 AND: **Asking, do any of them seem confusing to you?**
- 14 NIC: **Or you know, what does it really mean in the job interview when**
- 15 **somebody asks for a weakness? To understand that, you have to go beyond**
- 16 **just the word level, right? Are they really asking you to-**

²⁴ Portions of the interaction that are referenced explicitly in this chapter are indicated by bold text

- 17 REB: Bare your heart and soul
 18 NIC: Right
 19 AND: What do you do in your free time? You don't want to be like, I like to sit on
 20 my couch like (laughs)
 21 NIC: So there's a lot of hidden social practices behind these questions, right?
 22 AND: What do you think of your boss? You're probably not gonna say just anything
 23 NIC: Right. So **you might try to explore what are some of the hidden social**
 24 **practices behind the 'why' these are even questions in an interview**, so that
 25 they can find ways to respond. Again, tell me about some of your weaknesses?

In this interaction, my mediation was directed at helping Andrea move from her initial plan of broadly focusing on “things you would expect” to conceptualizing the types of questions that are asked in a job interview as themselves a form of social practice. I did this by initially reframing her idea from “things you would expect” to “what *types of questions* you can expect” (Line 9), thereby attempting to focus her attention on the linguistic element. This was followed by posing the question of “*why* would they ask these types of questions?” (Line 11-12), which was intended to move her to considering the social practices that underlie these linguistic features. When Andrea responded by suggesting a teacherly question that was still unrelated to language as social practice (Line 13), I then explicitly offered a concrete suggestion that modeled one way to approach these questions from a language as social practice view (Line 14-15). I then explicitly offered the reasoning behind my suggestion, highlighting that in order to understand *why* certain questions are on a job interview, “you have to go beyond just the word level, right?” (Line 15-16). When Andrea and Rebecca then both provided examples of questions and responses that demonstrated their shared understanding of my suggestions (Line 17-22), I offered them the suggestion of trying to “explore the hidden social practices” behind these questions (Line 23-24). As seen here, throughout the course of this interaction, my mediation began with an implicit prompt, but gradually became increasingly specific and targeted in response to Andrea and Rebecca’s responses.

In summary, while Andrea demonstrated early on in the intervention that she was receptive to the concept of language as social practice and was able to articulate some elements of the concept, the preceding excerpt from the first workshop session provided evidence that these elements appeared to be non-systematically organized and were not yet concretized or actionable. Additionally, this excerpt highlighted how my mediation was emergent and framed around guiding her to consider language as shaped by and connected with social practice. As will be illustrated below, throughout the following two sessions, she continued to attempt to think through this concept in activity.

5.2.3 Verbalizing: “Start with the features of the conversation”

In the second session, Andrea was partnered with Ruby for the first paired micro-tutoring activity. The goal of this activity was to integrate to concept of language as social practice with planning and leading a short tutoring activity (See Chapter 4). In this practice, Andrea demonstrated attempts to verbalize and align her activity with the concept. For instance, for the first part of the task (i.e., ‘planning’ tutoring), Ruby and Andrea were assigned the topic of “ordering in a sit-down restaurant” and given time to use the SCOBAs to analyze this event, generate relevant language practice and social practice content, and then begin planning how they might teach that content to a learner. When asked to share their plan in a mediated group discussion, Andrea began by stating that they would start with “the features of the conversation” through an interactive assessment and then proceed to the “practices component” (Excerpt 5-3):

Excerpt 5-3: (NIC = Nick, RUB = Ruby, AND = Andrea)

- 1 AND: We said that we would **start with more of the features of the conversation**,
- 2 like maybe do a long interaction
- 3 RUB: Like an assessment to see what they already know or like how if it is different, to
- 4 see what they’re doing differently, compare and contrast similarities and
- 5 differences
- 6 NIC: **So you might say, let’s pretend we’re at a sit-down restaurant**

- 7 RUB: Yeah, like, how would you
 8 NIC: I'm your waiter, tell me what you want
 9 AND: Yeah. And kind of assessing, at least at the beginning, like how comfortable they
 10 are with **the feature component of it**
 11 NIC: **Ok and so you may be looking for certain features that you've**
 12 **brainstormed, so you are then looking for them to say some of the things**
 13 **you wrote down**
 14 AND: **Yeah**
 15 NIC: **So what's one of the things that you'd be looking for?**
 16 AND "Do you have a table available?"[...] And then I think, yeah, once that
 17 component itself is done, then moving on to more of the **practices components**

In this excerpt, Andrea begins to use Barton and Hamilton's (2000) terminology, which had been introduced in session one, by incorporating the notions of "features" (Line 1) and "practices" (Line 16) to describe her planned approach to teaching the language event of ordering in a restaurant. Additionally, her plan to begin with the 'features' and then move to the 'practices' resembles the approach to using the SCOPA that had been introduced in session one. This suggests that she is becoming increasingly consciously aware of the academic concept, and as evidenced by her verbalizations as she plans her tutoring, is beginning to think about tutoring through the concept. Her emerging understanding at this moment appears to be to begin teaching by focusing on the language features of a particular activity and then moving to the social practices that underlie these features.

However, recognizing that her planning remains vague and not grounded in concrete pedagogical actions, I begin to offer suggestions (Lines 6, 11-14) to help Andrea move from the abstract plan of "start with the features" to the concrete actions of setting up a roleplay in which she could actively use her understanding of 'features' to assess how a learner engages in the activity of requesting a table in a restaurant. In the following section, I examine Andrea's understanding as she and Ruby attempted to carry out this plan in their first peer micro-tutoring activity.

5.2.4 Dissonance Emerges: “Yeah, please help!”

Following the mediated group discussion in which Andrea began to verbalize her understanding of the concept in planning a tutoring activity, she and Ruby attempted to carry out their plan in a peer micro-tutoring activity. Excerpt 5-4 (below) shows Andrea and Ruby’s engagement as they did so, illustrating a moment in which a potential growth point emerges as Andrea experiences a moment of cognitive/emotional dissonance (Johnson & Worden, 2014).

For their tutoring activity, Ruby and Andrea decided to focus on teaching the language practices involved in requesting a table at a sit-down restaurant through interacting with a hostess. After briefly introducing their activity, in excerpt 5-4 they begin to teach their peers, but find themselves struggling to incorporate the suggestions they had received from me during their planning:

Excerpt 5-4: (NIC = Nick, RUB = Ruby, AND = Andrea, LIS = Lisa, ASH = Ashley)

- 1 RUB: Well, I guess we could start with table requests, if that’s what you would like?
- 2 LIS: Mhm
- 3 RUB: Okay, so you hear, you may go up to the hostess and- **do you know what a**
- 4 **hostess is?**
- 5 LIS: [...] No
- 6 RUB: Okay, um, that’s a person who will seat you to the table. **So you would want**
- 7 **to start there, and you may ask “do you have a table?”** and that’s one way
- 8 to go about it. Or you could ask ... **“is there a wait?”** And then they may ask
- 9 you how many people you’re with and they may use the term ‘**party of**’ and,
- 10 um, you would then say the number, ‘**party of blank,**’ like three, two, um do
- 11 you have any questions so far?
- 12 AND: **Do you want to practice some of those? So, like pretend I’m a hostess, just**
- 13 **like sitting [...] in the front of the restaurant.** Like what’s something you
- 14 could come up and ask me?
- 15 ASH: Could I say “hi, here, party of three?”
- 16 AND: That’s a really good start. So, yeah, that is really good. You might want to say
- 17 like, **“hi do you have any availability?”**, or like **“hi, I have a party of three”**
- 18 and then you might want to just wait for their response to that. So something I
- 19 might say back to you is **“we have – it’ll be ten minutes for that”**
- 20 NIC: **So-**
- 21 AND: **Yeah, please help!**

Although in Excerpt 5-3, Ruby, Andrea, and I co-constructed a plan of starting with the “features” by engaging the learner in a roleplay based on requesting a table, in Excerpt 5-4, Ruby instead begins the activity by directly asking the ‘learner’ if they know the meaning of the word ‘hostess’ (Line 3) and then proceeds to list several other language features that may appear in an interaction with a hostess (Line 6-11). After this, Andrea appears to attempt to establish a roleplay (Line 12-14) according to the plan. However, after receiving one response from a ‘student’ (Line 15), she shifts back to explaining more features (Line 16-19). At this point, I interjected, beginning my utterance with a discourse marker (Line 20), but before I could finish my utterance, Andrea turned to me and exclaimed “yeah, please help!” (Line 21). Her exclamation indicates that she recognized in the moment that she needed support and was potentially experiencing a moment of cognitive dissonance.

However, in response to my mediation that followed this excerpt, Andrea’s responses were limited to brief confirmations (i.e., “yeah”, “mhm”) while the bulk of the interacting was done by Ruby. This makes it difficult to speak to the exact nature of Andrea’s understanding of this episode and the extent to which my mediation helped her to overcome this dissonance. What can be seen in this excerpt, however, is that Ruby and Andrea do attempt to engage in the activity as they had planned it in the previous intervention practice and, accordingly, they begin with ‘features’ of the event. However, they both struggle to infuse their activity with a *pedagogical* rationale, instead relying primarily on the explanation of information. At this point in the intervention, this is not a surprising finding, as they had only been introduced to the first two pedagogical concepts moments prior (‘reasoning teaching’ and ‘speaking from within’). Additionally, this was their first attempt at leading a tutoring activity in the intervention. As such, the fact that this interaction produced a moment of dissonance may be a sign that they were

developing an awareness that their tutoring was not aligned with these pedagogical concepts.

This awareness indicates an early stage of a potentially emerging new pedagogical understanding that would continue to take shape through her sustained engagement in the workshops.

5.2.5 Verbalizing Initial Tutoring: “Writing for the Workplace”

At the beginning of the third workshop session, Andrea further demonstrated how the concept of language as social practice began to shape her thinking as she shared her notes and interpretations of her first tutoring session. In excerpt 5-5, Andrea shares that her learner works for a local university as an office assistant in a STEM department and then offers her understanding of her learner’s goals and needs:

Excerpt 5-5:

- 1 AND: **So one of her primary jobs in the office is taking news articles of things**
- 2 **related to happenings in the department and quickly summarizing them to**
- 3 **be able to post on their website and keeping their website up to date and**
- 4 **maintaining that.** So one thing that we talked a lot about is kind of her- that she
- 5 expressed she wanted help with was kind of **writing for the workplace and how**
- 6 **to come up with those summaries** [...] so we did spend some time at the end of
- 7 the session, like we just went online and I was like, find an example of an article
- 8 you’d be responsible for summarizing for your website and let’s go through it

Andrea’s contextualization of summarizing within her learner’s workplace (Line 1-3) can be seen as an indication that she is orienting to her tutoring in accordance with the understanding of the instructional context and adult learning that was introduced in session 1. By naming her learner’s work and emphasizing that her learner expressed a need for help with engaging in that work (Line 4-5) as the starting point for her tutoring, Andrea demonstrates an understanding of tutoring at NELC that is aligned with the concept of adult learning (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 2005), and with the concept of language as social practice (See Chapter 4).

Furthermore, in contrast to identifying a need for discrete, de-contextualized language skills, Andrea explains that her learner wants to be able to engage in the contextualized language

practice of writing summaries that will be used to advertise and share information with an academic department. Later in her explanation, Andrea also identifies other areas of potential focus for her tutoring as helping her learner with “emotional communication” in the workplace and understanding the college admissions process in the U.S., as her learner had a son in high school. Although Andrea does not explicitly utilize the theoretical discourse associated with the concept of language as social practice, as she had done in previous sessions (as in Excerpt 5-2), her explanations provide evidence that she is able to identify language *practices* rather than language *skills* to inform her tutoring. In turn, this suggests that she is indeed beginning to think through this concept as she makes sense of her tutoring and her learners’ needs.

5.2.6 “One-sentence summaries”

Later in session three, when given time to practice adapting and preparing an activity for her actual learner, Andrea selected a summary-writing exercise from a textbook that had been given to her by the ESL Coordinator. In the exercise, a reading passage is provided and then each paragraph is summarized in one sentence. When asked about her plans to use this material, Andrea shared the idea of having her learner read the article out loud and then having the learner write her own one-sentence summaries rather than providing the book summaries outright. She also considered the possibility of comparing the learner’s one-sentence summary to those provided in the book or writing her own (Andrea’s) for the purposes of comparison with her learners. Andrea’s selection of this summary-writing exercise is aligned with her previously externalized understanding of her learner’s goals and needs (as seen in Excerpt 5-4). However, as will be illustrated below, following this planning Andrea experiences another moment of cognitive dissonance when attempting to engage in the activity of tutoring. Additionally, as will

be illustrated in Chapters 6 and 7, the one-sentence summary activity that Andrea identifies and practices in this session will feature heavily in her tutoring after the intervention workshops.

5.2.7 “It’s a lot of talking”

In the final activity of the third workshop session, Andrea was tasked with tutoring her one-sentence summary activity to a peer (Ruby). She sets up the activity by highlighting for the student that they will be practicing and learning “some things we should be keeping in mind when we write a summary” (Andrea, Session 3) because it is an activity that the student engages in for her job. This set up to the activity aligns with one important aspect of the concept of language as social practice by establishing a connection between language learning in the classroom with the learner’s life outside. However, as Andrea attempts to carry out the remainder of the activity, she finds herself again reverting to explaining information at her learner:

Excerpt 5-6:

- 1 AND: It sounded like last week you already know some of these things, so I want to go
- 2 through these and then also think about if these are like relevant to you, but also,
- 3 if you have other things you think are missing here, things that, um – so the first
- 4 one is that a good summary acknowledges the original author. Does that make
- 5 sense?
- 6 RUB: Yeah
- 7 AND: So, yeah, when you find an article online, we want to make sure that we give
- 8 that credit. But one thing we talked about last week was that a lot of times you’re
- 9 citing work that’s done in your own department. So maybe instead of the author,
- 10 we want to make sure- so you might want to adapt this rule to say, make sure we
- 11 acknowledge the person in our department that the news story’s about
- 12 NIC: **So, can I just pause one second? What are you thinking right now as the**
- 13 **student?**
- 14 RUB: Trying to keep up
- 15 NIC: Okay, trying to keep up. **So what does that suggest to you, how your students’**
- 16 **experiencing this activity so far?**
- 17 AND: **That it’s a lot of talking**
- 18 RUB: You’re doing good in explaining it, but again, **it’s the ‘at’ and the ‘with’**
- 19 **concept**
- 20 NIC: **Right. ‘at’ versus ‘off.’ So, you said you talked about this last week, right?**
- 21 **So maybe you could start by instead of *you* explaining, ask her, “so what are**

22 **some important things a summary should do that we talked about last**
 23 **week?” So that takes the focus off of you needing to explain it all**
 24 AND: (To Ruby) ((laughing)) so, what are some of those um, kind of main points we
 25 want to look for when we’re summarizing an article?

In line 12, I interrupt Andrea’s tutoring and open a mediational space by asking Ruby to share how she is experiencing the activity as a student. Ruby’s response to my prompt (Line 14) then provides a springboard for me to flip the question to ask Andrea to consider Ruby’s response from the perspective of a teacher (Line 15-16). This prompts her to recognize that “it’s a lot of talking” (Line 17). Andrea’s recognition suggests an emergent self-awareness and moment of potential dissonance that sets the scene for the introduction of a pedagogical concept.

Interestingly, however, it is Ruby who explicitly introduces the pedagogical concept of “teach ‘off’ your students, not ‘at’ them,” albeit with altered phrasing (Line 18-19). I affirm Ruby’s point that this concept was relevant and then expand on this by providing Andrea with a concrete suggestion to adjust her tutoring in a way that would garner more student engagement, which Andrea adopts and imitates (Line 24-25).

This excerpt provides evidence that Andrea is still in the early stages of developing a conceptual understanding of the pedagogical concepts introduced during the intervention. When given the opportunity to practice independently thinking through the pedagogical concepts to engage in tutoring, she still struggles to do so. Yet, when prompted to interpret Ruby’s externalizing of how she was experiencing Andrea’s tutoring, Andrea is able to correctly identify the source of the issue in accordance with the pedagogical concepts of *teach ‘off’, not ‘at’ your student* and *speaking from within*. Further, through the explicit insertion of the pedagogical concept of *teach ‘off’, not ‘at’ your student* (by a peer) and modeling of the concept in activity by a teacher educator, Andrea is able to adjust her engagement in tutoring by adopting my suggestions.

5.2.8 Summary

Section 5.2 traced Andrea's emerging understanding of the concept of language as social practice and the four pedagogical concepts throughout her engagement in the three workshops that comprised the PD intervention. To this end, this section demonstrated how her engagement in the intervention provided opportunities for her understandings to take shape and become increasingly concretized and actionable, and revealed the crucial importance of my teacher educator mediation in this endeavor. Andrea's trajectory also highlights the critical role of on-going professional development and teacher support that extends beyond pre-service workshops, as her conceptual understandings of the pedagogical concepts were only just beginning to emerge by the end of the final workshop.

5.3 Ruby's Emerging Concept Development

At the beginning of the first intervention workshop, Ruby shared that she was a third-year undergraduate student in Communication Sciences and Disorders (CSD). This is relevant because her background in CSD and Speech Language Pathology (SLP) would go on to play a role in shaping her engagement and emerging understandings throughout the intervention. For instance, Ruby reported that she had first learned about the opportunity to volunteer at NELC when the ESL Coordinator (Beth) attended a meeting of the National Student Speech Language Hearing Association (NSSLHA) to advertise program as a way for students to meet a service-hour requirement. Ruby saw the opportunity to volunteer at NELC as **“a good way to apply what I'm learning in my major to real life”** and garner relevant experience with accented speech (Ruby, Session 1). At the same time, although she didn't have teaching experience, Ruby also shared that she “like[d] teaching and want[ed] to be a better teacher” (Ruby, Session 1). It was not discussed directly in this instance, but later during her observation debriefing meetings

during the second phase of the intervention, Ruby would reveal that her mother was a professional ESL teacher, a fact which may have contributed to her interest in volunteer ESL teaching/tutoring. As illustrated below, both her history as a CSD student and her stated aims of applying her CSD knowledge to “real life” and becoming a “better teacher” became relevant for understanding several instances of her engagement and development throughout the intervention.

Table 5.2: Key Episodes in Ruby’s Conceptual Development

	Key Episodes	Intervention Practices (Chapter 4)
S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Apply what I’m learning in my major” • “In a class that deals with language development” • “Isolate events and social practices and analyze how they work together” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions • Externalizing pre-understandings • Concluding session 1
S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Speaking your truth” • “Talking at and assuming what we know” • “It’s just a matter of like how much they know and to assume” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbalizing the pedagogical concept • Practice tutoring • Practice tutoring
S3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I’m just trying to use my knowledge” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice tutoring for your learner

5.3.1 Ruby’s Pre-understandings: “I’m in a class right now that deals with language development”

The first instance in which Ruby was clearly and explicitly drawing on her experiences in CSD occurred early during the first workshop session. When participants were initially prompted to externalize their pre-understandings of the meaning of the notion that language is a socially situated activity, Ruby explicitly and immediately referred to a course she was concurrently

enrolled in that dealt with language development, albeit from the perspective of L1 acquisition in infants:

Excerpt 5-7:

1 RUB: I'm in a class right now that deals with language development, so **I'm like kind of**
 2 **drawing back on that just a tad, even though we are talking about adult**
 3 **learners**, but like language is like, it's like this, like babies learn language because
 4 of the social interaction and stuff like that. So like we have this drive to
 5 communicate with others to get our messages across, to get our meaning across
 6 and because we find it meaningful and enjoyable. **But of course, this is if you're**
 7 **teaching someone a first language so- but that's just the first thing I thought**
 8 **of**

In this excerpt, Ruby explicitly states that she is drawing on her knowledge from a language development course she is taking (Lines 1-2). Ruby's pre-understanding, linked directly to this course, is grounded in the perspective that social interaction is an innate drive that leads child language acquisition (Lines 4-5). However, Ruby recognizes that this is "just the first thing I thought of" (Lines 7-8), but also questions whether this understanding is relevant for adult L2 teaching/tutoring. This is seen in the distinctions she draws between adult and child learning (Lines 2-3) and first and second language development (Lines 6-8). This excerpt shows how the history that Ruby brings with her to the intervention serves as an important starting point for tracing her emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice.

