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Investigating Students' Situated Understandings of Criticality in a Master of Arts TESOL Course

Kyle Nuske
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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INVESTIGATING STUDENTS' SITUATED UNDERSTANDINGS OF CRITICALITY IN

A MASTER OF ARTS TESOL COURSE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Kyle Nuske

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Kyle Nuske

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

_____   _____
                                           David I. Hanauer, Ph.D.
                                           Professor of English, Advisor

_____   _____
                                           Gloria Park, Ph.D.
                                           Associate Professor of English

_____   _____
                                           Ryuko Kubota, Ph.D
                                           Professor of Language and Literacy
                                           Education
                                           University of British Columbia

ACCEPTED

_____   _____
Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D
Dean
School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: Investigating Students' Situated Understandings of Criticality in a Master of Arts
      TESOL Course

Author: Kyle Nuske

Dissertation Chair: Dr. David I. Hanauer

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Gloria Park
                               Dr. Ryuko Kubota

Critical work has become an important or even canonical domain of TESOL and Applied Linguistics scholarship, yet there is a dearth of information on how novice scholar-practitioners engage with critical pedagogical theories in their formative early stages of cultivating disciplinary expertise. In order to address this gap, the present study investigated how graduate students interacted with critical concepts in a required first-semester Master of Arts TESOL course at an American university and the factors that structured their evolving and situated understandings of criticality.

Prior to the start of instruction, interviews with the instructor were combined with analysis of course documents to yield a series of critical principles that guided the course: students would be prompted to become advocates for themselves and others while rejecting universalized teaching methods and embracing the breadth of contested knowledge in TESOL. Subsequently, the triangulation of interview, concept mapping, and classroom observation data was employed to elicit shifts in participants' (n=13) understandings of criticality. For all participants, the pursuit of criticality was a complex, contradictory, and non-linear process deeply bound with their lived histories as shaped by fluctuating confluences of privilege and marginalization.

Nonetheless, clear patterns emerged among the outcomes of instruction, enabling the classification of participants into three categories: 1) Those who understood criticality and were able to discern concrete pedagogical applications of critical principles (n=4); 2) Those

who understood criticality but were unable or unwilling to determine concrete applications (n=6); and 3) Those who demonstrated limited transformation of their pre-instruction understandings (n=3). Factors that inhibited participants in categories 2 and 3 from developing more substantive and enduring manifestations of criticality included: the perceived unsuitability of critical approaches for intended future teaching contexts, struggles to cultivate the student habitus valued in American universities, devaluation of localized Englishes, intracurricular contradictions, unacknowledged privilege, and anxieties about linguistic performance.

The study concludes by recommending methods of conducting critical teacher training in TESOL programs and making suggestions for future research.

not have survived this experience—intellectually, professionally or emotionally—if not for her kindness, sympathy and selfless sacrifices. Tomoko, my respect, admiration and love for you grow stronger with every passing day.

Additionally, my parents, David and Hallie Nuske, were constant in their support, empathy and enthusiasm. Their unwavering belief in me provided a source of strength and persistence during the most dispiriting times. I also received an abundance of invaluable advice from those whom I am privileged to call my peers. Among them, I would like to single out the following individuals for their particular willingness to lend a sympathetic ear or encouraging word: Ann Amicucci, Brian Cope, Brian Fotinakes, Kyungmin Kim, and Lindsay Sabatino.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Overview

This first chapter is structured as follows: (a) initial remarks; (b) statement of the

problem; (c) a brief description of the study; (d) the main research questions; (e) the

significance and goals of the study; (f) my personal connection to the topic; (g) limitations of

the study; and (h) an overview of the remaining chapters.

Initial Remarks

The concept at the heart of the present research study is *criticality*. Within the

domains of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and Applied

Linguistics, critically can be understood in part as an intellectual and dispositional attribute

of perpetual, vigilant skepticism toward dominant assumptions surrounding the teaching and

learning of languages (Pennycook, 2001). As such, critical perspectives are circulated with

the aim of deconstructing and problematizing normative practices by unveiling their

connections to the reproduction of larger inequitable power structures. Critical scholarship

often disputes the prevailing conception that constructs such as good writing, effective

communication, and standard usage are neutral or self-evident, instead stressing their

inherently contextual, contested, and ideological nature (e.g., Breuch, 2002; Canagarajah,

2010; Kubota & Lehner, 2004).

