"We Need More Consistency": Negotiating the Division of Labor in ESOL–Mainstream Teacher Collaboration

MEGAN MADIGAN PEERCY
MARGARET DITTER
MEGAN DESTEFANO
University of Maryland, College Park

This study contributes to research on teacher collaboration, which has not adequately examined the supports and challenges to English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) specialists and mainstream classroom teachers sharing roles in a student-centered classroom. Using a sociocultural theoretical framework, this study highlights the importance of routine in collaborating teachers' attempts to create a shared division of labor. Using qualitative analysis of interview and observational data, we focus on the division of labor of a coteaching pair, exploring how the teachers used shared teaching goals and tools to facilitate collaboration. Findings indicate that although the teachers valued their collaborative work, interruptions to their routine made it difficult to work productively together at times. This work has implications for administrators and policy makers whose decision making has an impact on teachers' daily schedules. When teachers cannot count on a consistent routine together, they are unable to engage in truly equal coteaching in which both teachers' skills are used to their fullest to benefit not only English language learners, but all students. Future studies should engage in more detailed and sustained observation of coteaching pairs as they negotiate roles and engage in their particular approaches to their division of labor.
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Research has shown that many teachers are not prepared to meet the needs of a large and rapidly growing population of culturally and linguistically diverse students (e.g., Gándara,

Maxwell-Jolly, & Rumberger, 2008; Haworth, 2008; Miller, 2011; Téllez & Waxman, 2006; Walker & Edstam, 2013). Collaboration between English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) specialists and mainstream teachers has emerged as one response to address the learning needs of English language learners (ELLs) while also allowing ELLs maximum exposure to mainstream content and peers through coteaching, rather than the traditional pull-out model (e.g., Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010; Honigsfeld & Dove, 2012; Peercy & Martin-Beltrán, 2012). Previous work on teacher collaboration has examined the collaborative relationships that teachers develop (e.g., Arkoudis, 2006; Davison, 2006; Friend, Reising, & Cook, 1993; Martin-Beltrán & Peercy, 2012); the lack of success of coerced collaboration (Hargreaves, 1994; Hargreaves & Macmillan, 1994); opportunities that collaboration generates for ongoing teacher professional development and learning (Peercy, DeStefano, Kidwell, & Ramirez, 2016; Peercy, Martin-Beltrán, Silverman, & Daniel, 2015; Peercy, Martin-Beltrán, Silverman, & Nunn, 2015); the kinds of tools that teachers use to mediate their collaboration (Martin-Beltrán & Peercy, 2014; Martin-Beltrán, Peercy, & Selvi, 2012); and challenges to developing successful collaborative relationships, including lack of planning time, mismatch in teacher vision, and differences in teacher status (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2013; Kuusisaari, 2014; McClure & Cahnmann-Taylor, 2010; Pawan & Craig, 2011; Peercy & Martin-Beltrán, 2012).

Drawing on models from special education, which has a longer history of collaborative engagement between classroom teachers and specialists, as well as previous work in second language education, there are a variety of collaborative models for teacher pairs to use as templates for the roles that each will take on during instruction (e.g., Cook & Friend, 1995; Haynes, 2007; Honigsfeld & Dove, 2010; Patel & Kramer, 2013), ranging from the *one teach, one observe* model, in which one teacher leads large-group instruction while the other gathers data on specific students or the class (Friend, Cook, Hurley-Chamberlain, & Shamberger, 2010), to *team teaching*, in which both teachers lead large-group instruction (Friend et al., 2010; Patel & Kramer, 2013). In one study of coteaching in special education settings, Scruggs, Mastropieri, and McDuffie (2007) found that a model called *one teach, one assist*, in

which the special educator assumed the role of classroom assistant rather than a teaching partner, was the most often used but also the least effective coteaching approach.

Prior work on the roles of coteachers has illustrated that collaboration is more successful when teachers have clearly defined, equal coteaching roles (Cook & Friend, 1995; Davison, 2006; Peercy & Martin-Beltrán, 2012; Scruggs et al., 2007). Nevertheless, at times specialists may be relegated to the role of classroom aide (Weiss & Lloyd, 2003), particularly when the role of the specialist is not well specified (Scruggs et al., 2007). Friend (2008) argues, therefore, that clarifying roles and responsibilities for coteachers is a challenging but necessary part of a successful coteaching relationship. She warns that the underutilization of one teacher undermines the potential of coteaching, so it is imperative that coteachers have productive roles. Coteachers must therefore be deliberate about their practice, make effective use of coplanning, and share responsibility for student learning (Friend, 2014). Furthermore, they must also have administrative support to successfully engage in sustained collaborative efforts (Davison, 2006; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010).