5.3.2 Verbalizing: "Isolate events and social practices and analyze how they work together"

At the end of the first session, Ruby wrote that her primary takeaway was that: "**I learned how to isolate events and social practices and analyze how they work together** [emphasis hers]" (Ruby, Session 1, Post-session index card). This can be seen as an initial verbalization attempt in which she has already begun to utilize the discourse of the concept of language as social practice. Her response also demonstrates an emerging awareness of the

relationship between language events and social and cultural context, although she does not specify or explain what the relationship is. Additionally, the primary question Ruby wrote at the end of the session was: “How would I handle a situation where I couldn’t explain something that is intuitive to a native speaker?” (Ruby, Session 1, Post-session index card). Her question suggests that she is also developing an emerging awareness of her own understandings of language and the limitations of these understandings, in particular, when confronted with explaining language and social practices that are ‘intuitive’ to her as a ‘native speaker,’ which is an important initial step toward concept development.

5.3.3 Verbalizing pedagogical concepts: “Speaking your truth”

Ruby’s next illustrative episode occurred during the second workshop session when I introduced participants to the pedagogical concept of *speaking from within*. After having read the brief passage to introduce the concept (See Chapter 4), participants were asked to verbalize their thoughts on the meaning of this concept. Excerpt 5-8 occurs immediately after Lisa²⁵ had provided the first response of relating students’ own lives to the classroom and being able to “express yourself.” Following Lisa’s comment, Ruby offered a reinterpretation: “Speaking your truth.” After her response was validated, Ruby offered a personal anecdote:

Excerpt 5-8:

- 1 RUB: **Speaking your truth**
- 2 NIC: Speaking your truth, yeah. **Engaging meaningfully and saying something that**
- 3 **you truly mean.** And the reality is a lot of classroom language talk and a lot of
- 4 language classrooms don't really work towards that
- 5 RUB: Yeah, I was just talking to my friend today, actually she's from Taiwan and she
- 6 told me in school they focused mainly on the reading and the writing. She said
- 7 the speaking they barely did any of it. So I asked her, I said, I actually asked her
- 8 this, **‘do you find it easier to speak whenever you're speaking about**
- 9 **something that means something to you or you're more passionate about?’**
- 10 Because, like, I don't speak Mandarin, so we speak in English. And she goes,
- 11 ‘yes, yes.’ She answered that, right

²⁵ Lisa’s response will be discussed below in the section that addresses her emerging developmental trajectory

12 **NIC:** ...You're absolutely right. She's living the reality of saying that when your
 13 **interests and your intellect are valued and taken into account**, language use
 14 gets a lot better

In lines 2-3, I align with and expand upon Ruby's contributions by restating and reframing the everyday notion of "speaking your truth" into the more expert understanding of "engaging meaningfully and saying something that you truly mean." I then establish a juxtaposition between this type of engagement and the typical "classroom language talk" that often does not align with or "work towards that" (Lines 3-4). This juxtaposition inspires Ruby to share a personal anecdote through which she verbalizes an emerging understanding of the concept of speaking from within. In her anecdote, she recounts a recent conversation with an L2 English-speaking friend from Taiwan in which they had discussed the fact that her friend found it "easier to speak" English when she was "speaking about something that means something to [her] or [she was] more passionate about" (Lines 8-9). Ruby contrasts this with her friend's experiences in schooling, which were focused primarily on reading and writing at the expense of speaking (Lines 6-7). Ruby's anecdote indicated to me that Ruby was accurately interpreting the concept and served as a springboard for me to add the point that in language tutoring, learners' "interests and intellect [should be] valued and taken into account" (Lines 13-14), a point which has been proposed as especially relevant for adult ESL by Carr and Snell (2012).

Following this initial discussion, participants were then prompted to consider how they could incorporate the concept of speaking from within into their future tutoring sessions. To initiate this discussion, the volunteers were given the following explanation: "because very often highly structured or decontextualized grammar lessons and activities don't provide space for learners to speak from within, what do you think are some ways that we might be able to try to encourage and make space for that to happen in your tutoring?" (Nick, Session 2). After having

several minutes to consider the prompt and discuss their thoughts with a partner, participants were asked to share their thoughts as a group:

Excerpt 5-9:

- 1 RUB: I guess **asking open-ended type questions like opinions**, so even if it's just like,
 2 you know, the sit-down restaurant, just asking how they feel about the practices
 3 here or just some kind of opinion
 4 AND: Or like, have you had an experience doing this yet? Tell me about it. Or like why
 5 is it important for you to learn this?
 6 NIC: **I really like the idea of open-ended questions**, because that's a good one.
 7 Asking only or mostly yes or no questions really only gives people the option to
 8 say yes or no, right? So your first question, you said like, 'have you had an
 9 experience? Tell me about it,' that's very nice. Also, the second point that you
 10 said that I suddenly can't remember
 11 AND: Why is it important?
 12 NIC: Yes! Why it's important. 'Why' questions are good for teaching because they give
 13 you insight into the person's thinking, you can use that information

In the first few turns of this interaction, Ruby and Andrea proposed the idea of asking open-ended questions, which I supported enthusiastically (Line 6). Based on my previous experience mentoring volunteer language tutors at NELC, I was aware of a tendency for volunteers to rely on teacher-centered discourse patterns of asking primarily closed and selected response questions with minimal student engagement, so the fact that the volunteers in the workshop had proposed the strategy of open-ended questions as a way to encourage meaningful engagement from a learner was emphatically supported. Accordingly, I then provided the pedagogical rationale behind my support of open-ended or opinion-based questions, explaining that “yes” or “no” questions often limit the range of responses that one could have. Similarly, I also provide a pedagogical rationale for asking “why” questions (Line 12-13).

5.3.4 “Talking at and assuming what we know”

Ruby's understandings of the pedagogical concept of *speaking from within* once again emerged during the final task of the second intervention workshop, in which the participants were organized into partners to practice the tutoring activities they had planned earlier in that session. Lisa and Ashley (discussed in further detail below) initiated the practice tutoring and began their tutoring activity with a good deal of teacher-fronted explanations and teacher-centered discourse. In Excerpt 5-10, I pause the practice tutoring to open a mediational space and explicitly insert this pedagogical concept into the activity, at which point Ruby responds:

Excerpt 5-10:

- 1 NIC: So can I- you can stop me if you're going somewhere else with this, but right now
- 2 I want to pause **think about this idea of speaking from within**. What do you
- 3 think right now?
- 4 RUB: **It's a lot of talking at and assuming what we already know**, because- like,
- 5 assuming
- 6 NIC: So what's a way that we could maybe add a little bit more space for that speaking
- 7 into what we just did?

In response to my prompt to consider how the concept of speaking from within would be relevant for understanding the on-going tutoring activity (Lines 1-3), it is Ruby who correctly identifies that there is both a good deal of teacher-fronted talking, and that the teacher-talk is predominantly grounded in assumptions of what the learner doesn't know (Lines 4-5). This brief excerpt demonstrates how the opening of a mediational space during a tutoring activity led by her peers provided Ruby the space to practice thinking through the concept to verbalize her experiences and suggests that she is developing conscious awareness of the concept.

5.3.5 "It's just a matter of like how much they know and to assume"

After Lisa and Ashley finished their practice tutoring (Excerpt 5-9), Ruby and Andrea began to lead their own practice tutoring activity. As previously shown in Excerpt 5-3, both Ruby and Andrea evidenced moments of struggle and dissonance as they attempted to think

through and align their activity with the pedagogical concepts to which they had recently been introduced. While Excerpt 5-3 highlighted Andrea's engagement and emergent understandings through this activity, Excerpt 5-11 highlights Ruby's experience. This was particularly interesting because, as shown above in excerpts 5-9 and 5-10, Ruby was consciously aware of and able to verbalize the pedagogical concepts. In practice, however, this conscious awareness was not yet concretized or actionable. After Andrea's request for help (Excerpt 5-3, Line 21), the remainder of the interaction involved Ruby's responses to both my mediation and the mediation provided by her peers. Just prior to excerpt 5-11, I suggested that Ruby and Andrea might offer some visual or written support to help a learner engage in the roleplay.

Excerpt 5-11:

- 1 LIS: You can, um, notes of the different words you're saying, because you were saying
- 2 "party of"
- 3 RUB: Just now we're just speaking about that, but write it
- 4 NIC: Yeah. **Write down some of those phrases for us on a card and we can use**
- 5 **them to help us do the roleplay. If I have a card to look at, that's a lot easier**
- 6 **than trying to memorize it the first time you hear it, right?** Another way to
- 7 maybe **add some structure to this sort of "well, let's try it out"** is maybe you
- 8 **give us some information** like "Okay, so say you're with six people, you walk
- 9 into the restaurant" and give us a few different scenarios, right? So "if you're with
- 10 six people, you enter, and the restaurant is very busy. What do you say?" Because
- 11 then you can see their ability to say something like 'is there a wait?' because-
- 12 RUB: So like **give scenarios and then later on test their ability maybe?** Or like?
- 13 NIC: Well USE the scenarios to test their ability. And I'm saying, maybe support the
- 14 scenario by giving them a little bit more, saying "Okay, so let's say you come into
- 15 a restaurant-
- 16 RUB: Context
- 17 NIC: "I'm going to give you a card." Maybe you write down like three people so that
- 18 they can start practicing different ways. A table for three, party of three, you know
- 19 maybe
- 20 RUB: Okay, **break it down more**
- 21 NIC: Yeah. Give them a number of people and a situation. "It's busy. You have three
- 22 people, what do you say?"
- 23 AND: Mhm
- 24 RUB: Yeah. So we're like assuming, like, **it's just a matter of how much they know**
- 25 **and like to assume**, but I get what you're saying

26 NIC: Right, well, but if what we're assuming is we want to teach them these phrases
 27 though, right? Things like "do you have a table? Is there a wait?" then one way to
 28 apply that is, yes to do a scenario, but try to give that scenario structure

29

In this excerpt, the mediation provided in lines 1-11 is centered on offering Ruby and Andrea concrete strategies and the pedagogical reasoning behind them in order to help them garner more student engagement in their roleplay activity by providing written and visual support. These strategies included ideas such as writing down key phrases on cards for the learner to use (lines 1-7), and strategically setting parameters to a learner engage in the roleplay (Lines 7-11).

Through Ruby's responses to this mediation, it becomes clear that she is having a difficult time with the idea of making 'assumptions' about a learner's prior knowledge and tutoring language in a way that moves beyond explaining the language that the learner is assumed not to know.

Interestingly in Excerpt 5-10 she was able to point out that Lisa and Ashley appeared to be making assumptions that the 'learner' had little knowledge, and were, therefore primarily explaining knowledge. However, here in Excerpt 5-11, Ruby seems to fall into the same trap.

That is, after having engaged in a tutoring activity that was primarily centered around Ruby and Andrea explaining information to a learner, when Ruby is offered suggestions of how to adjust her tutoring to create space for a learner to engage more fully, she struggles to reconcile her pre-understandings and engagement in activity with these new pedagogical concepts, despite having been able to verbalize these concepts moments prior.

5.3.6 "I'm not acting like a [speech] therapist, but I'm just trying to use my knowledge"

In the final workshop session, there were several instances in which Ruby's understandings and engagement once again appeared to be influenced by her knowledge and history in the field of CSD and SLP, which produced a sense of tension for her. In this analysis, I present the culminating activity at the end of the session to illustrate this. During the final

intervention practice of the third workshop session (i.e. practice tutoring for their actual learner), the activity that Ruby designed was a diagnostic activity in which her partner (Andrea) would read a passage aloud so that Ruby could identify patterns of errors in her articulation and pronunciation of speech sounds. Excerpt 5-12 occurs after Andrea had begun reading the passage:

Excerpt 5-12:

- 1 RUB: Are you having trouble with the **initial sounds**?
- 2 AND: Yes
- 3 RUB: That's what it sounded like. So it's pronounced "yuh" so you really want to force
- 4 air [...]
- 5 NIC: ((walks up)) Spoken like a speech pathologist
- 6 RUB: It's my pers- so "yuh" is a sound in English that- **do you think it would be**
- 7 **appropriate to explain to her how to pronounce it?** [...] From my initial
- 8 evaluation, like listening, she was having trouble mixing up her vowels. So like
- 9 she would **raise her high front vowels** [...]
- 10 NIC: So you think this is something that will help her?
- 11 RUB: I think, yeah. Because it is a lot of like how she **enunciates and articulates** [...]
- 12 so I just thought we would go through and like read it and if she would come
- 13 **across an error** maybe like – because I just want to see exactly where she's at
- 14 with like how she pronounces it
- 15 NIC: So your activity right now is kind of like a diagnostic?
- 16 RUB: Yeah. Because last time, it was more of just from what she told me and what I
- 17 can remember. **So I want to see if there's a pattern, so again, like a speech**
- 18 **pathologist, I'm trying to find some pattern- I'm not acting like a therapist,**
- 19 **but I'm just trying to use my knowledge to see where the patterns of errors**
- 20 **are**

In this excerpt, it is striking to note the extent to which Ruby's engagement is permeated with discourse associated with her background and history in SLP. For example, in both her engagement with Andrea and her explanations to me, she uses terms and concepts such as 'initial sounds' (Line 1), 'high front vowels' (Line 9), 'enunciation and articulation' (Line 11), and patterns of errors (Lines 13, 19-20). Moreover, her tutoring activity begins with identifying a potential 'pattern of errors' in line 1 ("initial sounds"), after which she begins to instruct Andrea in producing a specific vowel sound by explaining how to articulate the sound by forcing air

(Lines 1-2). As I approached, I overheard this and immediately referred to Ruby's tutoring as informed by speech pathology (Line 5). What is also interesting in this excerpt is that Ruby appears to be unsure of the appropriacy of her use of her SLP knowledge in her practice tutoring, as she immediately seeks validation in Lines 6-7. As she continues to explain her reasoning, the extent to which she is informed by SLP becomes increasingly apparent, but is also a site of struggle for Ruby, as seen in lines 18-20 in which she expresses difficulty distinguishing her current activity from her knowledge in SLP.

Ruby's engagement in this excerpt demonstrates the powerful influence of her history on her current activity. Because she has developed knowledge through her experiences in SLP, it is difficult for her to *not* use this knowledge to inform her activity. Additionally, it is also clear in this excerpt that the concept of language as social practice is not at the level of deep conceptual knowledge as she is struggling to think through this concept to regulate her activity. In this episode, in fact, it appears that the concept of language as social practice currently resides in tension with the conceptual knowledge and experience that she is also developing through her study and is overshadowed by her SLP-informed conceptual understanding of language.

5.3.7 Summary

The preceding section traced Ruby's understandings of the concept of language as social practice and the additional pedagogical concepts through her engagement in the three intervention workshops. Ruby's developmental trajectory highlights the conflicts and tensions that arose between her history of participation in formal education that was organized around a drastically different conceptual understanding of language than the concept presented to her in this intervention. While she found herself relying on her SLP concept of language throughout the intervention, she also showed clear signs that she was aware that SLP was not appropriate for

teaching or tutoring language as a social practice. However, she did not yet have enough experience and activity with the concept of language as social practice. This produced a sense of tension for Ruby throughout the intervention which demonstrated the strength of her pre-understandings. Additionally, Ruby also demonstrated early on that she was able to accurately verbalize the pedagogical concepts she encountered in the intervention, but simultaneously showed that these concepts still appeared to remain at the level of verbalism; that is, she was not yet able to think through these concepts *in* activity. This section also highlights the nature of the emergent, responsive mediation that she received throughout the intervention. Within such a short timeframe to engage with new conceptual understandings, even this mediation was not enough to promote further development. Thus, similar to Andrea, Ruby's developmental trajectory also highlights the importance of continuing to promote volunteers' development after an initial 'training' or series of PD workshops.

5.4 Ashley's Emerging Concept Development

Similar to Ruby, Ashley was an undergraduate student at the nearby public university. However, Ashley was in her final year of a bachelor's degree program in a healthcare field. As part of her program of study, she was enrolled in the upper-level epidemiology course which had an agreement with NELC to offer 40 hours of volunteer service in exchange for extra credit points in the course (See Chapter 3, "Research Context"). While introducing herself to the group and sharing her reasons for volunteering, Ashley stated that she was originally planning to serve as a teaching assistant for another healthcare class at the university, but changed her mind when Beth came to visit her epidemiology class to advertise the option of volunteering at NELC:

Excerpt 5-13:

ASH: I was going to be a TA for a [healthcare] class and I picked this over top of that **just because of the diversity**. I'm from a really small town and I just applied to PA [physician assistant] school and I would like to go to a bigger city where I know that I'm going to have communication- just like, there's going to be problems with communication, so **I thought this would be like a good *in* to start with diversity**

Ashley's stated motive for volunteering was, therefore, to gain experience with "diversity" in preparation for her career goal of working as a physician assistant in a larger city. While it is also possible that the incentive of receiving extra credit in a healthcare class also played a role in Ashley's decision to volunteer, it is important to note that the primary motive she chose to share was to experience or "start with" diversity because she is from a small town. Based on her statement, it seems likely that by "diversity", Ashley means people who don't speak English and are from other countries. Having come from a "small town," she has not had much exposure to such 'diverse' people.' Volunteering to tutor an English learner at NELC is, for Ashley, an opportunity to move into this uncharted territory and gain new experience. However, having had no background experience communicating with speakers of other languages and no background experience in teaching, Ashley is entering into this tutoring experience without clear expectations for what it will be like.

Table 5.3: Key Episodes in Ashley's Conceptual Development

	Key Episodes	Intervention Practices (Chapter 4)
S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "A good <i>in</i> to start with diversity" • "You need a language to [...] stay social" • "Came into this thinking we would teach classroom style" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-intervention • Externalizing pre-understandings • Concluding session 1
S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Regular language into driving language" • "Start with the written portion first and the social practices" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbalizing the concept in planning • Practice tutoring

S3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “What do you talk about? Or how do you act at an orchestra?” • “Should I focus on grammar?” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreting first tutoring session • Planning for tutoring
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5.4.1 Ashley’s Pre-understandings: “You need a language to [...] stay social”

During the first intervention session, Ashley’s response to the prompt for externalizing her pre-understandings of language provided a clear indication that she was operating with an everyday conceptual understanding:

Excerpt 5-14:

ASH: I was just thinking like social, like using language, you know you're getting across to somebody else and you're having an interaction. And even literacy, people that express their self and **you need a language in order to hear what other people are thinking and to stay social.**

While Ashley’s statements that language is used by people to interact, express themselves, and “stay social” are not necessarily untrue, they all appear to stem from an everyday understanding that “social” means interaction with others. Although she does attempt to bring literacy into her understanding, she also quickly abandons it, reverting back to the notion that language is a means of communication. This provides a glimpse into her thinking about language at this stage in the intervention and highlights a sharp distinction from the pre-understandings of some of her peers, such as Andrea and Ruby. Whereas Andrea had entered the workshop with some familiarity with the notion that language is a shared, cultural artifact, and Ruby had entered the workshops with an understanding of language informed by SLP, it seems that Ashley has entered with an everyday concept of language that appears to be primarily informed by her own direct experiences using language to communicate with people. Given that she had previously shared that she lacked experience interacting with users of other languages, and that her educational

background was unrelated to language or teaching, this is not entirely unsurprising at this point in the intervention.

5.4.2 “I came into this thinking we would teach like classroom style”

Interestingly, Ashley’s main takeaway from the first session was not directly related to the concept of language as social practice but was instead about her newly forming understanding of adult ESL teaching and tutoring. For instance, at the end of the first session, the primary takeaway that Ashley wrote down was: **“I came into this thinking we would teach like classroom style, but after this session I realize how important everyday needs are also important [sic]”** (Ashley, Session 1, Post-session index card). Ashley’s distinction between her expectation of teaching “classroom style” and her new realization of “how everyday needs are also important” provides a glimpse into both her everyday concepts about teaching (i.e. her ‘apprenticeship of observation’ Lortie, 1975), and her newly emerging understandings of tutoring adult ESL.

According to her statement, she entered the intervention with pre-conceived notions that she would be teaching language in a “classroom style” that would not be connected to “everyday needs.” Moreover, although she doesn’t explain exactly what she means by teaching “classroom style,” it can be inferred that she is drawing on the notion of the “traditional” teacher-fronted, information-transmission classroom (Auerbach, 1994) or the “banking model” of education (Freire, 1970). Her realization that “everyday needs are also important,” however, indicates the emergence of a potential shift in her understanding of what it means to teach/tutor adult ESL. That is, as a result of her participation in the first intervention session, she is beginning to question and re-consider some of her pre-conceived assumptions about teaching. Later data during her observation debriefing meetings confirmed that she was indeed initially

conceptualizing teaching as the transmission of information through scripted worksheet-based teaching. This new realization would go on to become a central theme and point of struggle in her tutoring and observation debriefing meetings. It is also worthwhile to note that her response is distinct from the rest of the group, all of whom had made explicit references to the concept of language as social practice in their end-of-session notes.