The enactment of criticality, however, is not restricted to the identification of

discriminatory customs or the articulation of theoretically sound positions. Rather, critical

work contains a dimension of activism or advocacy, through which critical scholar-

practitioners and their students attempt to actually disrupt mechanisms of hegemony,

discrimination, and injustice on local levels (Kumaravadivelu, 2003; McComiskey, 2000; Shohamy, 2006). Because critical teaching often meets with intense resistance from conservative and authoritative social institutions, its results are rarely if ever manifested in the form of revolutionary social upheaval. Rather, it pursues the gradual and cumulative displacement of attitudes and behaviors that reinforce the status quo with those that pursue more democratic alternatives.

Critical work in TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and related fields such as Composition dates back at least as far as landmark texts such as Berlin's (1988) treatise on rhetoric and ideology in the writing classroom, Pennycook's (1989) indictment of method as interested knowledge, and Phillipson's (1991) work on linguistic imperialism (earlier predecessors from other disciplines are discussed in Chapter 2). From its initial inception as a radical reconfiguration of disciplinary knowledge, critical work has steadily gained prominence and become a major or even canonical realm of TESOL and Applied Linguistics literature.

The contemporary currency of the critical is evidenced by a variety of factors, including *TESOL Quarterly's* seminal issue on critical approaches to TESOL in 1999 and the proliferation of books and edited anthologies on the subject of critical language teaching (e.g., Benesch, 2001; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001). Furthermore, many of the most prestigious journals in Applied Linguistics and TESOL have devoted ample space to the dissemination of critical viewpoints and the various debates about the merits of critical pedagogies that have consequently arisen.

Statement of the Problem

Because critical work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics has attained a high degree of prestige, novice scholar-practitioners are often prompted to engage with it as they

undertake coursework in contexts of graduate education. This diffusion of critical knowledge would seem to be crucial to the subsequent crafting and implementation of critical approaches in English teaching contexts throughout the world; after all, the relevance of critical objectives such as contesting the existing order and fashioning pedagogies of empowerment is not restricted to the elite community of publishing professionals in the upper echelons of academia.

To the contrary, these objectives would appear to hold great significance for most practitioners and particularly those individuals who are not only members of marginalized populations but also teach, or intend to teach, similarly subjugated students. Thus, in order to avoid a self-defeating system in which criticality achieves only an insular importance within rarefied realms, it is essential to examine how criticality is conceptualized and perceived by those who seek to compliment theoretical knowledge with practical pedagogical expertise suitable for specific settings. As described later in greater detail, first-semester students in a Master of Arts (MA) TESOL program were selected as focal participants in the present study due primarily to their intention to cultivate viable pedagogies within various English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching contexts upon completion of their graduate degrees.

Despite the pressing need for studies on the outcomes[1] of teacher training conducted with a critical orientation, there is a surprising dearth of research in this vein. Moreover, the limited array of published studies on this topic has emphasized that critical teacher training is an endeavor rife with potential complications: in addition to a long-standing uncertainty as to

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[1] It is important to clarify here that *outcomes* are not synonymous with the establishment of *best practices*, which have been justifiably subjected to skepticism in light of critical work's insistence that moral and ethical pedagogies are of necessity derived from contextual considerations rather than the blanket application of

how critical principles might be manifested in concrete teaching approaches (e.g., Crookes & Lehner, 1998; Morgan, 2004; Shin & Crooks, 2005), it has been observed that the elaborate intellectual language of critical theory can be deeply alienating to novice scholar-practitioners (Lin, 2004) and argued that the development of critical consciousness alone may ironically promote cynical resignation among learners due to its perceived insufficiency to overcome the mechanisms of oppression at work in their own lives (Lin, 2004; McComiskey, 2000).