Fewer research studies have been conducted regarding the kinds of instructional roles taken on between ESOL specialists and their classroom counterparts. However, similar to the work in special education, Davison (2006) has argued that the negotiation of a shared understanding of ESOL and mainstream teachers' roles and responsibilities is an essential element for effective collaboration between language specialists and content-area teachers. The professional development work in her study resulted in the creation of a document that detailed ESOL and content-area roles and responsibilities, affirmed the expertise each teacher offered, and was designed to be renegotiated by teachers through regular evaluations, small-group meetings, and individual interaction.

Despite a growing body of work regarding the value of clearly defined roles for classroom teachers and their coteacher counterparts (whether ESOL, special education, or another specialist role; e.g., Arguelles, Hughes, & Schumm, 2000; Bouck, 2007; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010), as well as the importance of

scheduling and shared planning time (e.g., Martin-Beltrán et al., 2012), we are unaware of work that has examined the importance of *routine* as a critical element in defining and enacting collaborative teacher roles. In this article, we explore the experiences and practices of a teacher pair (Marie Landi,[1] a kindergarten teacher, and Beth Madden, an ESOL specialist) that were committed to collaborative teaching in a mainstream kindergarten classroom, and yet their desire to enact an equal coteaching relationship was challenged by Beth's constantly shifting schedule.[2] Specifically, we use this pair as a case to examine the following research questions: How does the presence of routine impact the division of labor in coteachers' roles? What other factors impact the coteaching roles that an ESOL classroom teacher pair is able to establish?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by sociocultural theory, which asserts that learning occurs through social interaction between people who often hold differing skill or knowledge levels (Vygotsky, 1978). Utilizing this lens, the study conceptualizes teacher collaboration as an ongoing learning process in the school environment (e.g., Fullan, 2006; Peercy, Martin-Beltrán, Silverman, & Nunn, 2015). This study also conceptualizes teacher collaboration as an interrelated activity system tied together by the shared goal of teachers collaborating to meet the needs and improve learning outcomes of their ELL students. Specifically, we apply the cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) framework (Engeström, 1987) to the data, which allows us to examine teacher collaboration as an activity shaped by a network of relationships with the goal of improving the learning of ELLs in a student-centered classroom. Figure 1 shows how the CHAT activity system is applied to this study. The application of the CHAT framework enabled us to analyze teacher collaboration as a dynamic social activity distributed across subjects (teachers), objects (teacher

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

[2] ESOL teachers play many roles in their schools and are often pulled from coteaching for other responsibilities, such as riding the bus, working with parents, and translating (e.g., McClure & Cahnmann-Taylor, 2010). Beth's experience was no exception.

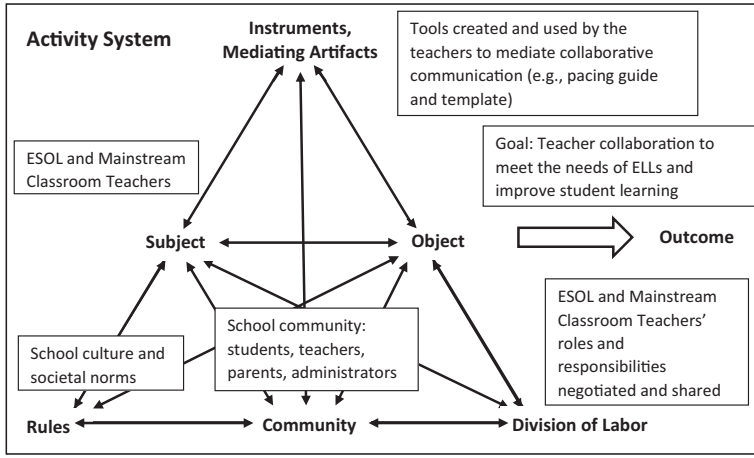

Figure 1. Teacher collaboration as an activity system (adapted from Engeström, 1987)

collaboration), and mediating artifacts (tools for collaboration). We focus in particular on the division of labor of a coteaching pair, exploring how the teachers used shared teaching goals and social and material resources, or tools, to facilitate collaboration.