5.4.3 Verbalizing: “Start with the written portion first and the social practices that go along with it”

During the second workshop session, when Ashley and Lisa were tasked with leading the group through their practice tutoring activity, Ashley demonstrated her first clear attempt to verbalize and think through the concept of language as social practice. Excerpt 5-16 occurs while she and her Lisa are introducing their activity.

Excerpt 5-15:

- 1 LIS: So today we’re going to learn about the driver’s license exam in [state], how to-
- 2 you’re going to start learning how you study, how to get your license, what things
- 3 you want to learn, the things you should know, okay? So we're going to talk about
- 4 some vocabulary, we're going to look at pictures. So we're going to answer some
- 5 questions and you'll speak on some things yourself. I'll give you an opportunity to
- 6 respond
- 7 ASH: So, to start off, **what do you already know about the driver’s test in reference,**
- 8 **do you have any resources that you know of? Or a car that you might use for**
- 9 **the test? Do you have availability to that? Do you know the layout of the test?**
- 10 **What is your basic knowledge of the test as of right now?**
- 11 RUB: There’s a written portion that I have to know information before I can get the car
- 12 ASH: Okay, so we’re going to be working with an app today just to give you a preview
- 13 of what the exam is going to be like. There is a portion- also there’s a driving
- 14 portion, but **we’re going to start with the written portion first and the social**
- 15 **practices that go along with** it and what you’re going to expect

This excerpt starts with Lisa introducing several broad areas of focus for the tutoring activity (Lines 1-3), followed by Ashley asking a series of 6 questions in an attempt to gauge the learners’ prior knowledge on these topics (Lines 7-10). After Ruby provides an answer to one of

the questions (Line 11), Ashley then offers another plan in which she verbalizes the notions of the “written portion” and the “social practices that go along with it” (Lines 14-15). The connection Ashley establishes between these two elements appear to be an instance of self-directed speech in which she attempts to verbalize the concept by stating a plan to start with the written features of the exam while maintaining a connection to the social practices that underlie these features. Evidence that this is, at least partially, self-directed speech includes her use of the theoretical discourse of “social practices” in her tutoring, which would not likely be familiar to an adult learner. Additionally, she brings in this theoretical discourse while she articulates an instructional plan, despite her partner already having done so (Lines 1-6), and despite having already initiated interaction with a learner (Lines 7-10). Although she is in a space in which she knows that her peers are familiar with this theoretical discourse, her explicit incorporation of the phrase “social practices” as she formulates a *second* plan for the tutoring activity suggest that she is attempting to clarify and plan the tutoring activity for herself at the same time as she shares this plan with a ‘learner.’

5.4.4 “What do you talk about? Or how do you act at an orchestra?”

During the first PD practice of the third and final workshop session, Ashley had the opportunity to share her interpretations and understandings of her first tutoring session, including the language and social practices and personal characteristics of her learner that would be relevant for her tutoring. In this discussion, Ashley shared that her learner was a woman from Taiwan who had been living in the local community for 7 years and had a 12-year-old daughter. She also shared that her learner had previously owned and operated an antique shop in Taiwan and was currently unemployed but actively seeking employment related to her interests in furniture and interior design. The main goals that Ashley identified for tutoring were to focus on

finding a job in a home goods store, communicating with doctors about women's health concerns, communicating with other parents and teachers at her daughter's school-related events, and exploring volunteer opportunities for her learner to get engaged in the community. For instance, related to communicating with other parents, Ashley stated:

Excerpt 5-16:

1 ASH: She's really into getting her daughter involved, but she said it's really hard to
2 communicate with other adults in the community. [Her daughter] is in an
3 orchestra, so [my learner] was asking me if we could go over, like, **what do you**
4 **talk about? Or like, how do you act at an orchestra?** Or when I want to tell
5 somebody like, your daughter did really good

Ashley's identification of an instructional focus on both *what to talk about* and *how to act* when attending a school orchestra performance (Lines 3-4) show that she is beginning to be able to think through the concept of language as social practice as she interprets her learner's language learning needs and starts to plan her tutoring. This excerpt demonstrates Ashley's emerging awareness of the need to focus on both language (what to talk about) and social practices (how you act). This is not to say that she has fully internalized the concept as a psychological tool, but it is a sign that she is moving forward in her development, as she is able to recognize the relevance of this concept for interpreting her learner's needs and identify certain needs that align with the concept.

5.4.5 "Should I focus on grammar?"

At the end of the final workshop session, participants were given the opportunity to ask any remaining questions or concerns about their tutoring. In response, Ashley shared a concern with whether or not she should include explicit focus on grammar and writing in her tutoring.

Excerpt 5-17:

1 ASH: I have one. I'm just like, because she is a stay-at-home mother that doesn't really,
2 **she doesn't really care about writing** and stuff, she's like "I don't really care

- 3 how good I am at writing and grammar.” She’s like “I just want to get good
 4 enough to get a job.” So I’m having a hard time, like, **should I focus on**
 5 **grammar and have her writing stuff?** [...] I’ve been having her jot down notes
 6 and I don’t care, like, if she capitalizes, you know what I mean? Just having her
 7 write, so she *is* gaining a little bit from it, but I don’t know
 8 LIS: **I have a suggestion**
 9 NIC: Great! What’s your suggestion?
 10 LIS: So you said that she wanted to get a job at a home goods store?
 11 ASH: Mhm
 12 LIS: Well, what you could do, if whatever home goods store, maybe **just call the**
 13 **store and see what the requirements would be for a position there and see**
 14 **what type, because there might be some writing. It might not be full**
 15 **sentences or paragraphs, but it might be some writing.** Just see what they
 16 would have to do to get that job. I mean, **of course the resume part, but it’s not**
 17 **necessarily perfect grammar on the resume [...]**

Her question, which is grounded in an emerging understanding of her learner, her learner’s needs, and the linguistic demands required for her learner to meet her goals, demonstrates an emerging awareness of the pedagogical concepts of ‘reasoning teaching,’ and ‘language as social practice.’ For instance, she prefaces her question by sharing information about her learner and her learner’s expressed interests (Lines 1-4), which is an indication of her emerging awareness of some of the key things that her pedagogical decisions “depend on” (Johnson, 1999).

Additionally, that she was able to recognize and formulate this question within the intervention also provides evidence of her emerging self-awareness of the limitations of her reasoning.

Further, the fact that she poses the question of whether she should include ‘grammar’ if her learner doesn’t plan to engage in activities where standardized English grammar is important also suggests an emerging conceptual understanding of language as social practice. In this excerpt, Ashley is able to make the connection that, if her learner does not plan to be engaging in activities where standardized grammar matters, then perhaps she doesn’t need to teach it. This is evidence that the concept of language as social practice is beginning to challenge and re-structure some of her other conceptual understandings. For instance, in contrast to her pre-understanding

that she would be teaching “classroom style” (Ashley, Session 1) through grammar drills and worksheets, she is continuing to question and move beyond this understanding to considering the specific practices and contexts for which her learner will be using language.

What is also interesting in this excerpt is that Lisa offers a suggestion that builds on Ashley’s question and provides her with an operationalization of the concept of language as social practice. Lisa’s suggestion gives Ashley the idea of taking her learner’s specific goals, such as getting a job at a home goods store, and then conducting an informal genre analysis to try to identify exactly what types of grammar and what types of writing are involved in doing this job. What this says about Lisa’s development is the subject of the next section, but in this case, it is important to note that Ashley has contributed a question that evidences both an emerging understanding of the concept and a moment of struggle, and then receives appropriate mediation from a peer that offers her a way to further her understanding.

5.4.6 Summary

This section highlighted and traced Ashley’s engagement and concept development throughout the intervention workshops. Importantly, while she entered the workshops with little relevant pre-understandings or experience, by the final workshop session, she showed signs that she was beginning to think through the concept of language as social practice to understand and engage in the activity of tutoring. That is, in contrast to Ruby, who entered the intervention with an already developing formal conceptual understanding of language, it seems that Ashley’s lack of a prior scientific concept of language may have made it less of a challenge for her to begin to think through this new concept.

5.5 Lisa's Emerging Conceptual Development

Unlike the other three members of her cohort, Lisa was not a student at the nearby university; she did, however, work at the university as a public safety officer. It is also important to emphasize that in contrast to the other participants, Lisa had already been matched with and begun tutoring an adult learner several weeks prior to the start of the intervention. Although she had been tutoring, she had not yet received any form of training or preparation prior to this intervention. In her self-introduction speech at the beginning of the first PD workshop, Lisa shared that she had learned about NELC because her husband, who had emigrated from the Dominican Republic, had been a former ESL student at NELC. In addition to sharing that her husband was a former student, Lisa also shared that she had completed undergraduate degrees in both Spanish and Criminology, all of which contributed to her stated motives for volunteering at NELC:

Excerpt 5-18:

1 LIS: **I wanted to volunteer because I enjoy teaching. I actually want to get into**
 2 **teaching English to Spanish speakers.** So I have a degree in Spanish, but I just
 3 wanted to take it further. So I thought about maybe Spanish education, but I think
 4 **ESL will better fit me and what I want to do, eventually retire to the DR**
 5 **[Dominican Republic] and maybe open up my own school, like a school like**
 6 **this,** you know, something that's affordable [...] so I want to do that, and yeah, I
 7 like teaching and helping someone speaking [...] and you know what, it's going to
 8 help me get better because **my undergrad was criminology and Spanish and I**
 9 **actually work for the university now** as a police officer and the Spanish-
 10 speaking population is growing in our county and there's been two occasions two
 11 other departments have actually called me out to their scenes to help translate for
 12 Spanish [...] **so I'm actually getting better with my Spanish too, so**

According to her statement, Lisa's primary motives for volunteering were to communicate with Spanish-speaking individuals for personal enjoyment and to improve her Spanish speaking, and to explore the possibility of a future secondary career in adult ESL teaching.

Table 5.4: Key Episodes in Lisa's Conceptual Development

	Key Episodes	Intervention Practices (Chapter 4)
S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I want to get into teaching English to Spanish speakers” • “There’s a difference [...] but they’re still both socially situated” • “Start with features and work our way down” • “I learned how to use the ‘iceberg method’ to help me teach” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductions • Externalizing pre-understandings • Using the SCOBAs to analyze a familiar context of use • Post-session reflection
S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “What does this look like? Instead of just telling them?” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practice tutoring
S3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “[Training] helped me just focus on what things actually matter” • “Just see what they would have to do to get that job” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreting tutoring sessions • Planning tutoring/Session wrap-up

5.5.1 “There is a difference between language and literacy, but they’re still both socially situated”

In the first workshop session, when prompted to externalize her pre-understandings of the notion that language is a social or socially situated activity, several important points emerged in Lisa's response:

Excerpt 5-19:

- 1 LIS: We didn't really touch on the literacy part, **but I do think there is a**
2 **difference between language and literacy, but they're still both socially**
3 **situated.** I think like maybe in the rural areas of Mexico there, maybe they,
4 you know, can't read or speak, you know, read or speak English or maybe even
5 Spanish, writing and reading Spanish, that literacy part, **but in their culture,**
6 **they might not need to, but they know how to communicate through**
7 **language and understand each other.** But yeah and I mentioned that in
8 **different cultural situations, different groups of people you're with, you'll**
9 **speak differently,** the words you use if you're using slang, you know, friends

10 versus person at the bank versus your parents can be different so these
11 different social situations you're in

First, in lines 1-2, Lisa responds to Andrea's initial attempt to articulate the connection between language and literacy (Excerpt 5-0) and argues that language and literacy are distinct, but *both* are socially situated²⁶. In her follow-up to this statement, Lisa then describes two ways in which she understands language and literacy to be socially situated: the first (Lines 3-7) is the culturally determined need (or lack of need) to use certain forms of language and literacy, while the second (Lines 7-11) is the culturally and socially situated ways that different forms of language are patterned across different social situations. Illustrating her first understanding, Lisa provides the example of people in rural areas of Mexico who may be able to speak Spanish, but not read or write Spanish or English. She explains that the reason that people in these areas may be able to speak the language, but do not have literacy is that they do not *need* these forms of literacy. It is important to recognize that she is correct to implicate the connection between cultural and material environments on the one hand, and the types of language and literacy that people develop on the other. However, there is also the potential for this understanding to reduce the complex social inequalities that result in the lack of access to literacy and education to the simplified notion of a choice or lack of desire to develop literacy. Unfortunately, this point was not problematized during the intervention and only became apparent during my analysis of data afterward. Nonetheless, this excerpt provides documentation of the potentially oversimplified and unproblematized literacy understandings that even volunteers with experience may bring into adult ESL settings. This points toward the need for volunteer teacher education to help

²⁶ In excerpt 5-0 (lines 2-4), Andrea drew a distinction in which literacy was potentially *non*-socially situated, while language *was* socially situated

volunteers problematize and question these assumptions in favor of more complex and critical understandings of adult literacy education.

The second understanding of language that Lisa provides (in Lines 7-11) is that language use adapts and changes according to “different cultural situations,” for which she provides the examples of interacting with friends, people at the bank, and parents as three different social settings in which one would use language differently. This pre-understanding, which captures the notions that language use is dependent on social relationships and conventionalized patterns associated with particular contexts of use suggests that Lisa, similar to Andrea, may have been more pre-disposed to embracing the concept of language as social practice in the intervention.

5.5.2 Verbalizing: “Start with features and work our way down”

Later in the first session, while engaged in the PD practice of utilizing the SCOBAs to analyze a familiar context of use, Lisa was overheard discussing with her partner (Ashley) that she wasn’t sure how to identify the social practices of the Starbucks ordering interaction. However, after externalizing this uncertainty, she then verbally formulated a plan to begin by generating the visible features of the interaction and working her way “down” to understanding the social practices which, using the SCOBAs image of the iceberg, were beneath the features. When the group re-convened, I highlighted Lisa’s plan as an example of how this concept could be used to guide action:

Excerpt 5-20:

- 1 NIC: So if you're taking this approach to starting with the features of the event, and I
- 2 **actually noticed something interesting, I think it was this group I don't**
- 3 **remember who, but I heard somebody mentioning ‘I don't even know where**
- 4 **to start. Like, I have no idea what to put down here’**
- 5 LIS: That was me ((laughs))
- 6 NIC: And **then you said ‘you know what? Let's start with looking at the features of**
- 7 **the event and then we'll work our way down to the social practices.’ That's**
- 8 **perfect. That's exactly it.** [...] the idea is that this is a process for unpacking

9 language based on the type of literacy practices that your student is engaging in.
 10 **How do we start to unpack what it is that you're going to do with them?** How
 11 do you **start with their needs like we talked about?** **How do we keep the**
 12 **language that we teach grounded in the real world?**

13

Although it is primarily my speech on display in this excerpt, I begin by reporting and paraphrasing Lisa's conversation with her partner, after which I highlight this conversation as an example of "exactly" (Line 8) how to think about and utilize the concept of language as social practice to guide their activity. In my report of Lisa's conversation, it is visible that in her initial attempt to utilize the SCOBAs to uncover the social practices embedded within a coffee-ordering interaction, she struggled because she "didn't know where to start" (Lines 3-4). However, in Lines 6-7, I report that Lisa then verbalized the concept as she utilized the metaphor of the iceberg diagram to formulate a plan to begin with the visible features and then "work our way down to the social practices." This provides evidence of how the use of the SCOBAs enabled Lisa to orient herself and plan her activity through external verbalization with her partner.

At the end of the first session, Lisa wrote that her main takeaway was, "**I learned how to use the 'glacier/iceberg method' to help me teach my student how to relate social contexts to language/conversation**" (Lisa, Session 1, Post-session index card). This statement can be seen as another clear verbalization of the concept of language as social practice as she explicitly refers to the SCOBAs and shares her understanding that this SCOBAs provides a "method" for teaching her student how to relate social contexts to language. This verbalization, in concert with her reported speech in the above excerpt demonstrate her emerging understanding that the concept of language as social practice is about relating 'social contexts to language' and that it will help her in her teaching/tutoring.

5.5.3 "What does this look like? Instead of telling them?"

While Lisa demonstrated an ability to verbalize the concept of language as social practice in the first session, in the second session she was also able to verbalize the pedagogical concept of ‘speaking from within.’ However, she still struggled to think through this pedagogical concept when given the opportunity to do so in her practice tutoring. For instance, Lisa was partnered with Ashley for the practice of planning and tutoring a mini lesson in the second session. As discussed above, she and her partner were tasked with designing and leading an activity to help a learner prepare for the state driver’s license exam. For their activity, Lisa and Ashley decided to teach some specific road signs that would be featured on the driver’s license written exam. As shown in excerpt 5-16, Lisa began the activity by stating a plan for the lesson.

As they engaged in their practice tutoring, both Lisa and Ashley initially relied on the explanation of information followed by closed-ended confirmation checks (“okay?”, “do you know what this means?”). This led to the interaction (briefly discussed above in excerpt 5-10) in which I paused the practice teach to open a mediational space and introduce the concept of speaking from within. This section considers this excerpt in terms of its relevance to Lisa and adds in several additional lines which were not included in excerpt 5-10:

Excerpt 5-21:

- 1 NIC: So can I- you can stop if you’re going somewhere else with this, but right now I
- 2 want to pause **think about this idea of speaking from within**. What do you think
- 3 right now?
- 4 RUB: It’s a lot of talking at and assuming what we already know, because- like,
- 5 assuming
- 6 NIC: **So what’s a way that we could maybe add a little bit more space for that**
- 7 **speaking into what we just did?**
- 8 LIS: **What does this look like to you? Instead of telling them that it’s a person**
- 9 **holding what looks? you know?** I’ll start, yeah, so what does this picture look
- 10 like to you all?
- 11 RUB: A person holding a bag or

- 12 LIS: **Yeah. So like I said before, these are things that** are going to tell you what
 13 you're going to see, so that's going to tell you [...] So with what I just said, have
 14 you seen anybody like this while you were riding a car?

After Ruby's response in lines 4-5 that Lisa and Ashley's practice tutoring was "a lot of talking at" the students, I then posed a question to the group for suggestions of ways that the tutoring could be adjusted to align with the concept of 'speaking from within.' In lines 8-9, Lisa responds by formulating an open-ended question, offers a brief justification of her question, and then immediately poses the question to her 'learners.' However, after Ruby provides a short response, Lisa again returns to the explanation of information. This shows that, although she may have been able to verbalize the concept of speaking from within, her understanding had not yet moved beyond verbalization.

5.5.4 "[Training] helped me just focus on what things actually matter"

In the third workshop session, prior to sharing information about her learner, Lisa prefaced her speech with a statement of how she was understanding the purpose and relevance of the previous two intervention sessions. Before examining her speech, however, it is important to re-emphasize that Lisa had been tutoring her learner for several weeks prior to this intervention. Thus, her 'introductory' meeting had already occurred with her learner previously and she already had experience engaging in tutoring at NELC. With this in mind, Lisa initiated her discussion by stating:

Excerpt 5-22:

- 1 LIS: I really appreciate the two days of training I had because **it really helped me just**
 2 **focus more on what things actually matters instead of just doing the**
 3 **grammar packet and exercises**

This excerpt, while brief, shows quite clearly how the concept of language as social practice was beginning to alter Lisa's understanding of her tutoring by the final intervention session. What

can be inferred from her statement is that, for the several weeks of tutoring she had been engaged in prior to the intervention and, by extension, prior to being introduced to the concept of language as social practice, her tutoring had primarily consisted of following “grammar packets” and drill-based exercises. Lisa’s characterization of her tutoring aligns with the pilot study conducted prior to the development of the intervention (See Chapter 3), which found that many volunteers at NELC tend to follow pre-scripted packets of language teaching materials while having little pedagogical or theoretical rationale for doing so. Lisa’s statement that she can now “focus more on what things actually matters” shows that, through her engagement in this intervention, she is beginning to develop both a theoretical and pedagogical rationale for her tutoring. Moreover, this newly developing rationale is enabling her to question her previous reliance on grammar packets and re-conceptualize her instructional focus.

5.5.5 “Just see what they would have to do to get that job”

The final excerpt selected to illustrate Lisa’s emerging understanding of the concept of language as social practice is the previously discussed suggestion that she offered to Ashley in

Excerpt 5-23:

- 1 LIS: Well, what you could do, if whatever home goods store, maybe **just call the store**
- 2 **and see what the requirements would be for a position there** and see what type,
- 3 **because there might be some writing. It might not be full sentences or**
- 4 **paragraphs, but it might be some writing.** Just see what they would have to do to
- 5 get that job. I mean, of course the resume part, **but it’s not necessarily perfect**
- 6 **grammar on the resume, but that’s kind of, like knowing what a sentence**
- 7 **structure for a resume would be.** So that’s something you could do to see how
- 8 much writing you would actually focus on because it is somewhat important
- 9

In her response to Ashley’s question as to whether she should focus on grammar and writing in her tutoring, Lisa offered the suggestion that Ashley should look into the types of jobs that her learner was interested in finding and use that information to determine what types of writing and

grammar might be needed for that work. Lisa's suggestion demonstrates that she is clearly beginning to think through the concept of language as social practice. When Ashley asks her question, which characterizes 'grammar' and 'writing' as static and decontextualized skills, Lisa responds by appropriately suggesting that Ashley should look into the types of grammar and writing that are relevant for her goals. In Lines 3-4, Lisa's statement that the relevant writing may not be "full sentences or paragraphs" accurately captures the situated writing practices that might be involved in working in a home goods store.

5.5.6 Summary

This section traced Lisa's understandings of the concept of language as social practice and the pedagogical concepts by examining her engagement throughout the three intervention workshops. To this end, this section highlighted that Lisa entered the intervention with previous experience learning and using a second language and possibly related to this, entered with a pre-understanding that bore a family resemblance to the concept of language as social practice. While she initially experienced a brief struggle with trying to think through this concept as a scientific concept and to orient herself in activity, through several clear instance of verbalization, the use of the SCOBAs, and her responses to mediation, she began to show that she was indeed starting to think through the concept.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter answered the second research question: *what are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in the intervention practices?* The chapter considered each participants' individual trajectories by examining their verbalizations, engagement in activity, responses to mediation, and engagement with their peers. While all four participants showed initial signs of conceptual development, this development was

characterized by individual variation. Each of the four participants brought with them their own individual histories and future goals and, in turn, took up and responded to the mediation in different ways. For instance, by the third workshop, Ashley, Andrea, and Lisa had begun to internalize and, to varying degrees, think through the concept. Ruby was still developing conscious awareness of the concept and its relation to her previously developed conceptual understandings of language. The chapter also documented the ways in which this group setting created spaces for the emergence of peer mediation that was not planned for or predicted by me. This included the feedback, suggestions, and explicit naming of concepts that the participants provided to each other throughout the micro-tutoring activities and group discussions. In addition, there were also instances in which participants responded to each other's questions with appropriate, thoughtful answers.

Chapter 6

Realizing the Concept in Activity

6.1 Introduction

Having documented the language teacher education practices that comprised the professional development intervention workshops (Chapter 4) and traced each participants' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice throughout their engagement in these practices (Chapter 5), this chapter accounts for how these understandings were realized and developed in activity as the volunteers engaged in the second phase of the intervention. This second phase included participants' engagement in tutoring an adult learner for the remaining 10 weeks of the semester and participation in two video-recorded observations of their tutoring at 4-week intervals followed by audio-recorded debriefing meetings within 2 -3 days of each observation. This chapter, therefore, addresses the third and final research question: *How is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practice realized in activity over time?*

To this end, this chapter examines both how the volunteers engaged in the activity of tutoring (in the two video-recorded tutoring observations) and how they talked about their tutoring activity (in the two audio-recorded debriefing meetings) to explore the ways in which they use the concept of language as social practice in activity and how their use of this concept changes the ways in which they make sense of and engage in this activity. While Chapter 5 traced the conceptual development of each participant individually, in this chapter, I analyze them collectively as a cohort. Doing so enables me to highlight trends in the data that are common to all four participants and provide a more holistic view of the participants' development and engagement in activity throughout the second phase of the intervention.

6.2 Re-constituting the volunteers' activity system

In order to account for the ways in which the participants were able to make use of the conceptual knowledge they had begun to internalize in the workshops and how they accordingly “ma[de] sense of and reconfigure[d] their classroom practices in and over time” (Johnson & Golombek, 2003, p.2), it is first necessary to account for the activity system in which they were engaged. The extent to which the participants were able to explore and reconfigure their practices in accordance with the concept language as social practice was greatly influenced by their participation in the larger activity system(s) operating within NELC. As stated in Chapter 3 (Research Context), within the traditional activity system of NELC, the administration and leadership did not enforce particular methods or approaches to teaching or tutoring and did not typically observe or provide oversight for volunteers. At the same time, because of my history of participation in this activity system as a volunteer teacher, teacher-trainer, member of the volunteer-teacher training team, and my position as an expert and researcher from a nearby university, I was granted the authority to implement significant changes to many components of the activity system for the group of participants in this study. This afforded a sense of freedom for both me and the participants in this study to re-constitute this activity system as we saw fit.

As such, through the design and enactment of the professional development intervention, the participants and I were engaged in a re-constituted activity system which was explicitly structured around supporting the development of their thinking and activity related to the concept of language as social practice. My role in this activity system was to conduct two observations with each participant and then meet with each participant to provide responsive mediation (Johnson & Golombek, 2016) aimed at helping the volunteers continue to develop their understandings of the concept of language as social practice and devise ways to re-envision and

re-configure their practices accordingly. In the first round of debriefing meetings, we reviewed portions of their observation recordings and I posed questions in order to prompt volunteers' externalization of their pedagogical reasoning and planning, verbalization of concepts, and reflections on and interpretations of their activity. In response to these externalizations, I offered evaluations and validation of their tutoring practices, modeled verbalization of concepts, and offered suggestions to each participant to re-envision and align their practices with concepts from the workshops. However, in the second debriefing meetings, many participants had already completed their final tutoring session. As such, the focus of these meetings shifted from reviewing their observation recordings to discussing their reflections on their tutoring more broadly and verbalizing their understandings of concepts from the workshops.

This left volunteers free to engage in tutoring with little oversight outside of the observations and debriefing meetings conducted as part of the intervention. As such, there was little evidence to be found in the data to indicate components of the activity system contradicting or residing in tension with the participants' ability to deploy and develop the conceptual knowledge developed within the workshops. Rather, when given the freedom to tutor according to their own plans and goals, and with support and mediation provided through the debriefing meetings, all four participants made clear efforts to use the conceptual knowledge from the workshops to help guide their activity and this, in turn, began to influence both how they engaged in and understood their tutoring.

6.3 Data Analysis and Findings

In order to answer the question of how the participants' conceptual development was realized in activity throughout their engagement in the second phase of this professional development intervention, I began by conducting a grounded content analysis (Glaser & Strauss,

1967; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) of data collected from all four participants' tutoring observations and observation debriefing meetings. From this analysis, a set of 5 salient themes emerged that served to characterize the ways in which this cohort of volunteers incorporated the concept of language as social practice into their tutoring, and how this, in turn, enabled them to re-conceptualize and re-configure their approaches to language tutoring. To illustrate each theme, excerpts are included from only 1-3 participants per theme. Selection of excerpts was based on maintaining a representativeness of each participant. For example, while I included excerpts from Andrea and Ashley to illustrate the first theme, I included excerpts from Lisa and Ruby to illustrate the second and third themes. The themes that will be analyzed and discussed in this chapter and the data utilized to illustrate each theme are included in the following table:

Table 6-1: Overview of Themes

Theme:	Data Utilized to Illustrate Each Theme
1. Reconceptualizing Tutoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrea, Second Debriefing Meeting²⁷ • Ashley, Second Debriefing Meeting
2. Developing Understandings of Language as Social Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lisa, First Observation • Lisa, First Debriefing Meeting • Andrea, First Observation • Andrea, First Debriefing Meeting
3. Focus on the Learner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ruby, First Observation • Ruby, First Debriefing Meeting
4. Agentive Use of Materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ashley, Second Debriefing Meeting • Ruby, Second Debriefing Meeting • Lisa, Second Debriefing Meeting
5. Actively Seeking Additional Mediation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ruby, First Debriefing Meeting • Andrea, First Debriefing Meeting

²⁷ As noted above, the second debriefing meetings typically did not involve reviewing or explicitly discussing the second observation recordings. For that reason, second observation recordings were not explicitly included in this analysis

It is also important to note that for the purposes of analysis, I will emphasize primarily one theme at time for each excerpt. However, in reality these five themes are deeply interconnected and embedded with one another. This means that a given excerpt will likely encompass multiple themes but will be treated as primarily illustrating one theme.

6.4 Re-conceptualizing Tutoring

When prompted to discuss their approaches to tutoring in their second observation debriefing meetings, all four participants described a shift away from their initial conceptualizations of tutoring as the traditional teacher-controlled transmission of information toward a new understanding of tutoring as dialogic, emergent, and responsive to the learner. Additionally, the participants largely credited their shifting conceptualizations of tutoring to their understanding of the goals, needs, interests, and personal characteristics of their individual learners. For instance, each of the participants made comments similar to those found in the following excerpt from Andrea's second debriefing:

Excerpt 6-1:

1 AND: It was interesting that I didn't- **I came in like a very**, what we talked about, **black**
 2 **and white**, like we need to get through these 10 tasks by the end of the semester
 3 and like, it was **definitely more loose and abstract than that**. And I don't know
 4 if that's, yeah, like I said, **the nature of my student or if that's actually more**
 5 **typical**. I think that was interesting to me and that **it really was more about**
 6 **relationship building and finding out what's of interest to her, what her needs**
 7 **are, and having that drive things as opposed to [...]** I wasn't very much like,
 8 **"all right, everyone turn to page 17, you are going to go through this."** It was
 9 very much like, okay and **adjusting** how long something takes and how much
 10 time we focus on this versus something else **is totally just, it's the need of the**
 11 **student at that time** (Andrea, Second debriefing meeting)

Andrea describes how she initially entered the intervention with a pre-conception of tutoring that was very "black and white" (Line 1-2), which she further elaborates by voicing a

teacher-fronted classroom instructor dictating exercises to a learner (Line 8). However, in contrast to this, she reports developing an approach to and understanding of tutoring that was more about “relationship building and finding out what’s of interest to her [the learner], what her needs are, and having that drive things” (Line 5-7). This is further supported by her closing statement that she was constantly adjusting her tutoring in accordance with her newly developed rationale for instructional decision-making which was “totally just, it’s the need of the student at that time” (Line 9-11). The distinction Andrea draws between her initial conception of tutoring and her current understanding is stark and demonstrates a substantial re-conceptualization of the nature of tutoring. This excerpt provides a general indication that the volunteers’ conceptualizations of tutoring have developed around the notion that tutoring is about understanding a learner.

The following excerpt from Ashley aligns with and extends Andrea’s comments by providing additional examples of the re-conceptualization discussed by Andrea as well as additional ways in which the volunteers’ conceptualizations of and approaches to tutoring developed over the course of the semester.

Excerpt 6-2:

- 1 NIC: How do you think your tutoring has changed over the semester, or has it
- 2 changed?
- 3 ASH: **The more it goes on, the more we just do like real life situations. Like in the**
- 4 **beginning, I was more like “do this paper.”** I don’t know, [later on] I didn’t use
- 5 as much, like I made up my own stuff pretty much, like it wasn’t like papers [...]
- 6 that I’m like **“here’s the right answers, now do it.”** It was more like talking and
- 7 not so much structured papers that we did [...] **she would give me topics that**
- 8 **she would want to learn so that’s kind of how we went week after week.** [...]
- 9 but I think **it’s just because of what her goals are.** And yeah, she tells me all the
- 10 time **she just likes to have conversation-** which you can tell, like, we literally
- 11 talked about what kind of dog she wanted, **but she learns from our**
- 12 **conversations** [...] and she didn’t know what, like, dog names were if she was
- 13 going to pick a dog, what do we look for? And that kind of thing, it helps her, but

14 **it's not like she learned like- it's more like everyday things and not**
 15 **schoolwork** (Ashley, Second sdebriefing meeting)

Similar to Andrea, Ashley demarcates a substantial distinction between her current approach to tutoring and her initial approach. She describes how her tutoring was initially directed and structured by “papers” (Line 3) and worksheets with “right answers” (Line 5). She also characterizes her initial approach by voicing a teacher who gives direct commands to a student (Line 3 and 5) in much the same way that Andrea had done in excerpt 6-1. However, Ashley reports that as time went on, she became better attuned to understanding her learner’s goals and needs (Line 8-9) and began to move away from her initial reliance on papers toward engaging in dialogue with her learner about “real life situations” (Line 2). Accompanying this shift from papers to “real life,” Ashley also recognizes meaningful dialogue with her learner as a valid form of instruction (Line 10) as opposed to the completion of worksheets and papers. For instance, she shares the example of having a conversation about what to look for when adopting a dog (Line 9-12) as a meaningful interaction which helps her learner. In addition to the example of their conversation about dog adoption, later on in this meeting Ashley also shared that she and her learner had also engaged in conversations about preparing for parent-teacher conferences, volunteering at the local library, and conversing with other parents at elementary school orchestra performances.

6.4.1 Summary

The above excerpts, while drawn from only two participants, are demonstrative of the ways in which all four participants described re-conceptualizing their approaches to tutoring. Evident in this data, the volunteers appear to have entered the intervention with pre-conceptualized notions of teaching and tutoring that were largely aligned with traditional, teacher-controlled, knowledge-transmission models of education. However, over the course of

their engagement in this intervention, they have reconfigured their practices and developed new understandings that adult ESL tutoring is dialogic and situated in the real-life needs of a learner. As will be shown below, there is evidence to suggest that these re-conceptualizations of tutoring were linked to the participants' sustained engagement in the processes of externalizing and internalizing their developing conceptual knowledge of language as social practice in the activity of tutoring an adult ESL learner. As the volunteers continued to develop a new way of thinking about language (i.e., as social practice), this led them to focus their effort on trying to better understand their learner and the language practices that this learner needs, ultimately leading to a re-conceptualization of tutoring as fundamentally about understanding and evolving to meet the needs of a learner through dialogues about their life.

6.5 Developing Understandings of Language as Social Practice

Grounded in their participation in a re-conceptualized activity system structured around supporting their conceptual development, all four participants demonstrated clear attempts to adopt the concept of language as social practice in their tutoring following the workshops. In this section, I present two cases that are representative of the participants' development and use of this concept in the second phase of the intervention. For each case, I analyze both the participants' engagement in the activity of tutoring and their engagement with me in the structured mediational space of the debriefing meetings. This section, therefore, aims to show not only the participants' attempts to adopt this concept in their tutoring, but also the crucial role of my mediation in this process. As illustrated below, this mediation sought to create spaces in which the participants could verbalize their thinking and become even more consciously aware how they understood the concept and how they were attempting to enact it. The first case comes from Lisa's first observation and debriefing, while the second case is from Andrea's first

observation and debriefing. Both cases provide examples of the participants' attempts to utilize this concept in their tutoring and their still-emerging awareness of and control over this concept.

6.5.1 Lisa's Engagement in Tutoring

The excerpts below from Lisa's first observation and debriefing meeting show an example of an early attempt to develop tutoring practices aligned with the concept of language as social practice. The first excerpt is an interaction between Lisa and her learner during her first tutoring observation. In this excerpt, Lisa began to set up an activity with her learner in which they were going to read a dialogue between a doctor and patient:

Excerpt 6-3:

- 1 LIS: **This is a conversation between a doctor and a patient okay? You're gonna be**
 2 **the patient and I will be the doctor** and we're gonna read this together, okay?
 3 And we're going to do the activities afterwards. But I'm gonna ask you some
 4 questions first. This conversation is, this is an example of how, this would be an
 5 example of a conversation you would have with a doctor, so the questions that
 6 this doctor here asks are gonna be questions that a doctor would ask you in real
 7 life if you go to the doctor. **Now, of course there are other things that you'll**
 8 **have to know**, so when you go to the doctor, you're going to meet with a person
 9 and they're going to ask you for, if you have insurance, they're going to ask you
 10 for your name, your address, personal information so they can put it in their
 11 computer. Then you go to an area where you wait, right? Does that sound
 12 familiar?
 13 STU: Mhm
 14 LIS: Right, so you go in, you talk with someone, you give them your personal
 15 information and then they tell you to go wait here and someone will call you
 (Lisa, First observation)

As seen in the excerpt above, Lisa started by informing her learner that they were going to read a dialogue between a doctor and a patient. She then proceeded to explain information to her learner about several additional aspects of navigating a doctor's appointment. This included descriptions of interactions with a medical receptionist, typical questions that would be asked, and specific actions to take after checking in with the receptionist. I selected this portion

of the observation video to review with Lisa in the debriefing meeting because I had identified potential contradictions between Lisa's initially stated plan (reading a dialogue) and her actual engagement in this activity (explaining contextual information to her learner). I had also identified a potential contradiction between Lisa's activity and the pedagogical concepts introduced in the intervention; namely that this excerpt highlighted her engagement in the teacher-centered delivery of information to a learner.

6.5.2 Lisa's Verbalization in the Debriefing Meeting

After watching the portion of the observation video included in excerpt 6-3 above, I prompted Lisa to externalize her understanding and interpretations of what she had been thinking and doing in that moment. In turn, Lisa shared that her primary focus in the moment was on internally using the SCOPA for language as social practice:

Excerpt 6-4:

- 1 NIC: So talk to me, what's going through your head
 - 2 LIS: I was really trying to get a- it was me trying to make sure I explained it well
 - 3 enough to where he understood this is what happens when you go and just trying
 - 4 to- so I repeated myself a lot because I really wanted- **I was trying to work out**
 - 5 **the iceberg in my head**, I'm like [...] I wanted to really show him how "okay,
 - 6 this is how we speak at doctor's offices, and these are some things you're gonna
 - 7 hear" so I really did try to do my best to explain that these specific phrases on the
 - 8 page are not always going to be how doctors speak. Some of them are formal,
 - 9 some of them are informal but um just kind of like lay it out when he goes into
 - 10 the doctor, what he might see, like the process, because **you can teach the**
 - 11 **conversation, but there's more to it than that. So that's what I was thinking**
 - 12 **about with the iceberg and the whole social part. Like, it's not just going to**
 - 13 **be conversation.** You're going to have to know where to go to check in, what
 - 14 information to give them, because that's - there's so many different conversations
 - 15 to be had at a doctor's office outside of just the doctor, so like
- (Lisa, First debriefing meeting)

In this excerpt, Lisa shares that as she explained information to her learner, she was attempting to "work out the iceberg in [her] head" (Line 4-5). This is a rather explicit indication that she has begun to develop both conscious awareness and an internal representation of the

SCOPA for language as social practice and is attempting to use this representation to guide her activity. She continues by verbalizing her understanding that she wanted to make it clear to her learner that even though they were going to be reading a dialogue between a doctor and a patient, there is much more to learning how to navigate this type of interaction than the words spoken. This is evident in her statement that “you can teach the conversation, but there’s more to it than that, so that’s what I was thinking about with the iceberg and whole social part” (Line 10-12). The conscious awareness of the concept articulated by Lisa in her two explicit references to the SCOPA (Lines 5 and 12) and throughout this excerpt is indicative of the first step toward internalization.

The above excerpt provides insight into the early stages of the volunteers’ conceptual development following the workshops and shows an initial sign of transformation from external social activity (i.e., the workshops) with a cultural artifact (i.e., the SCOPA) to an internal thinking process. Yet, at this early stage, they were still in the process of developing conscious awareness of the concept of language as social practice and just beginning to attempt to integrate this concept into their activity. Given their nascent conceptual development, it can also be seen in the excerpt from Lisa that the participants could not yet self-regulate their activity through the use of this artifact.

It is also important to consider Lisa’s explicit naming and verbalization of the concept of language as social practice in the context of our joint participation in the goal-directed activity of discussing her thinking and activity based on a video-recorded observation of her tutoring. Because I was the teacher educator who had introduced Lisa to the concept of language as social practice and the SCOPA, it is likely that my presence in this debriefing meeting played a role in influencing her externalization. Additionally, her verbalization in this excerpt occurs in response

to my intentional opening of a mediational space. That is, I had purposely identified a specific moment from her tutoring session and prompted Lisa to externalize her thinking about that specific moment. Had this not happened, it is likely that Lisa may not have had the opportunity to verbalize and recognize her use and understanding of the concept. It is through this dialectical interplay between engagement in activity and engagement in guided verbalization, that external social activities become internalized mental activities (Arievitch, 2008).