METHODS

Context of the Study

The research site for this study was Bridgeport Elementary School, a Title I school in a metropolitan area in the mid-Atlantic United States. Forty-four percent of students were ELLs, and 86% received free and reduced meals. We had first come to know the teachers in this study through their involvement in a larger, federally funded cross-age peer tutoring (CAPT) study we were conducting, which aimed to support the vocabulary development and reading comprehension of ELL kindergartners and fourth graders (for further details see Peercy, Artzi, Silverman, & Martin-Beltrán, 2015). We noted a high degree of collaboration and cooperation among the members of the kindergarten team (including Marie and Beth) as they implemented the CAPT program. Bridgeport is situated in a school district that was formally undertaking efforts to implement more collaborative teaching between ESOL

specialists and mainstream classroom teachers, although the investment of school leadership and affordances for teacher collaboration varied from school to school, as did the degree of choice, enthusiasm, and extent to which teachers successfully engaged in collaborative work. At Bridgeport, ESOL teachers were told that they would coteach. Volunteers from among the classroom teachers who were interested in having an ESOL-intensive classroom (a larger number of ELLs concentrated in some classrooms in each grade level), and interested in coteaching, were sought to create several coteaching pairs in the school. The school schedule was arranged such that teachers could generally engage in a common instructional block together, but the specifics of maintaining a workable schedule together were left to teacher pairs to determine.

The first and third authors were members of the research team in the CAPT program and collected additional interview and observation data on coteaching with the focal teacher pair studied here. The second author joined the research team for data analysis and writing.

Data Collection

Following guidelines for interpretive inquiry (Creswell, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994), the focal data sources for this study included a 30-minute audio- and video-recorded interview with Marie Landi, a kindergarten teacher, and Beth Madden, an ESOL specialist, and video from a 2-hour lesson cotaught by Marie and Beth. This pair was chosen due to their ongoing collaborative efforts with one another and their self-reports that they had a positive collaborative relationship. Additional data sources included transcripts and field notes from five teacher meetings (representing 300 minutes of video and audio data) and observations of five lessons (representing 181 minutes of video and audio data) from the larger CAPT study in which Beth and Marie participated. The meeting and CAPT lesson observation data, though not central to this study, allowed the research team to gain a deeper understanding of the teaching context, the teachers' relationships, and their commitment to working collaboratively. Beth had transferred from a different school in the

same district and was finishing her first year of teaching at Bridgeport. Marie was finishing her fifth year of teaching at Bridgeport.

Data Analysis

Using the constant comparative method of data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2014), we first worked individually to conduct open coding and memoing related to interview and lesson observation data, and then came together as a team to compare emerging codes. Our initial codes were teacher flexibility, teacher sharing and communication, classroom setup, scheduling difficulties, teacher roles, and teacher externalization of their thinking with one other. As we iteratively examined the data, the coding process led us to rethink the complexities of teacher collaboration in light of the CHAT framework, and we refined our codes to include the following: shared teaching goals (e.g., student-centered learning versus teacher-centered learning), shared tools, and division of labor (routines, roles). As we analyzed the larger data set of field notes and transcripts from the teacher interview, we identified these codes as central themes to illustrate how the teachers negotiated their roles. Specifically, we returned to the related literature and our research questions and began more closely examining the data to explore the teachers' negotiation of roles, the importance of a predictable routine, and the impact this had on their practices.

We organize the findings by first illustrating the importance the teachers placed on their opportunities to learn together. We then provide specific evidence of their co-constructed learning from the data regarding their attention to developing common teaching goals through shared tools. After illustrating a broader picture of the teachers' collaborative work, we explore the contextual factors that shaped the ways in which they worked together and developed their roles. We explore the issue of the teachers' division of labor and development of routines the most extensively because of the contributions we believe that this makes to the existing literature on teacher collaboration.