6.5.3 Andrea's Engagement in Tutoring

The following series of excerpts are drawn from Andrea's first observation and debriefing meetings. As a reminder, Andrea's learner worked as an office assistant for a science department at the nearby university and one of her main duties was to post summaries of faculty accomplishments and publications to the department website. To help her learner practice summarizing science-based articles, Andrea had identified a news article online which her learner had practiced summarizing prior to the session. In the excerpt from the interaction between Andrea and her learner, they refer specifically to the following passage from the news article (see Appendix E for full article):

Excerpt 6-5:

... Scientists are "virtually certain" that the ocean has warmed between 1970 and 2017. Marine heatwaves, periods of extremely high ocean surface temperatures, have "very likely" doubled in frequency from 1982 to 2016, according to the report... (CNN, "Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds," September 2019)

In the following excerpt, Andrea and her learner engage in a discussion about the article's usage of quotation marks and the use of the phrase "virtually certain" in scientific writing:

Excerpt 6-6: (AND= Andrea, STU = Student)

- 1 AND: So that's, **what do you think is the purpose of those quotes?**
2 STU: **I think they're not sure.** It's not really firm yet, but it tends to be. That's what
3 I'm thinking. What do you think?
4 AND: Yeah. So **I read this as like,** I mean you work in a science department, so
5 **scientists never really want to say- you can never prove- like they have**
6 **this mindset of you always have to leave a little bit of doubt**
7 STU: **A lot of gray area, right?**
8 AND: **But they are pretty much saying like,** even though we have to leave that
9 doubt, we're pretty-
10 STU:- sure
11 AND: Right. And I think using the quotes, **these are trying to emphasize that point,**
12 **that this is a big deal, this isn't just like maybe some people think this.**
13 **They're "virtually certain" so I think using the quote is they're trying to**
14 **emphasize that point**
 (Andrea, First observation)

In the excerpt, Andrea poses a question to her learner to ask her what she thinks is the purpose of the article's usage of quotes (Line 1). Her learner initially responds that perhaps the authors used the quotes because they were not sure about a claim and then asks Andrea to share her interpretation (Line 2-3). In lines 4-6, Andrea shares her interpretation that the quoted portion of the article was actually trying to emphasize that a scientific finding was as certain as possible. To support her interpretation, she begins to explain her understanding of a social practice of scientific research writing, stating that scientists have a "mindset" (Line 6) in which they typically do not say that they have 100% proved their claims, but instead must leave open the possibility that their claims could be doubted. In response, her learner states that there is "a lot of gray area" (Line 7), which appears to suggest to Andrea that her learner has not yet understood the social practice she is trying to emphasize. Throughout lines 8-14, Andrea re-states her understanding of the social practice underlying this particular usage of reported speech from a scientific report. She highlights again that, in her interpretation, although there is a need to leave open the possibility of doubt, the authors are actually trying to emphasize the certainty of a scientific finding.

6.5.4 Responsive Mediation in Andrea's Debriefing Meeting

Prior to Andrea's debriefing meeting, I selected the above segment from Andrea's tutoring observation video to serve as a prompt for externalization. While reviewing her observation video in preparation for the meeting, I identified this excerpt as a clear instance of language as social practice in her tutoring. In the meeting, I played this clip and prompted Andrea to talk about this interaction:

Excerpt 6-7:

- 1 NIC: Talk to me about this
- 2 AND: I mean, I think I tried to explain, so I was thinking of it's kind of like a cop out, so
- 3 they were talking about climate change and they kept saying, like, I don't know if
- 4 you saw the article, but they were like **"it's virtually evident that this is**
- 5 **happening."** So in my mind, it was pretty much like saying **"this is happening,**
- 6 **like we're not going to deny it"** but from my perspective as a researcher, I'm
- 7 **like no scientist is ever going to come off- they shouldn't be like this is one**
- 8 **hundred percent certain,** there's always this, like there's evidence for this and all
- 9 of this [...] and I think **I was trying to convey that to her, which I think is a**
- 10 **weird concept maybe to grasp**
- 11 NIC: That's interesting because my reaction to that was, **I saw that as trying to open**
- 12 **the social practices for her, right?** You were explaining the reason that they're
- 13 **writing it this way is because, you know, in science as it is right now,** people
- 14 don't often go around saying we've one hundred percent proved
- 15 AND: **Yep, yep. Exactly**
- 16 NIC: **So to me, this was a nice example of connecting language and social practice**
 (Andrea, Second debriefing meeting)

In line 1, I sought to open a mediational space by beginning with the very implicit prompt of "talk to me about this." In response, Andrea shared that she was trying to help her learner interpret the statement that "it's virtually evident this is happening" (Line 4-5) by sharing her understanding from her "perspective as a researcher" (Line 6), and by extension her understanding of the social practices of scientific writing, that "no scientist is ever going to come off... one hundred percent certain" (Line 7-8). In lines 9-10, she concludes that this may be "a weird concept to grasp" (Line 9-10).

While Andrea's engagement with her learner appeared to me to be a clear instance of her use of language as social practice in her tutoring, she did not explicitly bring in this concept when prompted to discuss this excerpt in the debriefing meeting. This does not necessarily mean that she was not thinking through the concept in her tutoring session. The fact that her engagement in this activity was primarily characterized by helping her learner understand the meaning of a specific phrase, explaining the "mindset" of scientists, and highlighting the norms and assumptions behind the authors' reference to scientific writing, all suggested that she was, in fact likely thinking through this concept. Yet, given that she did not directly name the concept, I then offered an interpretation of her activity in which I explicitly verbalized the concept of language as social practice and directly linked the concept to her activity (Line 11-14). By doing so, I sought to help her interpret her practices through the concept. After my explicit modeling of the concept, Andrea immediately voiced agreement with my interpretation, stating "yep, yep, exactly" (Line 15).

These excerpts from Andrea's observation and debriefing meetings showed how she appeared to be aligning her practices with the concept of language as social practice, despite not explicitly labeling them as such. Yet, her activity presented in the excerpt above was saturated with elements of the concept. These excerpts also demonstrated the role of my mediation, through which I aimed to help her explicitly verbalize and theorize her practices through this concept and, in turn, further develop her understanding of the concept and her own activity.

6.5.5 Summary

The section above examined data from the first round of observation and debriefing meetings with Lisa and Andrea. This section provided an illustration of the ways in which they both actively incorporated the concept of language as social practice into their tutoring and demonstrated how their attempts to do so created opportunities for the emergence of responsive mediation. While this section analyzed data from only two participants, their experiences were representative of the cohort.

6.6 Focus on the learner

In line with re-conceptualizing tutoring as dialogic and responsive, as the participants continued to actively incorporate their conceptual knowledge of language as social practice into their activity, the focus of their tutoring also shifted toward centering the learner and the language and social practices their learner would need to engage in. While it may seem straightforward that in a one-on-one tutoring program, tutors would focus on the individual learner, data collected during the pilot study conducted prior to this intervention indicated that even in the on-on-one tutoring program at NELC, it was not uncommon for volunteers to rely primarily on the delivery of packets of instructional materials regardless of their awareness of the learner's goals or needs. Additionally, as illustrated below, the development experienced by the participants in this intervention appeared to be directly linked to the concept of language as social practice.

6.6.1 Ruby's Naming of a Challenge: Incorporating her Learner's Focus

The following series of excerpts from Ruby's observation and debriefing meetings provide a glimpse into the unfolding development of the participants' understanding of and ability to focus on their learners. Importantly, these excerpts also highlight the crucial role of responsive mediation in helping the participants develop their thinking and practice as they

actively sought to incorporate a language-as-social practice-oriented focus on their learners into their tutoring. Just prior to the excerpt below from Ruby's first debriefing meeting, I asked her how she had been preparing for her sessions. In response, she stated that she was trying to find ways to connect pronunciation tasks to "larger social practices" (Ruby, 1st observation debriefing meeting). This led to the following exchange in which I mirrored her statement back to her in order to prompt further externalization:

Excerpt 6-8:

- 1 NIC: So you also mentioned you're trying to, I know this was only your second session,
2 but you mentioned that you're trying to work on specific things but also situate
3 those within a broader context?
- 4 RUB: Yeah, **I was trying really hard to do that because** every time I asked her, she
5 was really general with me and I said, you know, **because I know she said she**
6 **wants a job. So I try to situate everything in that like,** yeah, so I guess I am
7 **having a little bit of difficulty with that [...]** but I know we had talked about the
8 **social practices in the larger scale and how we can apply that.** So I guess that's
9 something I tried yesterday, I don't know- I think it went okay but I want to find
10 something better
- 11 NIC: What are some instances where you tried in the session?
- 12 RUB: Well, I found that clip of a workplace- the conversation in the workplace **because**
13 **I know that's what she's aiming for** and we did a shadow reading of that
 (Ruby, First debriefing meeting)

Although she reports that she is struggling to do so, Ruby's response reveals not only that she is trying to situate her instruction within "social practices" (Line 8) but also that she is attempting to do this by connecting her instruction to her learner's stated goal of finding a new job (Line 5-6, 12-13). Ruby's statements in this excerpt demonstrate clearly that she is attempting to think through the concept of language as social practice. Moreover, these statements show that attempting to think through this concept is leading her to search for ways to connect her teaching to her learner's needs, goals, and the specific language practices that she believes will help her learner meet these goals.

However, at this point, Ruby is still facing difficulty accomplishing this in activity as clearly indicated by her explicit statements as such in lines 4,7, and 9. Later in the debriefing meeting, I selected the excerpt of the observation video that Ruby referred to in lines 12-13 (i.e., the “shadow reading” activity) in response to Ruby’s explicit naming of this interaction as not only a deliberate attempt to use the concept of language as social practice and focus on her learner’s goals, but also as a source of struggle. I also selected this excerpt to serve as a prompt for externalization that could provide further insight into Ruby’s understandings of the concept of language as social practice and her own activity, thereby setting the scene for the emergence of responsive mediation. Before examining Ruby’s engagement in the debriefing meeting, I will briefly introduce and share the excerpts from Ruby’s tutoring session that were directly addressed in the debriefing meeting.

6.6.2 Ruby’s Engagement in Tutoring

In the tutoring session, Ruby introduced the shadow reading activity by stating “the next thing I had planned **because I know you're looking for a job**, so you're going to have to talk with people in the workplace and things like that. So I found this activity practicing English conversation at the office” (Ruby, first tutoring observation). This statement, which served to orient her learner to the purpose of the activity, also provides further support that she is indeed internalizing the concept of language as social practice and attempting to align her tutoring with this concept. The connection Ruby draws between “practicing English conversation at the office” and her learner’s goal of finding a job demonstrates that she is seeking to contextualize her language tutoring in the real-life needs of her learner.

For the shadow reading activity, Ruby brought in a 2-3-minute textbook audio clip featuring a dialogue between two individuals in an unidentified profession on the topic of hiring

freelance web designers. Ruby printed out a transcript of the dialogue and informed her learner that they were going to engage in “shadow reading” by listening to the audio once and then replaying the audio while reading the transcript aloud in real time to match the pace of the speakers. The transcript of the dialogue utilized in the session is provided in the passage below:

Excerpt 6-9: Audio Transcript from Ruby’s First Tutoring Observation

Person A: I am negotiating a deal with the MID company to make a website, but I can't figure out a way to have them agree on the financial terms.
Person B: Have you considered working with freelancers instead? They're usually more flexible.
Person A: Not yet, but I have found that because freelancers are self-employed, they don't always have the terms in place to deliver.
Person B: You're right. What may happen if you don't get the website done on time?
Person A: Well, I could lose my job.
Person B: I see. Let me share with you something I did in the past. I made a barter deal with an agency, so I got the website for free.
Person A: Really? How did you do that?
Person B: They created the website for free, but got commissions based on the number of visitors I had monthly
Person A: Thanks for the tip. I'll suggest that in my next meeting.

After explaining how they were going to engage in the activity, Ruby then informed her learner that the purpose of shadow reading was to help slow down her rate of speech in conversation. Following this, Ruby and her learner began to engage in the shadow reading activity as Ruby had planned; after silently listening to the audio once, Ruby replayed the audio as she and her learner attempted to read aloud in real time. However, after reading only the first few words of the first line of the dialogue, her learner stopped to ask a question about the content of the dialogue itself:

Excerpt 6-10: (STU= Student, RUB= Ruby)

- 1 STU: **Um, what is MID company?**
- 2 RUB: **I'm not sure**
- 3 STU: Okay, **it doesn't matter**
- 4 [...]
- 5 STU: **What is that 'terms in place'?** it's some contract?
- 6 RUB: What is it? **Let me go back**
- 7 STU: Terms in place. So what we don't have? What is that?
- 8 RUB: Oh, okay. Um, they don't have certain rules or regulations set up yet, if someone's
- 9 self-employed, they may not have all the resources in order to deliver
- 10 STU: **What do we mean by deliver?** It's not bringing something to somebody, it's
- 11 something else
- 12 RUB: Um
- 13 STU: Okay-
- 14 RUB: Let me re-read the conver-
- 15 STU: It's something specific
- 16 RUB: Yeah, I'm going back
- 17 STU: So I understand each and every word, but **I don't understand what does it**
- 18 **mean.** So- that we don't have terms in place to deliver, what does it mean?
- 19 RUB: Yeah, I see what you're asking. **I didn't really look at the content of the video. I**
- 20 **was just using it as a way to like, speaking practice.** But I can, let me see [...]
- 21 yeah, **I'm sorry for the confusion on that I was just using it as more of like a**
- 22 **speaking exercise** because I know you said it's hard for you to slow down
- 23 sometimes although I think here you were trying to speed up a little bit
(Ruby, First observation)

When Ruby did not have an answer to the learner's question, her learner appeared to be willing to settle for an unsatisfactory response and continue the exercise, stating "okay, it doesn't matter" (Line 3). However, following this exchange, they continued to read the dialogue along with the audio. Their continued engagement in shadow reading the dialogue was omitted from Excerpt 6-10, which presents only Ruby and her learner's diversions from the written transcript. In line 5, her learner once again stops after reading only the first few words of the next line to ask another question about the content of the dialogue, which produces an apparent sense of dissonance for Ruby as she tries to manage this unanticipated response:

After a brief back and forth with her learner, Ruby explains that she hadn't considered the content of the dialogue but had intended to use the transcript as a source of utterances to practice

speaking. This is interesting as Ruby had chosen this particular dialogue *because* she thought the content might be relevant to her learner, as evidenced in her responses in Excerpt 6-8 (line 12-13) and in her set up to this activity in Excerpt 6-10. At this point, however, Ruby continues to be influenced by her individual history in Speech Language Pathology, which leads her to foreground phonologic aspects of language over social practice. As a result, although she had identified a dialogue that may have been of potential interest to her learner, Ruby was primarily focused on the pronunciation of the dialogue and thus did not anticipate that her learner would ask questions about the content or meaning of the dialogue itself.

6.6.3 Ruby's Debriefing Meeting and Need for Mediation

In the debriefing meeting, I asked Ruby why she thought the learner appeared to deviate from the activity and what seemed to be the source of the learner's confusion. Ruby's initial responses were that the learner was struggling with pacing and with pronunciation of certain sounds. This led to the following interaction in which I opened a mediational space by re-playing the above segment from the observation video and directing Ruby's attention to the learner's responses to the activity:

Excerpt 6-11:

- 1 NIC: As you were going through it, this is sort of her response in the middle of it
- 2 RUB: Like "what does that even mean?" So, like, maybe like brief her a bit about what
- 3 it's about or what I mean. **I see what you're saying, like, she was confused**
- 4 **about the context** or the content at the time [...] **I didn't really look at it as the**
- 5 **context. I didn't know she would question it.** I was just kind of using it as a
- 6 transcript so
- 7 NIC: Right. So what that suggests to me is that what your goal for that activity was and
- 8 what her goal for that activity was were different
- 9 RUB: Right
- 10 NIC: **What she was interested in is the meaning**
- 11 RUB: The meaning, okay
- 12 NIC: Part of it is, I think, it's a conversation and even though what you want her to
- 13 focus on is her speed at speaking it

- 14 RUB: Yeah
 15 NIC: **But it's a conversation and it's hard to say, let's look at a workplace**
 16 **conversation because I know that's what you're interested in, but let's not**
 17 **look at the content**
 18 RUB: Yes, I see that now.
 19 NIC: Yeah. So that's what she was interested in is what is the meaning of this
 20 conversation. **So that goes back to some of the things we talked about in**
 21 **training that in language learning, it's about looking for a concrete**
 22 **meaningful purpose**
 23 RUB: Yeah, **that's true**. Yeah. I guess I just didn't really think of that at first, but I
 24 know so
 (Ruby, First debriefing meeting)

This excerpt demonstrates how, at this early stage of attempting to make use of the conceptual knowledge developed within the workshops, the participants still required mediation and guidance to help them do so. However, even in line 3 before I had offered mediation to point out a contradiction I had identified in her tutoring, Ruby was able to predict where I was leading her, stating “I see what you’re saying, like, she was confused about the context.” Additionally, throughout the interaction, she appears to follow along with my interpretation of her tutoring by restating my points (Line 11) and agreeing (Line 9, 14, 18, 23). This indicates that, although she still required assistance to help her actualize this concept, the mediation provided was within her ZPD. With implicit prompting (Line 1), she was already able to recognize in her own tutoring the ways in which she could have better aligned her practice with the concept of language as social practice and meaningfully incorporated her learner’s goals into her tutoring.

6.6.4 Summary

The preceding section demonstrated how, as the participants continued to actively incorporate the concept of language social practice into their activity, the focus of their tutoring also shifted toward centering the learner and the language and social practices their learner would need to engage in. Additionally, by analyzing data from both Ruby’s engagement in tutoring and her engagement in the debriefing meeting, this section demonstrated the crucial role

of mediation in this process. Like Ruby, all four participants made active attempts to focus on the learner in their tutoring, but also required the assistance provided to them through responsive mediation in the debriefing meetings, to help them to re-envision and identify ways to re-configure their practices to accomplish this.

6.7 New possibilities for action

In addition to the participants' reconceptualized understandings of tutoring, conceptual development, and emerging focus on the learner, there were two other salient themes in the data. These included two distinct new possibilities for action. The first was the participants' agentive use of instructional materials, and the second was the participants' active seeking of mediation to help them further develop. These two findings were salient primarily because, according to the pilot study analyses reported in Chapter 3, these were two actions that were not likely possible within the traditional activity system of NELC.

6.7.1 Agentive Use of Materials

An important finding in the data was participants' development of agency over their use of instructional resources and materials. For instance, all four volunteers reported that they not only evaluated and assessed the instructional materials provided to them by the ESL Coordinator at NELC (Beth), but also in many cases, sought out alternative materials to better suit their instructional purposes. This is a marked distinction from my pilot study analyses in which I found that many volunteers at NELC rely on the materials given to them by the ESL Coordinator despite having no pedagogical or theoretical rationale for doing so. While neither Andrea nor Ruby used any materials from NELC in any of their observations, Ashley was only observed using one worksheet in her second observation but reported in her second debriefing meeting that this was not the typical case.

6.7.1.1 Ashley's Use of Materials

The following excerpt from Ashley is reproduced from Excerpt 6-2 above, but is condensed to specifically address her comments on her use of materials and her approach to planning:

Excerpt 6-12:

- 1 NIC: How do you think your tutoring has changed over the semester or has it changed?
 2 ASH: **I made up my own stuff, pretty much, like it wasn't like papers like what we**
 3 **did last time** [in the observed lesson] It was more like talking and not so much
 4 structured papers that we did [...] **she would give me topics that she would**
 5 **want to learn so that's kind of how we went week after week** [...] it normally
 6 **just flows every single time we meet for the next time** [...] but I think **it's just**
 7 **because of what her goals are**
 (Ashley, Second debriefing meeting)

In this excerpt, Ashley reports that, rather than using “papers” and worksheets from her packet of materials, she primarily “made up her own stuff” (Line 1) based on an ongoing “flow” in which her learner would “give [her] topics” each week. She also shares that, although in the observed lesson, she did use “papers,” she didn’t typically use them (Line 2-3). Importantly, the predominant reason that Ashley reports for not using NELC’s materials is “because of what her [learner’s] goals are.” This suggests that, in accordance with the concept of language as social practice, she is able to focus her instructional decision-making on her understanding of her learner and the language and social practices she believes will help her learner. Most importantly, this excerpt demonstrates the agency she has developed over her use of materials as she has made the decision to engage with her learner in a collaborative process of identifying real-life topics for each session rather than relying on the given packet of materials.

It is also important to highlight the approach to lesson planning that Ashley reports developing over the course of the semester. In lines 4-7, she shares that she typically plans her sessions by collaboratively identifying topics with her learner on a week-by-week basis, a

process which she describes as a “flow” from session to session. This resembles elements of a critical approach to adult ESL as advocated by Auerbach (1986), namely that:

[curricular] competencies grow from an organic interaction between students and instructor, out of a process in which needs are identified collaboratively as a *result* of accumulated trust and experience, as an integral part of learning, rather than as a *precondition* for instruction (p. 422, emphasis in original)

Overall, this excerpt from Ashley demonstrated that, aligned with the volunteers’ re-conceptualization of tutoring as learner-focused, dialogic, and emergent, the tutors also began to develop their own learner-centered and dialogic teaching materials. This is a sign of agency over the use of materials, as it is not the materials that determine the content and delivery of Ashley’s instruction, but rather her continually growing and shifting understandings of her learners’ needs and interests.

6.7.1.2 Ruby’s Use of Materials

Similar to Ashley, all four participants shared that they primarily relied on their own reasoning to determine the appropriacy of materials and, if they deemed a given material to be ill-suited to their learner or their instructional purpose, they actively sought out materials and activities that were better aligned. There was evidence to suggest that these approaches were drawn from but also markedly distinct from, what they experienced in the workshops. For instance, the following excerpt comes from Ruby’s second debriefing meeting in which she responds to my prompt to explain how she was utilizing the ‘select, adapt, supplement’ pedagogical concept (See Chapter 4).

Excerpt 6-13:

- 1 NIC: So we talked a lot in the sessions, especially that last one, about taking things and
- 2 selecting, adapting, and supplementing. How do you see yourself doing that?

3 RUB: **I specifically looked for things**, it's not like- because I remember- I mean, I
 4 guess just **how I imagined it is like from what we had in training**, like it was
 5 **like pick something out of here and make it work**, but I guess I sought out
 6 things that worked on its own, **like I didn't pull things from a book if it didn't**
 7 **work for me, I went out and found something I guess I judged as being good**
 8 **[...] I found things specifically for what we were working on**
 (Ruby, Second debriefing meeting)

In this excerpt, Ruby explicitly states that she sought out materials that she judged to be appropriate (Line 3, 6-8). She continues by adding that her approach to evaluating and identifying materials is different than what she had anticipated she would do based on her experience in the training workshops (Line 4-6). Here, Ruby is likely referring to two specific practices from the workshops. The first is the final task from the first workshop in which I had asked the volunteers to re-interpret a pre-existing curricular material to align with a language as social practice perspective. The second is from the third workshop in which I had introduced the pedagogical concept of 'select, adapt, supplement' and asked the participants to adapt a material to fit their learner's interests and goals. Grounded in my assumption that the volunteers would be relying on the packets of materials provided to them, I had focused on developing an understanding of and ability to adapt and supplement these packets. Interestingly, however, as evidenced in Ruby's (Excerpt 6-13) and Ashley's (Excerpt 6-12) statements in the excerpts above, the volunteers went beyond merely adapting and supplementing and, for the most part, did not use the packets. The fact that all four participants reported engaging in this same process suggests that, as they continued to develop their conceptual understandings and pedagogical reasoning, they began to develop agency over these materials that went beyond the intended outcome of the workshops.

6.7.1.3 Lisa's Comparison Between her Previous and Current Use of Materials

This final excerpt to demonstrate the volunteers' developing sense of agency over their use of materials comes from my first debriefing meeting with Lisa. It is important to keep in

mind that Lisa had been tutoring her learner for several weeks prior to her participation in this intervention.

Excerpt 6-14:

- 1 NIC: So, in a very general way, how have you been preparing for your sessions with [your
- 2 student]?
- 3 LIS: Um, **before the training, there wasn't much preparation. It was like I would**
- 4 **come in and I would copy the grammar book and we would go through it [...]**
- 5 NIC: And is that still your approach, would you say?
- 6 LIS: Well, after the last training, I tried to really think about how I could prepare a session
- 7 that would use what you taught us, you know, the iceberg method
(Lisa, First debriefing meeting)

In response to my question about how she had been preparing for her tutoring sessions, Lisa shares that, for the first few weeks of her tutoring, she had been primarily relying on the given packets of materials and resources from NELC. In her words, prior to the intervention “there wasn’t much preparation” because she would primarily “come in and... copy the grammar book and ... go through it” with her learner (Line 3-4). In response to my follow up question as to whether this was still her approach, Lisa responded that she was now trying to think about how she could use the “iceberg method” (Line 8) to help her prepare for her sessions.

Lisa’s statements in this excerpt demonstrate the formation of a new type of activity that had not previously existed for her and, in turn, the development of her agency over materials. Lisa shares that rather than merely following the grammar books given to her as she had done previously, she is now engaging in the activity of actively planning for her sessions and using the conceptual tools she had been introduced to in the workshops. The development of this new activity (planning), which is explicitly linked to her attempts to think through the concept of language as social practice (and the iceberg), show that her use of this concept has led her to try to be intentional and purposeful with her use of materials in her tutoring sessions.

The excerpts above demonstrated that, throughout their engagement in this intervention, the participants began to develop agency over their use of instructional materials. Interestingly, as shown through the excerpt from Ruby, the ways in which the participants used materials was distinct from the approach that I attempted to help them develop in the workshops. Although their use of materials did not align with my intention, they all demonstrated that they were conscious and intentional in their use of materials and linked this intentionality to the concept of language as social practice. Taken as a whole, this provides compelling evidence to show that the participants were acting agentively.

6.7.2 Seeking mediation

In addition to their agentive use of instructional materials, a second new possibility for action found in the data was the emergence of the volunteers' active seeking of mediation. For instance, this excerpt below comes from my first debriefing meeting with Ruby. In this excerpt, Ruby initiates a discussion with me to pose a question and ask for assistance with creating a tutoring activity using the concept of language as social practice:

Excerpt 6-15:

- 1 RUB: But I-I'm not sure, **this is another question I had**. Like, I know her aim is to get
- 2 a job. Should I start- because **it's important to have these basics down, but then**
- 3 **to do an activity where it puts it more in context of what she's looking for,**
- 4 **like, do you think it would be a good idea to maybe structure an activity**
- 5 **related to the workplace?**
- 6 NIC: Yes
- 7 RUB: **I just wasn't sure how to go about that**
- 8 NIC: [...] **So you're going to want to know as much as possible about where she's**
- 9 **going to want to be looking for work**. Do you know if she's got experience
- 10 applying for work here?
(Ruby, First debriefing meeting)

Ruby prefaces this interaction by stating her uncertainty (Line 1). She then explicitly requests mediation by stating that she had a question and immediately verbalizing her

understanding of the concept of language as social practice (Line 1-3). She begins this verbalization by stating that she is aware of her learner's goal to get a job, and then states that, after having addressed the "basics" (Line 2), she wants to "do an activity where it puts it more in a context of what she's looking for." In the last two lines of her verbalization, she then poses the specific question as to whether she should "structure an activity related to the workplace" (Line 4-5). After receiving an affirmative response to her question from me (Line 6), she then explicitly requests assistance by stating that she was unsure how to do this (Line 7). In my mediation, I reinforced the notion that, in order to make instructional decisions from an understanding of language as social practice, she would need to know more about what type of work her learner was looking for and the extent of her learner's prior experience applying for work (Line 8-10).

This excerpt demonstrates a clear instance of a participant-initiated mediational sequence within the debriefing meetings. While the debriefing meetings were initially conceptualized to be teacher-educator-directed mediational spaces, this excerpt shows how the participants also utilized these spaces to actively seek targeted assistance and mediation. Importantly, this instance of a participants' active request for mediation also shows how doing so created space for me – as teacher educator – to better gauge her ZPD, which in turn, enabled me to offer her more appropriate mediation. For instance, in this excerpt, Ruby demonstrates an emerging awareness that she should try to center her tutoring on her learner's goals and needs, but also shows that she is self-aware that she is unable to do so independently. The fact that she is not only consciously aware of the limitations of her own understandings and abilities but is also able to formulate a targeted question to request the assistance that will help her overcome these limitations provides a clear picture of her ZPD.

6.7.2.1 Andrea Seeking Mediation

The excerpt above from Ruby demonstrated a participant-initiated request for mediation that occurred without prompting. The following excerpt from Andrea provides another example of a participant actively seeking mediation, but doing so while responding to a broad prompt about her impressions of her observed tutoring session:

Excerpt 6-16:

- 1 NIC: So what's your overall impression of this session?
- 2 AND: Like my gut reaction if everything well or poorly? I think overall it went well. I
3 think she was engaged for the most part [...] but I **think I left feeling that, like, I**
4 **wish would have had a better, like, wrap up to it and kind of like, what are**
5 **you taking away from this? Like next steps**, as opposed to like, we finished it
6 and I was kind of like "okay, great"
- 7 NIC: **So how would an ideal closing look for you, do you think?** What are you
8 envisioning?
- 9 AND: **Yeah, I don't know, I mean**, I think she does do a good job of like, maybe you
10 heard it, **but I try to tell myself to check in a lot being like "does that make**
11 **sense?"** like before trying to move on to the next thing. So like, small check-ins
12 but **maybe like a bigger check-in with her of like, "Okay, what are you taking**
13 **away from this?"** so I can get a sense of like what sunk in, what didn't, and
14 **what could we go back to**
- 15 NIC: **Absolutely. That could be something kind of like what we did in the**
16 **trainings**, after the first one where I was like "here's a note card, what are you
17 **taking away and what are you still questioning?"**
- 18 AND: Yeah, because in the moment she's like "yeah, that makes sense." But then I
19 think maybe even if she were to come back at next session, like, I bet she still
20 does have some lingering things that would be helpful
- 21 NIC: Yeah, **and something else that reminds me off going back to the training as**
22 **well**, is a lot of times asking "okay, does this make sense?" a lot of times that
23 **results in a smile and a nod. So thinking of how can you get at what are they**
24 **taking away from this in a way that's more informative than asking yes or no?**
 (Andrea, First debriefing meeting)

In response to my general prompt to ask Andrea how her tutoring has been going, she initially reports that it has been going well (Line 1-2). However, she quickly transitions into talking through a particular challenge with which she is struggling. Less overtly explicit than Ruby's direct request for assistance, Andrea's statement that she wished she could have had a

better “wrap up” to her session (Line 3-6) was interpreted as a clear, but implicit request for mediation. Similar to the excerpt from Ruby, this participant-initiated request provided an opportunity for the emergence of responsive mediation. The first mediational move that I made can be seen in my probing question in lines 7-8 to ask Andrea what her ideal vision of a session “wrap up” would be. This was intended to encourage Andrea to further externalize her thinking and enable me to better respond and provide guidance.

Andrea’s response in lines 9-14 provided further detail and insight into her thinking, which allowed me to then offer a concrete suggestion. While answering my question as to what she thought an “ideal” closing would look like, Andrea first shared that she had been trying to remind herself to continually “check in” with her learner and ask her learner “does this make sense?” before transitioning to new activities (Line 10-11). Andrea then shared that she wished that she had some way to accomplish this type of check-in on a larger at the end of each session. Aligned with the participants’ previously discussed conceptual shift toward learner-focused instruction, Andrea’s statements that she was actively trying to regulate her activity by reminding herself to check in with her learner can be seen as an early stage in this process of development. Given that she shared this in the context of explaining a challenge she was facing and requesting assistance with, this suggests the opening of a ZPD for her developing understanding of and ability to focus her tutoring on her learner.

In response, I first provided a concrete strategy that Andrea and the other participants had experienced in the intervention workshops (Line 15-17). After Andrea appeared to take up my suggestion (Line 18-20), I then continued and referred back to the concepts of ‘speaking from within’ and ‘teach off your student’ to offer additional mediation. In lines 21-24, I once again drew Andrea’s attention to the intervention workshops and provided the explicit suggestion of

searching for more “informative” ways of assessing her learner’s understanding than asking yes/no question.

These excerpts provide insight into the ways in which mediational spaces were opened by the participants throughout the second phase of the intervention. While I intentionally initiated many sequences of responsive mediation as evidenced throughout the discussion of themes 1-4, the two excerpts discussed in this section demonstrate how the participants also took advantage of the opportunity to receive mediation and sought additional support and guidance that I did not anticipate. Within the previous structure of the typical volunteer activity system within NELC, the ability to do this was not a likely possibility for volunteers. Through their sustained engagement and participation in an activity system structured around supporting their development, one new affordance that emerged in this data is the possibility of volunteers to actively seek mediation that is within their ZPD.

6.7.3 Summary

In above sections, I examined the emergence of two new possibilities for action within the participants’ activity system: 1) agentive use of materials and 2) seeking mediation. To illustrate the first new possibility for action, I shared excerpts from Ashley, Ruby, and Lisa in which they each demonstrated conscious awareness of and agency over their use of materials. In many cases, this agency took the form of participants’ evaluating the resources provided to them by NELC, and if they deemed it necessary, seeking alternative materials and resources that would better suit their instructional purposes. To illustrate the second finding, I shared excerpts from Ruby and Andrea to demonstrate how the participants actively sought mediation from me within the debriefing meetings that was distinct from teacher-educator-initiated sequences of mediation.

6.8 Conclusion and Meta-reflections on the Intervention Process

This chapter addressed the third and final research question: *how is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practices realized in activity over time?* I first argued that, through the design of the professional development intervention, the participants were engaged in an activity system that was explicitly structured around supporting their conceptual development and, as such, did not experience resistance to adopting this concept in their tutoring. I then identified five interrelated themes that captured the ways in which the participants' made use of this concept in their tutoring and, how this, in turn influenced their understanding of and engagement in tutoring: 1) reconceptualizing tutoring, 2) developing understandings of language as social practice, 3) focus on the learner, 4) agentive use of materials, and 5) actively seeking mediation. Crucial to all five of these themes, I also highlighted the critical role of responsive mediation (Johnson & Golombek) in shaping their development.

By way of conclusion, I'd like to share the two following excerpts from Ruby and Ashley in which they each demonstrate their understandings of their own learning and development and how they were shaped by this intervention. The first excerpt occurred toward the end of my second debriefing meeting Ruby:

Excerpt 6-17:

1 RUB: I think **you prepared us as much as you could** because each student is
 2 individual, you did emphasize that, but it's like **you can't really put that into**
 3 **practice until you go out and do it.** And I mean, I don't know how everyone else
 4 felt, but I know like, **for me, it's just something that you have to try and then**
 5 **you really start to internalize the 'why.'** And so, yeah, I mean I guess, like my
 6 thought is like **the training was good. Like I wouldn't have progressed if I**
 7 **didn't have the training,** but it is something that is really like you have to go out
 8 and do it and **then have follow-ups to understand more about yourself [...]** it's
 9 **kind of reciprocal**

- 10 NIC: Exactly. And for both of us, you can't just tell somebody "just go ahead and
 11 situate it within a social practice"
 12 RUB: That's what I'm saying, like, yeah, **you said all that and it set us up, but having**
 13 **the follow up is what really helped**
 (Ruby, Second debriefing meeting)

In this excerpt, Ruby demonstrates self-awareness of her own learning and development and a meta-level understanding of the intervention design itself. She begins by referring to the series of three workshops and shares that "you prepared us as much as you could" (Line 1), and later states that "the training was good ... I wouldn't have progressed if I didn't have the training" (Line 6-7). She then repeats several times (Line 2-3, 4-5, 7-8) her understanding that it was really through her engagement in the activity of tutoring and having follow-up meetings with me that she truly came to "internalize the 'why'" (Line 5) and "understand more about [her]self" (Line 8). She shares also that she came to understand that her engagement in tutoring and in debriefing meetings were a "reciprocal" (Line 9) process of deepening her understandings of herself, her engagement in tutoring, and her understanding of what she had learned in the workshops. This excerpt seems fitting as a conclusion to the chapter because it captures so clearly how she understands the meaning and purpose of what she has experienced throughout the course of her participation in this intervention.

Similarly, the following excerpt from Ashley's first debriefing meeting speaks to her own reflections on and understandings of the intervention process:

Excerpt 6-18:

- 1 NIC: Also, again, I think a lot of what I was trying to get everyone to think through in
 2 the trainings was when you're in your sessions, **connecting everything you do**
 3 **to some sort of meaningful, purposeful context, and I think I saw you doing**
 4 **a really, really nice job of that. Was that something that you think about?**
 5 ASH: **Yeah**, I think you- well, because **I have never tutored like anything before.**
 6 So, I think your lesson was like the only thing that I've known, you know what I
 7 mean? Like, **I had no pre-thoughts about it. So yours was the first thing that**
 8 **I felt like I'm going to follow** because, like, yeah, **it's a good way to tutor. So**

9 **I kind of just make my lessons based off of what I learned from your**
 10 **lessons, which I think helped a lot because, I mean, I feel like it's working**
 11 **pretty well** (Ashley, First observation debriefing meeting)

In this excerpt, Ashley shares that she actively tries to think through the concept of language as social practice in her tutoring. She goes on to share that she had no “pre-thoughts” (Line 7) about tutoring, but now that she has participated in this intervention and has begun to develop an understanding of language as social practice, she bases her tutoring on this concept. Most importantly, she also shares that she thinks this approach is “working pretty well” (Line 10). In sum, throughout the course of this intervention, Ashley has moved from having no “pre-thoughts” about tutoring, to developing an approach that is “working pretty well.” Similar to Ruby, Ashley’s comments demonstrate a sense of self-awareness over her own development and an understanding of how this intervention has influenced her development. The fact that both Ruby and Ashley have become so consciously aware of not only *what* they have learned and developed, but also *how* they learned and developed speaks to the power of an SCT-informed approach to volunteer professional development.

Chapter 7

Implications

7.1 Summary of Study Aims and Findings

This dissertation employed Vygotskian (1978, 1986) SCT, activity theory (Leontiev, 1978; Engeström, 1987), and CBI (Galperin, 1999; Arievidtch, 2008) to promote and trace the development of theoretically grounded and pedagogically sound language tutoring practices among a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors. By designing, implementing, documenting, and analyzing the outcomes of an SCT-informed professional development (PD) intervention, this study aims to provide a theoretically informed empirical investigation into the unfolding development of a cohort of volunteer adult ESL tutors as they progressed through this intervention. Crucial to this endeavor, I examined the quality and character of my interactions with each participant, how and what the participants developed through their engagement in this intervention, and how their development was realized in and shaped by their engagement in the activity of tutoring an adult ESL learner. The research questions that this study sought to answer are:

1. How do the second language teacher education practices of the professional development intervention materialize the concept of language as social practice?
2. What are the volunteers' emerging understandings of the concept of language as social practice as they engage in these practices?
3. How is the volunteers' conceptual development of language as social practice realized in activity over time?

This study began during the pilot studies and fieldwork conducted prior to the development of the PD intervention. Grounded in an understanding of the inner workings of the

NELC activity system, I developed an intervention that sought to create transformation by bringing in and supporting the development of the academic concept of language as social practice. As outlined in Chapter 2, this concept was chosen because it offered the potential to provide a more empowering way of conceptualizing language in contrast to the widely noted shortcomings of more “traditional” understandings of language (Atkinson, 2014; Auerbach, 1994; Gee 2004, 2012). Additionally, through fieldwork analyses, it became apparent that NELC was an adult literacy organization that was operating without a clearly defined concept of language. At the same time, bringing in this concept also led to the introduction of four additional pedagogical concepts that aligned with this concept of language (‘teach off your student’, ‘speaking from within’, ‘reasoning teaching’, and ‘select, adapt, supplement’).

Chapter 4 addressed the first research question and documented how the concept of language as social practice was materialized through CBI-informed language teacher education practices. This included the design of a materialized representation of the concept in the form of the iceberg diagram, the participants’ use of the iceberg in the activities of designing and leading tutoring activities, as well as adapting and re-purposing pre-existing materials to align with the concept. All of this was mediated by their repeated engagement in verbalizing their understandings of the concept as they made use of the materialized representation as well as my intentional mediation that aimed to guide their conceptual development.

Chapter 5 corresponded to the second research question and traced the participants’ emerging understandings of the concept as they engaged in the practices documented above. This analysis found that, while all four participants showed initial signs of conceptual development, this development was characterized by individual variation. Each of the four participants brought

with them their own individual histories and future goals and, in turn, took up and responded to the mediation in different ways.