FINDINGS

Co-constructed Learning: "It's Nice to Have Somebody Else to Pick Their Brain"

The CHAT framework allowed us to examine teachers' collaboration as an activity system and provided a means to explore the interconnectedness of their teaching goals, mediating artifacts, and division of labor, with a particular focus on the latter. It was clear that Marie and Beth found their collaborative teaching efforts to be beneficial, both for their own learning and for the learning of their students. In an interview, they made frequent references to how much they gained from working with one another:

> Marie: It's nice to have somebody else to pick, you know, their brain. Like when we sit down and plan together we're able to kind of bounce ideas off of each other, tweak them . . . two brains that know these kids and understand what they need and just [looks at Beth, Beth nods]—to me that's the biggest advantage, is just being able to really bounce ideas off one another and come up with the ideas together and plan together . . . . It's a great way to learn . . . . I think it's a really good way to just kind of build your knowledge base and become a better teacher.
> Researcher: Do you feel like you've learned things from each other?
> Marie: [Looks at Beth, both nod] Oh yeah. Absolutely.
> Researcher: Do any examples come to mind?
> Marie: . . . She's very creative and I feel like she comes up with a lot of fun activities and stuff they can do and she's very good at—. . . she has a way to kind of slow it down—
> Beth: Break it down.
> Marie: —break it down for the kids, and give them more of that language base that they need so I've learned a lot to like, kind of simplify. . . .
> Beth: You know [Marie's] been teaching kindergarten for a while, this is my first year working with kindergarten so it's really nice to be able to go to her and say, okay, "How are they going to need to process this information?" And I can look at it from a language perspective but a lot of times, developmentally, it will be off . . . so [Marie's] really great to be able to go to and say, okay, how do we need to pull this off?. . . There are many other

> things—she knows what she's doing, you know, when it comes to kindergarten and how the kids need to go.

The teachers' comments illustrate that Beth's language knowledge supported Marie's classroom instruction, and Marie helped Beth connect language teaching with the developmental and cognitive needs of kindergartners. Marie noted that Beth helped her break down and simplify her language to support students' language needs. From Beth's perspective, Marie helped Beth adapt her ESOL instruction to better fit the developmental needs of kindergartners. These statements were in keeping with interactions that we witnessed between Marie, Beth, and Elisa (another kindergarten teacher who also worked with Beth), who all participated in the CAPT study that served as the broader context for our interactions with them throughout the school year. The teachers noted that their work together in CAPT supported them in further developing their relationships as a team, and in their coteaching pairs, as Beth cotaught in CAPT lessons with Marie in the morning and Elisa in the afternoon:

> Beth: . . . It was nice to go from Marie's class in the morning and then see Elisa's class in the afternoon . . . . It was interesting to see how the different teachers were putting their touch on things.
> Researcher: You [cotaught with Marie] in the morning and [with Elisa in] the afternoon. Do you feel like you took a new set of tools with you [to your coteaching] in the afternoon, since you had already seen [the same lesson] play out in the morning?
> Beth: Yeah, definitely. I learned quite a few lessons that I would show up early and be like, "Hey, this morning we had an issue with *this*," or when we had the [CAPT] measurement lesson, [Marie] got everything ready for Elisa's class in the afternoon so that we were ready for the learning activity. There were tiny little things that would make things run.

Thus, the teachers' collaboration allowed them to co-create knowledge with the goal of meeting the needs of their ELLs and improving student learning.

Shared Teaching Goals: The Importance of Being "On the Same Page"

In addition to viewing their collaboration as a meaningful opportunity for learning and growth, an important factor that

contributed to Beth identifying Marie's mainstream classroom as a hospitable space for her to coteach was Marie's structuring of her classroom as generally more student-centered than teacher-centered:

> Beth: Something that's very hard is when it's a very teacher-centered classroom . . . . There's no place for a second teacher, you know, because [the classroom teacher is] up front and you can't be talking at the same time they're doing the lesson so if they don't release things to kids there's no place for the ESOL teacher. But since . . . it's like quick little bursts of a lesson, then "Okay go to your seats," it's a lot easier to get to the kids.

In contrast to her experience working with Marie, in a prior coteaching situation Beth did not share teaching goals with her colleague. In this situation, the coteacher had created a teacher-centered classroom, which did not align with Beth's vision of a student-centered environment. In contrast, working in Marie's classroom often allowed Beth to work directly with the students. Their shared teaching goal of a student-centered classroom created a space for Beth to interact with the students and to have a more equal role in the kindergarten classroom.