For instance, Ruby's developmental trajectory throughout the workshops was mediated by the understandings of language she had developed and was still developing through her undergraduate study as a major in Speech Language Pathology (SLP). Her SLP-informed understandings of language surfaced even within the first workshop session, which immediately produced a sense of tension as she struggled to reconcile these understandings with the concept of language as social practice. By the third workshop, Ruby was still developing conscious awareness over the cause of the tensions she was experiencing and was, therefore, not yet able to think through the concept of language as social practice. In contrast, Ashley entered these workshops without having an alternative academic concept of language. In fact, as she described in her debriefing meetings, she had "no pre-thoughts" about language tutoring. By the second workshop, Ashley had already begun to initiate her own verbalizations of the concept and, by the third workshop, was beginning to think through the concept to question whether her learner needed to learn grammar. These examples, while taken from only two of the four focal participants, illustrate the idiosyncratic ways in which the participants began to develop and appropriate the concept of language as social practice throughout the workshops.

Chapter 6 addressed the third and final research question by examining how the volunteers' conceptual development was realized in activity throughout the second phase of the intervention. The analysis presented in this chapter found that, throughout their engagement in the activities of the second phase (tutoring an adult learner, observations, and debriefings), the participants continued to develop their conceptual understandings of language and pedagogy. In turn, they began to reconceptualize their understandings of tutoring, shifting from traditional

knowledge-transmission models of tutoring toward dialogic, situated, and responsive models of tutoring. Aligned with this, the volunteers also began to focus their instruction on their learners, developed a sense of agency of their use of materials, and actively sought out additional mediation from me.

Additionally, as a result of their developing conceptual knowledge of language and pedagogy, the participants were also able to contribute to and participate in a newly re-constituted activity system. Through my engagement with each participant in two rounds of observations and debriefing meetings, I purposefully structured core components of this activity system around supporting and promoting their conceptual development. At the same time, as the participants engaged in this activity system, they also developed new understandings of themselves, their roles as tutors, the nature of language, and their own learning, thereby contributing to further transformation of the activity system. As such, they were able to use their conceptual understanding to transform core components of the activity system in new ways. For example, the participants were able to take a mediating artifact from the traditional activity system of NELC – the folders of materials – and change the purpose and function of this mediating artifact. The folders of materials were transformed from a mediating artifact which determined and directed their tutoring sessions into a resource that, as with any other pedagogical resource, must be evaluated in light of the learners' intended goals and target language practices.

7.2 Theoretical Implications

7.2.1 Understanding Volunteer Development in Community-based Adult ESL

As highlighted in Chapter 2, the current body of literature on volunteer tutor preparation in community-adult ESL contexts has yet to produce theoretically grounded and explicit

understandings of the nature of volunteer tutors' development. The first contribution of this study is to provide just that. Through Vygotskian SCT, this study made visible the development of language tutoring expertise as it occurred throughout the participants' engagement in the goal-directed activities embedded within this intervention. This study traced the development of the academic concept of language as social practice as it transitioned from external social activity to internal, object-related mental activity among a cohort of volunteers and demonstrated how this development was, in turn, realized and further developed in tutoring activity. This process of development began in the series of workshops with the participants' engagement in the activities of externalizing their everyday understandings of language, verbalizing their understandings of the academic concept of language as social practice, engaging in goal-directed activity utilizing a materialized representation of the concept, and gradually having materialized representations of the concept removed.

Following the workshops, this development continued as the participants engaged in weekly tutoring sessions with an adult learner and two rounds of observations and debriefing meetings with me. Within these debriefing meetings, participants were provided with structured, safe, mediational spaces in which they were prompted to externalize and verbalize their understandings of the focal concepts, interpret and re-interpret their engagement in tutoring using these concepts, raise their own concerns about their tutoring, and receive responsive, situated guidance and support that enabled them to further re-conceptualize and re-configure their tutoring practices.

Further, by examining each participants' emerging conceptualizations and understandings of the focal academic concepts, this study also highlighted the idiosyncratic ways in which their development unfolded. Because an SCT perspective recognizes the roles of the individual's past

experiences, levels of development already ascertained, distinctive developmental potential, personal goals, and human agency, it stands to reason that these participants would experience this intervention differently. True to form, the participants exhibited idiosyncratic developmental trajectories. For instance, Ruby's participation in this intervention was characterized by her struggle to reconcile the meaning-centered academic concept of language as social practice with her previously internalized understanding of language informed by Speech Language Pathology, which was primarily about phonology and articulation of sounds. Andrea, by contrast, entered this intervention with a pre-understanding of language as culturally and socially situated, which enabled her to more readily accept the concept of language as social practice.

By making visible the volunteers' unfolding conceptual development, this study stands to enhance our understandings of volunteer professional development. While previous research (Belzer, 2006a, 2006b, 2013; Perry, 2013) has documented that the predominant models of volunteer preparation have been largely ineffective and has made the recommendation that volunteer training must be on-going, the literature has yet to provide explanations as to why trainings have been ineffective, why PD must be on-going, or what should happen in on-going trainings. This has led to the speculations that frontloaded trainings are ineffective because they are too short (typically consisting of 10-15 hours of trainings), because it's challenging to remember a lot information, or because trainings try to provide too many details.

This SCT-informed study, however, provides an alternative to these speculations as well as a theoretically and empirically grounded explanation of volunteers' development within PD. First, by documenting the quality and character of my interactions with participants (as a teacher educator), this study demonstrated that it is not so much the length of time spent in PD, but rather the nature and quality of the interactions within the PD that is important. The average length of

time spent with each participant in this intervention was under 10 hours, yet the intervention was largely successful in promoting their development of conceptual understanding and correspondent changes in activity. Importantly, my interactions with the participants in this study were informed by SCT and, therefore, the ‘quality and character’ of these interactions was defined according to this theory; this meant that our interactions were framed largely around

- the explicit presentation of the academic concept of language as social practice,
- the materialization of the concept in the ‘iceberg’ diagram and in the re-purposing of a material artifact (i.e., the packets of materials) to better reflect this concept
- the provision of responsive mediation (Johnson & Golombek, 2016, 2020) aimed at promoting the volunteers’ development of that concept

Further, informed by Galperin’s (1999) integration of practical activity with conceptual development, this study provides a theoretically grounded rationale as to the need for PD to be on-going. The data collected through my engagement with each participant in the debriefing meetings demonstrated the dialectical interplay between practical activity and conceptual verbalization that was made possible by the nature of these debriefings. This included the facts that these meetings

- took place immediately after a video- or audio-recorded observation
- created space for participants to make their thinking visible to themselves and to me as they externalized their understandings while we reviewed recordings of their actual engagement in the activity of tutoring
- involved responsive mediation through which I sought to provoke their development by asking probing questions, modeling verbalizations, offering concrete suggestions, and responding to the volunteers’ questions and concerns

Taken as a whole, these findings provide adult literacy researchers and practitioners with empirically documented and theoretically grounded understandings of how professional development can promote the development of pedagogically sound language teaching practices among previously untrained volunteers.

7.2.2 The ‘Pedagogical Imperative’

As stated in Chapter 2, this study is aligned with the “pedagogical imperative” in SCT (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014, p. 6). The notion of the pedagogical imperative derives from SCT’s emphasis on the dialectical interplay between theory and practice. As Vygotsky (1997) wrote, “Practice pervades the deepest foundations of the scientific operation and reforms it from beginning to end. Practice sets the tasks and serves as the supreme judge of theory, as its truth criterion” (n.p.). The true test of a theory, therefore, is its ability to successfully inform and guide practice. As Lantolf and Poehner (2014) note, from this perspective, the validity of a theory is based on the extent to which that theory produces the intended outcomes in the real world. In the case that theoretical propositions do not produce the intended results, we would expect that “hopefully the theory would be revised or rejected entirely in favor of a different theory” (p. 27).

The present study, therefore, sought to test the principles of SCT and its extensions to activity theory and CBI and the extent to which this theory could help promote the conceptual development of language tutoring expertise among community-based volunteers. The data analyses presented in Chapters 4-6 provided positive evidence that CBI did promote the internalization of academic concepts which, in turn, influenced the ways in which the volunteers talked about, engaged in, and made sense of their tutoring. Thus, considering practice to be the true test of the theory, this study lends further support to the validity and utility of SCT as a

theoretical framework that can both “inform and transform” (Johnson and Golombek, 2020) L2 teacher education pedagogy.

7.3 Implications for Volunteer Professional Development

In addition to the above-mentioned theoretical implications, there are also several important pedagogical implications that emerged from this study. These include 1) the need for concept-based PD, 2) the need for models of professional *development* rather than *training*, 3) the need for expert mediation, 4) the need for PD that extends into the activity of tutoring, and 5) the need for activity systems with proper support mechanisms built in.

7.3.1 Concept-based Professional Development

In recognition of the limited resources and constraints facing many community-based adult literacy programs, one important implication of this study is that PD does not need to be a massive undertaking. Over the course of 3 PD workshops and two observations/debriefing meetings, the participants in this study were able to develop theoretically grounded, pedagogically sound, and agentic language tutoring practices. A central feature of this intervention was that it was targeted at conceptual development. By focusing our attention on the development of underlying conceptual reasoning, we may gain further ground than PD approaches which attempt to train volunteers to adopt specific teaching techniques or ‘best practices.’ It may seem counterintuitive for an initial PD program to not provide specific teaching techniques. However, as seen in this study, as the participants developed conceptual understandings of the academic concepts presented to them and connected these concepts to the activity of tutoring, they began to develop agency over their activity and create their own teaching techniques and strategies informed by these concepts. For instance, armed with a conceptual understanding of language as social practice and its associated focus on the learner,

all four participants actively either sought out or developed their own teaching materials that were better suited to their individual learners. This was a marked difference from the tutors who participated in the ‘traditional’ training at this organization. As reported in Chapter 3, volunteers were provided with folders of materials and, in trainings, were recommended to adapt these materials to their learner. Yet, my fieldwork analyses found that most volunteers followed these folders of materials as though they were pre-scripted curricula regardless of whether the tutor and learner found these materials to be helpful. By providing the participants in this intervention with an underlying conceptual framework, they were able to reason through their own thinking and activity and develop their own agency over their use of materials. This was observed in all four of the focal participants and demonstrates the crucial value of concept-based professional development for community volunteers.

7.3.2 Models of *Professional Development* rather than Training

Given the implication that volunteer preparation should be concerned with promoting conceptual development, the findings in this study also provide grounds for making the case that adult literacy practitioners and volunteer coordinators should move beyond the pervasive metaphor of ‘training.’ While much of the current literature employs the term volunteer training (See Belzer 2006a, 2006b, 2013; Durham & Kim, 2018) to encapsulate the preparation and support of volunteer adult ESL teachers and tutors, I argue that we should refer to this, as I do throughout this study, as volunteer *professional development*.

The distinction is, as Shulman (1987) argued, that the purpose of teacher education is not to “indoctrinate or train teachers to behave in prescribed ways, but to educate teachers to reason soundly about their teaching as well as to perform skillfully” (p. 13). The metaphor of volunteer training carries with it the assumptions that we are preparing volunteers for performing a task

that can be easily distilled through straightforward training procedures. Following these training procedures, volunteers will know both what to do and how to do it. An SCT-informed notion of professional development, by contrast, recognizes that development “emerges from a process of reshaping teachers’ existing knowledge, beliefs, and practices rather than simply imposing new theories, methods, or materials on teachers” (Johnson and Golombek, 2002, p. 2). From this understanding, then, the task for volunteer teacher educators, supervisors, or coordinators, is to support volunteers by creating sustained opportunities for volunteer learning, with the ultimate goal being the volunteers’ conceptual development.

7.3.3 The Need for Sustained Access to Mediation

Another critical feature of this professional development was my responsive mediation. As stated succinctly by Johnson and Golombek (2016), “given our sociocultural theoretical stance, we are adamant that initial learning-to-teach experiences must be mediated by experts. Simply placing new teachers in classrooms as observers, tutors, or even instructors may do little to support the development of teacher/teaching expertise” (p. 90). For community-based adult ESL, this means that volunteers must not be left to their own devices and must not merely learn-by-doing. The importance of access to explicit, goal-directed, intentional responsive mediation cannot be overstated. For instance, in this study, several ways I actively sought to promote the volunteers’ conceptual development was by prompting them to externalize and clarify their thinking, providing them with my own expert understandings, clarifying the meaning and relevance of academic concepts, introducing these concepts into the ongoing flow of their activity, and offering suggestions as to how they could re-configure their practices. It was through these interactions that I was able to ‘see’ their development while simultaneously promoting it.

Thus, in order to maximize the developmental potential within the short timescale under which volunteer PD typically occurs, it is critical to provide sustained guidance and mediation from more expert teacher educators. Moreover, it is critical that this mediation introduces relevant academic concepts, integrates these concepts with volunteers' practical activity, thereby creating multiple opportunities for them to restructure their everyday understandings. While I recognize that this may be a challenge for some community-based programs, which are likely to be understaffed and underfunded (Perry, 2013; Snell, 2013), the present study illuminated one way in which these types of mediational spaces could be created within an underfunded community-based program.

7.3.4 The Need for PD that Extends into the Activity of Tutoring/Teaching

In addition to being concept-based and centered on conceptual development, another major implication of this study is the need for PD that extends into the activity of tutoring and/or teaching. While it has been suggested for quite some time that volunteer PD must be ongoing (Perry, 2013) or “just in time” (Belzer, 2013, p. 52), this study provides a theoretical and pedagogical rationale for why this is the case, as well as empirical documentation of what this type of PD could actually look like. Grounded in an SCT understanding of the nature of concept development and the crucial role of practical activity in this endeavor, this study demonstrated how the participants' development was realized in and further developed through their engagement in the activity of tutoring. Through the debriefing meetings, each participant was provided the opportunity to externalize and clarify their thinking as they reviewed video or audio recordings of their actual tutoring. This created additional opportunities for them to interpret theoretical knowledge in relation to their tutoring activity as well as receive guidance and support which highlighted the meaning and relevance of that theoretical knowledge. Had this

intervention stopped after the third workshop session, it is very likely that the development achieved would not have occurred to the extent that it did. In all, this suggests it *is* indeed crucial to provide volunteers with multiple, sustained opportunities to reflect on and interpret theoretical knowledge that is situated in and responsive to their actual engagement in the activity of tutoring.

7.3.5 Potential Adaptations and the Issue of Time

One potential concern related to the well documented constraints facing many community-based programs, such as the limited capacity that many programs have for providing professional development, is the concern with the time investment needed to bring about the type of conceptual development that I am advocating. However, it is possible to provide this type of support without requiring an intensive time commitment. For instance, as reported by Belzer (2006a, 2006b, 2013), many programs already commit to providing 10-15 hours of volunteer training. As mentioned above, the total time spent in workshops in this intervention was 6-7 hours. Following the workshops, the follow-up meetings with each participant lasted roughly 30-45 minutes each. While it was necessary to conduct observations prior to these meetings, these observations were conducted by setting up a recording device and then reviewing the recordings later. This helped to make the observation process less time-intensive, as I was able to review the recordings at my own schedule and, if pressed for time, could play the audio at an increased speed. This provides one way of accomplishing the perhaps daunting task of conducting observations. With larger caseloads, it could still be informative to review even a smaller portion of the recorded observations. Additionally, time allocated for debriefing meetings could also be shortened if needed.

7.3.6 The Importance of Supportive Activity Systems

As reported in Chapter 6, the conceptual development exhibited by the participants in this study was interrelated with their participation in an activity system which was structured to intentionally support their conceptual development. The volunteers' conceptual development began with their participation in a series of professional development workshops which introduced them to the academic concepts previously mentioned. Following these workshops, the volunteers then began to engage in weekly tutoring sessions with an adult learner. However, at the same time, they were already aware that within 4 weeks, they would be observed by me and would then meet with me afterward to discuss their tutoring and their understandings of the concepts from the workshops. After participating in these meetings, the volunteers knew that once again, 4 weeks later, they would be observed a second time and would have the opportunity to discuss their tutoring again. Within each meeting, we engaged in substantive, meaningful dialogue about their experiences through which I also provided guidance and suggestions.

Taken as a whole, this meant that the volunteers' conceptual development was embedded within an activity system in which their conceptual development was a central focus. I was an integral part of the community, division of labor, and rules of their activity system. As part of their community, I was a teacher educator from the institution. As part of the division of labor, their role was to tutor an adult learner, adapt materials, use the concepts from the workshops, and meet with me to discuss the above items. Relatedly, an important rule for these participants was to tutor from a language as social practice perspective. In addition to this, these volunteers also had access to the mediating artifacts that they had begun to internalize through their participation in the workshops (i.e., the academic concepts). This understanding, therefore, highlights the interrelated nature of the individual's development with the activity system in which that individual is expected to function. In order for these types of interventions to be successful, it is

important for community-based programs to provide the necessary support as essential features of volunteers' activity systems.

7.4 Limitations

As is typical with any study, there were several limitations. The first was that data collection for this intervention started in the first workshop. This made it more challenging to ascertain each participants' zone of *actual* development, or more specifically, their previously developed understandings of language. For instance, the first time each participant shared their understanding of language was during the first workshop when they were prompted to discuss with a partner what it means to say that "language is a social or socially situated activity" (See Chapter 4). Given that this occurred in partners and with a specific prompt that included the notion of language as socially situated, it was difficult to clearly identify their pre-understandings related to language. In hindsight, having conducted a pre-workshop interview or survey with each participant may have provided a richer set of data to analyze.

A second and related limitation was the lack of explicit attention to volunteers' language and literacy ideologies. While I had initially intended to examine the language ideologies that participants brought with them, in practice, their ideologies did not end up being a central focus of the workshops. Consequently, the data did speak as clearly to this as I had originally intended. While there were a few instances in which ideologies and implicit assumptions surfaced, these instances were not frequent. This resulted in a lack of ability to speak to such concerns. This remains an open area that must be addressed by future interventions.

A third limitation is that all of the focal participants in this study were volunteer tutors rather than teachers. This does not invalidate or limit the findings presented in this dissertation, especially considering that one-on-one tutoring models are very common within adult literacy

programs (Nelson Cristoph, 2009). It is important to note, however, that tutoring and teaching are distinct activities which, while sharing some overlap, also carry their own challenges and affordances. A final limitation is that this study did not interview or include the experiences and perspectives of the adult learners. While the learners were implicitly included throughout the analysis, their perspectives were not collected or explicitly addressed.

7.5 Future Research Directions

The aforementioned limitations naturally lead to the logical next step: future directions for research. As mentioned above, there were instances in the data in which volunteers' ideologies about language and adult learners surfaced. Additionally, the participants in this study developed language tutoring practices that shared some overlap with critical approaches to language education (i.e., developing situated, emergent, responsive approaches to tutoring; centering the learner's needs and concerns, helping learners gain access to employment). At the same time, exploring and addressing these ideologies was not an overt commitment on my part within this intervention. Given that there have long been calls for developing and implementing critical approaches to adult literacy and ESL instruction (e.g., Auerbach, 1994; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Perry & Luk, 2018), in future work, I plan to re-visit my data to explicitly search for the emergence of ideologies both among participants, myself, and the adult literacy center.

In addition, I plan to more explicitly integrate critical approaches to adult ESL in future interventions with community adult ESL volunteers. This will likely include foregrounding approaches such as Auerbach's (1994) Participatory Adult ESL Literacy framework (see also Auerbach et al., 1996). Given that the participants in this study developed approaches that

aligned with Auerbach's approach in important ways, future work could integrate this model more fully to bring a deeper level of criticality to volunteer-taught adult ESL.

A second future direction is to implement this type of intervention with volunteer *teachers* in community-based adult ESL contexts. Given that the SCT-informed approach employed in this intervention was successful in promoting conceptual development among the participants in this study, it stands to reason that this approach offers compelling potential for working with community-based adult ESL teachers as well.

A third future direction for research is to explore how the adult learners experience this type of intervention. By collecting data that seeks to document the learner's experiences over time, I plan to contribute to our understandings of the relationship between what teachers/tutors are learning and developing on the hand, and what students are experiencing, on the other hand. Lastly, due to the in-depth nature of the analysis presented in this dissertation, I only examined one of the two cohorts from which I collected data with consent. As such, in future work, I plan to also examine this second cohort.

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Appendix A

Email Sample from Workshop Session 1

On Friday, August 30, 2019, 11:02:22 AM EDT, Jones, Edward
<ejones@university.edu> wrote:

Hi,

For the past few months I have hosted a visiting scholar, Maryam Zaman. She will remain here for the next two months before returning to Pakistan. She would be interested in talking to you about [the class you teach] and possibly sitting in on a class. I've copied her in this message and asked her to contact you about meeting. You two have mutual interests so I hope you can get together.