Furthermore, Beth and Marie also strove to coordinate their instructional collaborations, planning lessons collaboratively, then individually planning their instruction in the lesson, as well as being flexible with one another when there had not been an opportunity to plan, or plans had changed for a variety of reasons.

> Marie: . . . just making sure that we have the time to sit down and plan together and just so we're on the same page.
> Beth: Because you basically have to sit down and plan together, and then you have to each go off and plan again. [Marie laughs] You know? You have to decide what each of you are going to do, and *then* go and plan how you're going to do your part . . . you can't do it effectively if you don't sit down and plan, at least once a week. You know, and there's plenty of weeks that we haven't been able to sit down. We just kind of have to figure it out—
> Marie: —on the fly.
> Beth: It's not ideal.
> Marie: . . . we're both pretty laid back and flexible and it, it works. So if—and I think we both have the ability to, like, if we're doing something, and it's, like, not going right, we have

the ability to be like, "Ahhhh, let's just scrap that, and let's try something different."
[Beth nods]: And I think you just have to have a mesh with somebody.

The teachers' comments highlight the need for common planning time because these meetings gave them an opportunity to coordinate their instructional goals. Marie also underscored the importance of being flexible and open to trying new ideas when planning. Their interest in developing shared instructional goals also led this pair to use and develop tools to support their coteaching efforts, which we examine next.

Mediating Artifacts: "The [Template] Helped Us Figure Out Who Would Be Doing What"

For Beth and Marie, coteaching extended beyond the immediate teaching environment to include the tools they used to facilitate collaboration. These tools, described below as a template and district curriculum pacing guide, enabled the teachers to communicate about their teaching and define their roles. These tools were centered on the teachers' goals for student learning and allowed the teachers to support and enhance their collaborative efforts in the classroom.

Marie: . . . She has a—
Beth: template.
Marie: —template that she'll type everything into.
Researcher: [to Beth] And then do you give her a copy?
[Beth nods]
Marie: Yeah. And then I have the [district's curriculum] pacing guide for the whole kindergarten that will help us know exactly what xxx we're on and where we're at in that aspect.
Researcher: Uh huh. What's your template, a template that you—
Beth: It's just a simple, yeah, it just has the 5 days of the week and then it has the whole group lesson, and then the breakdown of reading rotations since most days I'm there the whole time, and some days I'm only there for the rotation. So just to like focus, "Okay, what are we going to be doing for the reading rotation?". . . So that's kind of nice to have in our brain, "Okay we're really focusing on writing this week, and the next week focus really on reading strategies."

In her comments above, Beth articulated how she and Marie shared knowledge using a template she created as a mediating artifact (organized by day of the week, with a column for shared reading block planning and a column for individual planning). In a follow-up conversation with the first author about this tool, Marie commented that the template was a tool that helped the coteachers identify common teaching goals and connect their teacher knowledge and expertise to the lesson content, while negotiating their roles.

> This document helped us figure out who would be doing what during our lesson. While we were planning, we would talk about what each of our roles would be during the whole group activity . . . . We each filled out the right column individually after completing the left side together. So our left column was the same and the right was different. I would mostly plan for small groups in the right column. For example, I would list what books we would be using and what our focus would be.

Thus, the shared template gave the teachers the opportunity to identify a common instructional focus for the week and to co-construct their learning objectives. The template was designed to focus the teachers' attention on their students' development of reading and writing skills. This template, combined with the pacing guide, allowed the teachers to discuss the curriculum together, offer pedagogical expertise, and reflect on ways to adapt the curriculum to meet their shared teaching goals. The tools they used during their meetings gave them an opportunity to engage in reflective, collaborative dialogue, while simultaneously focusing their efforts on their students' language development.

Division of Labor: The Importance of "Defin[ing] the Roles for Each Teacher"

A centrally important feature of this pair's collaborative engagement was their thoughtful approach to their division of labor. For instance, Beth and Marie changed their coteaching schedule several times to try to settle into a routine that would not be disrupted by other demands. They found a consistent routine to be critical for successfully enacting their cotaught lessons. The

teachers noted that interruptions to their routine significantly affected the quality of their collaborative practice.

> Beth: . . . it's taken us most of the year to get [our coteaching routine established]. . . . My schedule was not consistent every day . . . . Some days I was there for math, some days I was there for reading. So it was really hard to have a permanent role in the classroom. Like [Marie] couldn't have her groups, you know, and me have a group because there were 3 out of the 5 days I wasn't there . . . and so, after, when I came back after testing, I redid my whole schedule and for like the 10th time this year and made the whole reading block a priority. . . . I said, "Well, I'm just going to dedicate that chunk of time to her 5 days a week, so that we can have more specific roles." And then we planned out each day of the week . . . . It can be very frustrating because you can't be there every day. Like I said, this testing has gotten out of control with ESOL teachers [pulled from instruction] for [supporting] testing, so I'm in her class today [Monday], I won't be back until Friday . . . . And we're constantly like, "Oh, okay, we didn't get through this," you know. She brings her kids to lunch and I'm in lunch duty, so she'll kind of be like, "Hey," and, so we kind of touch base. We try.

As Beth noted, the lack of consistent routine and schedule for her presence in Marie's classroom made it difficult to have a productive coteaching experience because it was challenging to coordinate their instruction for her to participate in a meaningful way. In contrast, when she could have a consistent presence in Marie's classroom, which required considerable effort to rework their instructional schedules, this facilitated Beth having a substantive, clearly defined role in Marie's kindergarten classroom.

> Beth: We've changed my schedule around a lot—like when she was giving the whole group [instruction] I was trying to pull some of the newcomers and . . . we'd kind of meet up at the end and when I was leaving and be like, "Yeah, it's not working," or, you know, "Why don't we try this while you're here during the writing rotation?" You know, we had different little things we kept trying and it was just like, "No, you know, we need more consistency," and that's kind of why we have the schedule we have now when we kind of define the roles for each teacher.

In-the-moment conversations about instruction led to the teachers changing Beth's schedule, which impacted the division of labor in the classroom. Simply having Beth in a supporting role was not sufficient for the coteachers. Instead this pair worked to create meaningful coteaching roles by changing Beth's schedule so that she could spend more time in the classroom. In turn, they reported that this schedule change enhanced their collaborative teaching practices and enabled them to take more shared ownership of instruction.

Beth contrasted her constant negotiation of goals and division of labor (supported by their use of the district's pacing guide and their planning template) that she engaged in with Marie with less productive relationships with other teachers:

> Beth: There will be plenty of times that ESOL teachers have to go in and be spontaneous and not know what's going on, and I've worked with plenty of teachers this year that don't let you know what they're doing . . . . And if you don't have plans or you don't know what's coming up, you have to go in there and just be like [shrugs] "Hey, what's going on?" you know, and [shrugs] . . . I kind of chase people down a lot [laughs]. "Five minutes of your time!" You know, that gets hard. It's kind of like, if they don't want you there . . . it's very hard to do your job.

The difference in these experiences was one in which there was not a productive role for Beth in another mainstream classroom, because space had not been opened up to support her substantive participation through the negotiation of roles. The class was structured in a teacher-centered format that did not facilitate the teachers working together collaboratively and therefore did not enable Beth to enter into the conversation and contribute her expertise to the class. Without the shared division of labor and tools to mediate collaborative communication between coteachers, Beth's coteaching experience with this particular teacher was not successful.

The persistent nature of traditional roles. Despite Marie and Beth's efforts to define their roles and put routines in place to guide and structure their coteaching, as well as what appeared to be genuine goodwill and investment in collaborative instruction

between these teachers, in a 2-hour lesson observation we found that the teachers were primarily using a one-teach, one-assist model. This approach has been found to be the most common (e.g., Scruggs et al., 2007) due to ease of implementation and traditional hierarchies in which ESOL specialists are in a subordinate role (e.g., Cook & Friend, 1995; Scruggs et al., 2007). Yet the one-teach, one-assist model is the least recommended because it positions the ESOL specialist in the role of an assistant whose primary role becomes one of providing services to classroom teachers rather than to students. This positioning makes it challenging for either teacher to successfully meet the needs of all students (e.g., Honigsfeld & Dove, 2010; Scruggs et al., 2007).