Thanks

Edward Jones¹
Associate Professor

From: Maryam Zaman <MaryamZaman@yahoo.com>

Reply-To: Maryam Zaman <MaryamZaman@yahoo.com>

Date: Friday, August 30, 2019 at 12:07 PM

To: MADISON ROBBINS <madisonr@university.edu>, Edward Jones
<ejones@university.edu>

Subject: Re: Possible collaboration

Hello,

Madison Rebecca Robbins,

I am interested to talk to you and sit in your course if you permit me.

Thanks for cooperating.

Warmly,

Maryam

*Regards,
Maryam Zaman,*

What goes around, comes around. Keep the planet clean.

Note: All names are pseudonyms and all personal identifiers have been removed

On Friday, August 30, 2019, 02:11:28 PM EDT, Robbins, Madison Rebecca
<madisonr@university.edu> wrote:

Hi Maryam,

Thank you for your email. Could you please provide me with some precise days/times you are available to meet? I would prefer meeting once before you sit in on my course.

My course meets on Tuesdays from 2:30-5:30pm.

Thanks,

Madison

--

Madison E. Robbins

pronouns: she, her, hers

PhD Candidate and Graduate Assistant

madisonr@university.edu

From: Maryam Zaman <MaryamZaman@yahoo.com>

Reply-To: Maryam Zaman <MaryamZaman@yahoo.com>

Date: Monday, September 2, 2019 at 12:07 AM

To: MADISON ROBBINS <madisonr@university.edu>

Subject: Re: Possible collaboration

Hello,

Madison Rebecca Robbins,

Thank you so much for cooperation. We can meet on September 02, 2019 (Monday) and September 03, 2019 (Tuesday) anytime in the morning before 02:30 pm. I have a class on Tuesday at 4:30 pm afterwards.

warmly,

Maryam

Regards,

Maryam Zaman,

What goes around, comes around. Keep the planet clean.

On Sep 2, 2019, at 10:48 AM, Robbins, Madison Rebecca

<madisonr@university.edu> wrote:

Hi Maryam,

Meeting today is too late of notice, and I am not available on Tuesdays before 2:30. Would you be available to meet on Thursday, September 5 at 11am? My office is 258 Chambers.

From your email it seems you have a class on Tuesdays at 4:30. My class is Tuesdays 2:30 to 5:30, so might I assume you plan to leave the class at 4pm when you sit in?

Thanks,
Madison

On Sep 2, 2019, at 11:12 AM

I can meet you today if you have some time. I am on campus today.

I will attend the class till 04:30 because my next class is just beside chambers building.

Thank you

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 2, 2019 at 4:18pm, Maryam Zaman <MaryamZaman@yahoo.com> wrote:

Sorry for delayed response. I just checked my schedule. I have a class at 11:15 am on Thursday so if we meet at 11:00 am on Thursday, it will be a very short time. I am Ok with this time because I understand your commitments. But i wonder whether 12 minutes will be enough to meet you or not.

I am really sorry for the situation.

Sent from Yahoo Mail on Android

Appendix B

Handouts from NELC's Folders of Materials (Used in session 1)

Job Interview Questions - Job Interview (1-120-7)

Job Interview Questions - Job Interview (1-120-7)

Conversation Questions Job Interview

A Part of Conversation Questions for the ESL Classroom.

- Can you tell me something about yourself?
- What do you know about our organization?
- Why do you want to work for us?
- What can you do for us that someone else can't?
- What do you find most attractive about this position?
 - What seems least attractive about it?
- Why should we hire you?
- What do you look for in a job?
- Please give me your definition of the position for which you are being interviewed.
- How long would it take you to make a meaningful contribution to our firm?
- How long would you stay with us?
- Your resume suggests that you may be over-qualified or too experienced for this position. What's your opinion?
- What is your management style?
- Are you a good manager?
 - Can you give me some examples?
 - Do you feel that you have top managerial potential?
- What do you look for when you hire people?
- Have you ever had to fire people?
 - What were the reasons?
 - How did you handle the situation?
- What do you think is the most difficult thing about being a manager or executive?
- What important trends do you see in our industry?
- Why are you leaving (did you leave) your present (last) job?
- How do you feel about leaving all your benefits to find a new job?
- In your current (last) position, what features do (did) you like the most? The least?
- What do you think of your boss?
- Why aren't you earning more at your age?
- What do you feel this position should pay?
- What are your long-range goals?
- How successful have you been so far?
- Why do you want to work for this company?
- What high school did you attend?
- Are you married? Can you tell me about your family?
- Why did you leave your last job?
- What are your long-range career objectives?
- What would you like to do in the future?
- What do you do in your free time?
- Are you qualified for this position?
- How well do you work with people?
- What is a good working environment for you?
- Why should I hire you?
- What was a movie you saw recently that impressed you?
- Do you enjoy traveling?
- Why do you think we should hire you for this job?

If you can think of another good question for this list, please add it.

IDIOMS

IDIOMS are not to be taken literally. Study their meaning and then complete the sentences. You may need to make some changes.

a) I have to tell you something that will _____.

b) He _____
when he accidentally told her about
the surprise party.

c) Okay, I'll tell you what I'm going to
do, although you'll probably think that
I have _____.

d) I'm _____
with my teacher because she caught
me cheating in the test.

e) I'd better _____
now. I'm feeling really exhausted.

f) He is so cute that when he looks at
me I get _____.

g) We're all packed and ready to go -
we can leave _____.

h) I am feeling a bit _____
- I think I'm getting a cold.

i) Is Samantha really getting married
or are you just _____?

j) Was your Math exam hard? - No, it
was really _____.

k) My friend got _____
and decided not to do a bungee jump.

l) Just _____!
Let's think about this for a moment.

m) Tell me who was at the party. I am
_____.

n) If you try to please both your father
and mother, you can end up
_____.

o) I don't know how you could afford
this sports car. It must have
_____.



in hot water

• to be in difficulties,
especially in serious
trouble



**butterflies in
one's stomach**

• to be very nervous and
anxious



under the weather

• to be or feel ill / sad or
lack energy



hold your horses

• to wait / slow down /
consider things carefully



a piece of cake

• something very easy
to do



**knock one's
socks off**

• to delight, thrill,
amaze / impress



**let the cat out
of the bag**

• to reveal a secret,
usually unintentionally



**at the drop
of a hat**

• immediately, without
any delay or hesitation



**cost an arm and
a leg**

• to be very expensive



pull one's leg

• to play a joke, tease,
trick someone in a
friendly way



**caught between
two stools**

• to be unable to choose
between two alternatives



lose one's marbles

• to act in a crazy or
strange way



hit the sack

• to go to bed



all ears

• to be eager to hear /
listen attentively



cold feet

• to lose courage to do
something you had
planned

Appendix C

TOEFL Lesson Plan Used in Session 2

NOTE-TAKING

Why is note-taking an important skill?

- A very basic essential skill to be successful in university life.
- Note-taking helps you read and listen carefully and understand well.



Some Statistics

- Students who study their own notes remember more after six weeks than students who do not review.
- Students who do not take notes forget approximately 80% of the lectures by the end of two weeks.



80%

Why is note-taking an important skill?

- It is in TOEFL IBT. 😊
- Even my roommate's cat is trying ... 😊



TOEFL IBT Listening Section

- Mini lectures & conversations 3 – 5 minutes
- Intense
- Did you know that the speed of TOEFL IBT lectures and conversations is approximately 150 words per minute?
- Did you know that an average student can only write about 30 words per minute?



We need to be selective in what to write and what not to write!

- How do we understand if a word is worth noting down?
- Read the excerpt from a lecture. Which words would you take note of? Why?
- 'So, today we'll be reviewing the basics of a balanced diet. Now what we are talking about here are the correct proportions of carbohydrates, proteins, fats, vitamins, minerals and fiber to both prevent diseases and ensure overall health.'

We need to be selective in what to write and what not to write!

- Read the excerpt from a lecture. Which words would you take note of? Why?
- 'So, today we'll be reviewing the basics of a **balanced diet**. Now what we are talking about here are the **correct proportions** of **carbohydrates, proteins, fats, vitamins, minerals** and **fiber** to both **prevent diseases** and **ensure overall health**.'

How am I in note-taking?

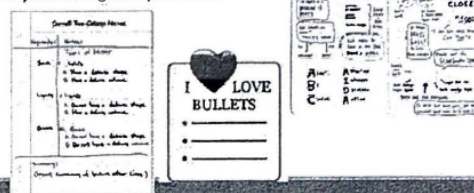
- Listen to a lecture about nutrition and take notes as you usually do.
- We will analyze your notes later.
- Now complete the evaluation checklist considering your note-taking experience.
- Compare your notes with your partner. How are they similar & different? Refer to your evaluation checklist while comparing your notes. 5 min.
- Let's analyze your notes now.

Guidelines for effective note-taking

- Listen for signal words to follow the organization of lectures. (Today we'll be talking about ..., There are three reasons why ...)
- Pay attention to repeated information. (It shows it is important!)
- Listen for attitude (feelings & opinions) and function (the real meaning behind a speaker's words)
- In conversations, listen for the problem and suggestions to resolve it.
- In conversations, pay attention the end of the conversation to figure out what will probably happen next.

Guidelines for effective note-taking

- Write key content words not grammar words.
- Use a system to organize your notes.



Guidelines for effective note-taking

- Use abbreviations and symbols.

Abbr. /Symb.	Meaning	Abbr. /Symb.	Meaning
#		Or	
%		increase	
→		lead to	
lb		Similar	
w/		Tablespoon	
MPH		Without	
eg		more than	

Let's practice these strategies!

- Listen to the lecture again and take notes.
- You will answer comprehension questions later.

Appendix D

Dialogue Handout Used in Session 1

Man on the street:	Excuse me. Can you tell me how to get to the post office?
Second man:	I'm sorry. I don't know. I'm from out of town.
	<i>(a minute later)</i>
Man on the street:	Excuse me. Do you know where the post office is?
Woman:	Sure, it's not far from here. Walk straight ahead until you get to Main Street. Then –
Man on the street:	Sorry, how many blocks is that?
Woman:	It's about two or three blocks. It's the first traffic light you come to. When you get to Main Street, turn right and walk one block to Broadway. Then turn left and go about half a block
Man on the street:	Which side of the street is it on?
Woman:	Coming from this direction, it'll be on your right side. It's in the middle of the block, next to the Sweets Ice Cream Shoppe. You can't miss it. Do you need me to repeat any of that?
Man on the street:	No, that's okay. I've got it. Thanks a lot.
Woman:	You're welcome
(Adapted from ESL Library, https://en.calameo.com/books/0044104096999aa702b71)	

Appendix E

News Article Used by Andrea in First Observation

9/26/2019

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds H.W

By Jen Christensen, CNN

Updated 2224 GMT (0624 HKT) September 25, 2019

America's largest forest under threat 03:43

(CNN) Since the 1970s, the climate crisis has made our oceans warmer and more acidic, reducing the number of fish we rely on for our food and putting the future of fish in peril, according to a major UN report out Wednesday.



Rising temperatures mean oceans will have less oxygen, and this, along with more heatwaves and increased acidification, will make fish move further away from the coast and create larger deadzones, where life cannot survive.

*ocean warmer and
climate change makes to fish ~~ocean~~ in danger
away
ocean warmer acid ~~ocean~~ drive away fish ~~where~~
from the coast ~~they used to be~~ and may reduce the species of fish*

9/26/2019

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN

Landmark UN report warns sea levels will rise faster than projected by 2100

Ultimately, the report said, this will lead to the extinction of some species of fish, which Americans have been eating an increasing

amount of recent years.

The US dietary guidelines recommend 8-12 ounces of seafood a week to keep a healthy diet. Fish plays an even bigger role internationally, providing up to half of all animal protein eaten in developing countries and it remains a leading source of vitamins and minerals. *fish is very important to human diet, fish is impacted by climate change.*

The "projected decreases in seafood availability from climate impacts on fisheries catch potential will elevate the risk of nutritional health impacts," the report concluded.

Warmer waters

IPCC reported that ocean warming + overfishing making worse.

Ocean warming this century has contributed to an "overall decrease in maximum catch potential." Overfishing makes the issue worse, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report said.

Scientists are "virtually certain" that the ocean has warmed between 1970 and 2017.

scientific data indicates that ocean warming has been much worse than before in past 30 y.

Marine heatwaves, periods of extremely high ocean surface temperatures, have "very likely" doubled in frequency from 1982 to 2016, according to the report, lasting longer and becoming more intense due to the climate crisis.



A new 'report card' on America's diet: It's not an 'F' but...

Warmer waters hold less oxygen, and fish need that oxygen to survive. Warmer waters also lead to algae blooms, red tides that further decrease oxygen, and kill sea life. A red tide triggered a state of emergency in Florida in 2018, killing thousands of animals and costing the state millions. The toxin

The warmer water also cause other problems which harm the sea animals + sustainable.

https://edition.cnn.com/2019/09/25/health/fish-climate-crisis-ippc/index.html?utm_medium=social&utm_term=link&utm_content=2019-09-26T09%3A54_2/6

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN

created by the algal blooms can also make shellfish poisonous to humans.

Warmer waters endanger coral reefs that are homes to many fish. Foundation species, meaning fish food, also decline. *fish food is also affected.*

A February study noted that the increased ocean temperature has already led to more than a 4% global decline in sustainable catches. For a catch to be sustainable, it means the greatest number of fish, crustaceans like shrimp, and mollusks like sea scallops, that can be caught without depleting the stocks of these fish long-term.

Study showed globally declining infish

Ocean acidification

It's "virtually certain" that the ocean has taken up between 20-30% of the total human produced carbon since the 1980s, changing the very chemistry of the ocean, making it more acidic, the IPCC report found. *a lot of human produced carbon was absorbed by ocean, which cause acidification*

Acidification eats away at the shells of some mollusks. The change in the ocean's pH makes carbonate ions less abundant. Oysters, mussels, clams, and other animals need these ions to build up their shells. The acidification also hurts creatures like calcareous plankton that many fish rely on for food. *acidification is very harmful to ocean food chain animals*

Ocean acidification has already caused massive die-offs of oysters in the Pacific Northwest.



Look to the ocean for climate change solutions

In February, Margaret Pilaro Barrette, the ^{2e} executive director for the Pacific Coast Shellfish Growers Association testified in front of Congress that the corrosive water makes oyster shells dissolve faster than they can form. The oysters need that shell to grow into a baby oyster. There was a "severe oyster seed shortage" from 2007 to 2009 in the US, she testified, largely due to ocean

9/26/2019

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN

acidification. The growers have adjusted, but there needs to be a better long-term

↑ plan to ensure oyster production can continue into the future, she said.

acidification already kill a lot of oysters.

Without a plan of reducing carbon emissions, the ocean may be so acidic by 2080,

that even creatures like some corals that had been able to withstand these conditions may erode quicker than they can rebuild.

~~only reducing greenhouse gas can help to ocean acidification~~
Oxygen deprivation is important to ~~for addressing~~

oxygen deprivation

The open ocean is also losing its oxygen, between 0.5-3.3% between 1970 and

2010, the IPCC report found, and it's expected to get worse. That means we can

expect to see even larger "dead zones" where life cannot survive.

- oxygen deprivation is already causing "dead zones", which is expected to get worse

There are more than 400 coastal dead zones and they are growing, earlier studies found.

A reoccurring deadzone in the Gulf of Mexico is primarily linked to farming runoff, but

it is exacerbated by the climate crisis that has led to harder rains and more flooding

events on these farms, scientists have said in earlier research.

the climate crisis plays a very important role in ocean oxygen deprivation

Fish future exacerbates.

If the world continues as it is, the loss of oxygen, and the increased acidification and

heatwaves, will make some species extinct and will move fish further away from the

coasts. The climate crisis will have negative consequences, if ~~kept its way it is~~ is being made.

The IPCC report predicts that by 2100 the ocean will take up two to four times as much heat since 1970, and globally marine heatwaves will very likely increase by a factor of 50 by 2081-2100 if the world doesn't curb its current emissions.

~~If we don't do something, the ocean condition will be much worse in a decade~~

Globally, the average amount of oxygen in the ocean will decline by 3% to 4% and upper ocean nutrients will decline by 9% to 14% by 2100. By 2100, it's also very likely to have year-round corrosive conditions for shelled



The Amazon burns. But another part of Brazil is being destroyed faster

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN

animals, the report predicts, for animals in the Arctic, Southern, and some parts of the North Pacific and North Atlantic oceans. All coastal ecosystems will be at high to very high risk as well.

Other consequences include less marine life, less of oxygen and, lower economic contribution as well.

What it means

"The key take away from this report is that fish in the ocean are the proverbial canary in the

coal mine for climate impacts," said Malin Pinsky, an ecologist who studies marine communities, who was not involved in the IPCC report. He is an associate professor at Rutgers. *The fish in the ocean are the canary in the coal mine for climate impacts, warning us about*

"This new report is a key step in helping everyone, including policymakers, understand exactly what could happen."

Carl Boettiger who also studies global fisheries, said a note of caution about fish future is needed.



We, the youth, are striking for the climate this Friday

"We've seen progress with some of the stock coming back after we have managed it better, after overfishing, but we should push back against a growing optimism," Boettiger, the Assistant Professor in the Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management at UC Berkeley said.

"Just because we've been able to rebuild some stocks that have been overfished,

doesn't mean everything will be ok."

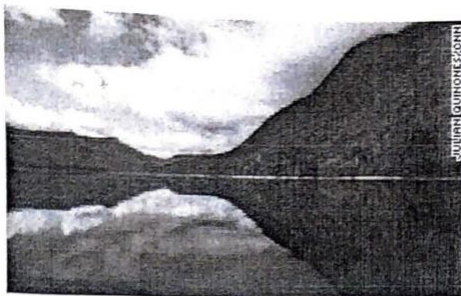
Although there is some improvement in overfishing, we should be cautious.

With the climate crisis, "there is no guarantee there will be recovery by mid-century.

We don't exclude that or say it's impossible, but we need to be quite cautious."

9/20/2019

Fish are in trouble with the climate crisis, IPCC report finds - CNN



Already many of the world's fishery stocks are overexploited or are in decline, according to the UN. Seafood many people love like Atlantic cod and certain salmon are challenged, and the continued climate crisis will not do these fish any favors.

How Trump may bulldoze 'America's Amazon'

"Fish are responding faster to climate change than many species on land, they are more vulnerable," Pinsky said. "They are outrunning

our laws and regulations and are responding to climate change before we've had a chance to adapt." *fish show the signs of climate change faster than human actions to adapt.*

Get CNN Health's weekly newsletter

Sign up here to get **The Results Are In** with Dr. Sanjay Gupta every Tuesday from the CNN Health team.

Pinsky said he hopes that people will read this report and realize that we are at this "key tipping point in history." It is a time, he said,

"where we have, as individuals and as a country, enormous control over what future we pick." *Pinsky thinks this is very critical moment in history for humans to*

take action against climate change
"If we are headlined for a future with clean energy and clean transportation and less carbon dioxide emissions, we don't need to be heading into a scary future," Pinsky said. "We can act and adapt."

VITA

Nicolas A. Doyle

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Ph.D., Applied Linguistics, *The Pennsylvania State University*, expected 2021

M.A.T., TESOL, *University of Southern California*, 2015

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PUBLICATIONS

Doyle, N. (Forthcoming). Putting conceptual development on the map: Concept-based professional development for adult ESL volunteers. *TESOL Teacher Educator Interest Section Newsletter, Special Issue on Volunteer Development*, Winter 2021.

Doyle, N. (Under revision). ‘Teaching there wasn’t worth my effort’: Investigating the experiences of MA TESL students as volunteer adult ESL teachers. *TESOL Quarterly*.

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Khor, S.Y., & **Doyle, N.** (2019). Fostering healthy relationships: The importance of valuing self-care in an academic community. *American Association of Applied Linguistics, Graduate Student Newsletter*, Spring 2019

Doyle, N. & Toker, Ş. (2017). Strategies for pursuing professional development within the socioeconomic constraints of graduate studentship. *American Association of Applied Linguistics, Graduate Student Newsletter*, Fall 2017

GRANTS AND AWARDS

Fall 2020 Gil Watz Dissertation Fellow in Languages and Linguistics, Department of Applied Linguistics, The Pennsylvania State University

Fall 2019 Research and Graduate Studies Office (RGSO) Dissertation Support Competition, College of the Liberal Arts, The Pennsylvania State University

June 2019 Dr. Jiyun Kim Sociocultural Theory Graduate Student Travel Grant, Center for Language Acquisition, The Pennsylvania State University