In this lesson, Marie was the lead teacher for the majority of the lesson, with Beth assisting her. The lesson, which occurred on *Cinco de Mayo*,[3] began with Marie leading a class discussion on holidays while Beth spent most of the class period at the front of the classroom cutting up ingredients for salsa, including tomatoes, onions, cilantro, and mangoes, on the document camera. Marie was the lead instructor for the majority of the lesson, activating student prior knowledge through the discussion of holidays and how the students celebrated them, as well as reading and drawing the main steps that Beth engaged in to make salsa. Beth provided some language support during the lesson by holding up ingredients as they were named, circulating so students could smell the cilantro, and engaging briefly with students regarding the salsa-making:

> Beth: Some of you said you love this fruit. What is this fruit? [Shows mango on projector]
> Students: Mango.
> Beth: Mango. Raise your hand if you like mangoes. [Students raise hands.] . . . Raise your hand and tell me what mangoes taste like.
> Student: Juicy.
> Beth: Juicy. Good . . . . So it tastes juicy, it tastes sweet, like sugary.

[3] *Cinco de Mayo* is a holiday that celebrates Mexico's victory over France at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862. Observations of the holiday in the United States focus primarily on celebrations of Mexican culture.

Later, during 12 minutes of the 2-hour lesson, Beth took on the lead role, reading a children's story called *Cinco de Mouse-O!* (Cox & Ebbeler, 2010) aloud to the class. She interacted with students as she read aloud and responded to student reactions. During her read-aloud she showed pictures to the students and asked them what they thought would happen next during the story. She asked them what some words in Spanish meant in English and periodically checked for comprehension. She also pointed out adjectives used to describe parts of the story:

> Beth: [*reading*] "His eyes grew round as he beheld a confetti covered piñata stuffed with candy shaped like a burro hanging in a tree above the plaza. 'I must have that for my fiesta,' he said to himself. He jumped, but the enticing piñata swung far out of reach." [Asking students] What's *burro* in English? Do you guys know? It's an animal. [Several students repeat word *burro*.] Burro in English is donkey. [Several students say donkey.] So the piñata was shaped like a donkey.

After reading Beth also asked students follow-up questions to check their story comprehension and connect the story to their prior knowledge:

> Beth: I heard Diana say she really likes ch-or-iz-os. Chorizo is like a sausage. And flan? What is flan? Anybody know?
> Student: I know . . . .
> Beth: And it's what? In the shape of a triangle? What does it taste like?
> Student: Like flan.
> Beth: [laughs] What does flan taste like? Is it sweet, is it spicy?
> Student: Sweet.
> Beth: It's sweet. It's a dessert, right? It's made out of eggs and there's lots of sugar.

In analyzing the division of labor in this particular lesson, Beth facilitated the read-aloud and provided language support for students throughout the salsa preparation. This role was not as substantial as Marie's, who acted as the lead teacher for the majority of the lesson. Thus, although this lesson did provide an opportunity for each teacher to participate, we argue that it maintained a traditional format of the classroom teacher in the dominant role, with limited opportunities for the ESOL specialist to use her expertise during the lesson. This one-teach, one-assist

approach to the lesson (Cook & Friend, 1995; Patel & Kramer, 2013) is similar to what Haynes (2007) has called a *lead and support* approach to teaching, and she notes that this approach should be used with caution, with ESOL and classroom teachers alternating roles so that the ESOL teacher does not consistently find herself in a subordinate role.

In the findings we share here, one of the major challenges that Beth faced was trying to take on a consistent role in the classroom. These challenges were brought on by scheduling constraints and overall lack of planning time. At times, this led to situations similar to the observed lesson, in which Marie took the lead and Beth assisted. Nevertheless, the teachers' practices in this lesson were not strictly lead and support, either. There were moments of collaborative practice in which the teachers shared in maintaining discipline and assisting students. They also used one other as a sounding board for ideas and both teachers contributed to the class discussion about the holiday. These opportunities were important because they gave Beth a point of entry into the instructional conversation and activity. Examined from the perspective of the CHAT framework, the coteachers maintained a shared goal of a student-centered classroom. Putting this goal into practice involved negotiation of the coteachers' roles (division of labor) and creative ways to communicate and plan using artifacts. At times, such as in the observed lesson, they found themselves in a one teach, one assist coteaching model. Our findings demonstrate that even with shared teaching goals, equitable roles in coteaching can be difficult to sustain.

DISCUSSION

We assert that there is more work to be done in creating structures for interaction and opportunities for teachers to work collaboratively. The teacher pair examined here valued opportunities to work together and demonstrated genuine investment in creating a division of labor to engage in collaborative teaching. Nevertheless, their practice in the lesson described here demonstrated limited coteaching practices, with Marie taking control of the class for the majority of the lesson, and Beth largely working silently in a supporting role, chopping

ingredients for salsa during 45 minutes of a 2-hour lesson. There is a significant tension between allowing for a truly collaborative relationship in which both teachers share equal responsibility for instruction and the time and structures needed to engage in the necessary joint planning and instruction. This was manifested in our findings through the lack of autonomy that the teachers had in determining and maintaining their availability to consistently engage in particular roles and routines. Because ESOL teachers are often pulled for testing support, teach across different grade levels, and are required to rearrange their instructional schedules to accommodate standardized assessments, this sends an implicit message that their instruction is largely nonessential, or expendable. Instead, they are often needed for other duties at times when they should be available to instruct students or, conversely, their students are not available for instruction due to long periods of grade-level testing. These constraints affect teachers' ability to maintain predictability and routine in their coteaching roles. Even for those coteachers who work hard to establish shared teaching goals and mediating artifacts to facilitate communication and collaboration, as Beth and Marie did, their roles can be impacted by disruptions in scheduling and other administrative demands.

IMPLICATIONS

District and school administrators and other decision makers must be aware that when they make a commitment to teacher collaboration to improve the learning outcomes of ELLs, they should also be committing to the ESOL specialist as equally important for classroom instruction (e.g., Russell, 2012), and not someone who can be pulled for other purposes during instructional time. This study has implications for administrators and policy makers whose decision making has an impact on teachers' daily schedules. When teachers are not supported in maintaining a consistent routine together, they are unable to engage in truly equal coteaching in which both teachers' skills are used to their fullest to benefit not only ELLs, but all students.

Furthermore, the findings from this study have implications for professional development as schools seek to better prepare

their teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students. Until now, schools have done little to foster collaboration between ESOL specialists and mainstream classroom teachers; yet, this study reveals the potential benefits that teacher collaboration can offer. Ongoing professional development for coteaching pairs and school-based instructional leadership can help teachers create and sustain shared roles in a student-centered classroom.

While this study offers an example of a positive coteaching situation and reinforces the findings of other studies on the potential benefits of collaboration, it has limitations in that the main focus was on only two teachers who were engaged in one coteaching relationship. Furthermore, although this study emerged from a larger data set in which we had opportunities to witness the teachers' collaborative interactions and efforts, future studies should engage in more detailed and sustained observation of coteaching pairs as they negotiate roles and engage in their particular approaches to their division of labor. Finally, further studies that explore the perspectives of administrators on coteaching (e.g., Baecher, Knoll, & Patti, 2013; Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011) would help to illuminate important questions regarding policies and structures that impinge upon equal division of labor for coteaching pairs.

Additional research is also needed to examine the impact teacher collaboration has on culturally and linguistically diverse students. This study demonstrates the benefits from the viewpoint of the teacher pair; however, further research could examine other factors such as student perspectives (e.g., Gladman, 2015) and the impact of teacher collaboration on student learning.

Last, there is a need for further research regarding the impact of student-centered lessons. This study highlights the importance of student-centered lessons for effective teacher collaboration. Student learning needs should be the foundation on which teaching is based, and thus coteaching should be centered around students rather than teachers. This study could provide a starting point for many fruitful inquiries into how student-centered lessons affect teacher collaboration, and, ultimately, students.

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THE AUTHORS

Megan Madigan Peercy is an associate professor in applied linguistics and language education at the University of Maryland, College Park. A former ESOL and Spanish teacher, her research focuses on the preparation and development of teachers throughout their careers, as they work with language learners.

Margaret Ditter is a doctoral student in applied linguistics and language education at the University of Maryland, College Park. She worked as a middle and high school French and Spanish teacher and has also volunteered as an ESL teacher. Her research interests include teacher collaboration and mentoring preservice world language teacher candidates.

A former elementary ESOL teacher, Megan DeStefano is a doctoral student at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research interests relate to the teaching and learning of English language learners include cross-age peer learning, teacher collaboration, and novice teacher preparation.

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