The potential difficulties of critical teacher education are compounded to an even greater degree by claims that individuals' development of criticality seldom unfolds as a unidirectional progression from naïveté to critical sophistication; it is far more likely to be a continual, conflicted, and partially-contradictory process of cultivating disruptive dispositions while skeptically reappraising entrenched beliefs (Pennycook, 2001). Lastly, even those practitioners who navigate this difficult process and emerge with the desire to enact critical pedagogies may encounter overbearing pressures to acclimate to the practices that are normative in particular educational cultures (Ahn, 2011; Kim, 2011). In light of these myriad concerns, further inquiries are needed to explicate the factors that frustrate or facilitate the development of substantive manifestations of criticality among English teaching professionals.

Brief Description of the Study

The principle aim of the present study is to illuminate how a linguistically and culturally diverse cohort of MA TESOL students engaged with the concept of criticality during and after TESOL 500[2], a required first-semester course with a markedly critical

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[2] The course title and number have been altered

orientation (i.e. a consistent emphasis on critical pedagogical theories and practices alongside critical deconstruction of more traditional approaches to TESOL). The context of the study was an MA TESOL program at a university in the Northeastern United States. A qualitative case study approach (Stake, 1995) was employed to elicit the manner in which the concept of criticality was constructed in TESOL 500. More specifically, pre and post-instruction interviews with the course instructor Jean[3], who self-identified as a critical pedagogue, were combined with the analysis of course readings and assignments to yield a series of critical principles that guided the course.

Additionally, 13 student participants were recruited during the first class session, and a triangulation approach to data collection consisting of concept-mapping tasks, classroom observation, and semi-structured interviews was subsequently utilized throughout the semester. When compiling and analyzing this data set, I placed particular emphasis on the factors that shaped participants' situated understandings of criticality, including their personal histories within complex and shifting confluences of privilege and marginalization (Park, 2013). Accounting for the influence of perspectives ingrained through participants' lived experiences was of paramount importance, as teacher cognition scholars such as Borg (2006) and Pajares (1993) have argued that concepts explicitly taught in graduate coursework tend to have a far lesser effect on teachers' thinking than the body of beliefs that they accrue over the course of their lifetimes.

A further overriding concern throughout the study was the extent to which apprentice scholar-practitioners viewed prominent disciplinary conceptions of criticality as constructs that could be applied or reformulated within their intended future teaching locales. To

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[3] All participants are referred to by pseudonyms

conclude the study, follow-up interviews were conducted with 11 participants approximately 4 months after the conclusion of their first semester in order to investigate whether their understandings of criticality had undergone any noteworthy changes.

Main Research Questions

The questions that guided the present study were:

1) How is criticality constructed in a Master of Arts TESOL course?

2) How do graduate students' understand the concepts and methods of criticality?

3) How do these understandings change during a semester-long course and after the course has concluded?

Significance of the Study

It is hoped that the present study will make a meaningful contribution to the body of literature on critical pedagogies of language teaching, which contains numerous detailed accounts of discrete critical teaching practices, (e.g., Hanauer, 2010; Kubota, 2001; McComiskey, 2000; Morgan, 2004; Okazaki, 2005; Park, 2012), but far fewer detailed investigations of how graduate students understand and engage with criticality as they foster their nascent disciplinary expertise. Regarding the latter, Lin's (2004) reflexive account of her attempts to introduce a critical pedagogical curriculum to an MA TESOL program in Hong Kong was the piece that was most influential to the design of my own research. Nonetheless, Lin's data set was restricted to her students' writings, her own teaching journals, and an informal discussion with two students after the course had concluded. I sought to conduct a more systematic and multifaceted study capable of eliciting students' evolving perceptions of criticality at multiple points of their formative first semester.

Through a combination of data collection methods that focused students' reflections on core tenets of critical scholarship, I endeavored to achieve a nuanced portrait of how students accommodate, resist, and negotiate with critical theories in the course of constructing their unique pedagogical philosophies. I also attempted to explore issues of intracurricular contradiction or cohesion by inviting participants to discuss how the critical concepts they studied in TESOL 500 were supplemented or refuted by the stances articulated in their other first and second semester courses.

Another ambition of the present study is to suggest possibilities for effecting more mutually informative relationships between theory and practice for teacher-educators as well as in-service and pre-service scholar-practitioners. The study may aid graduate faculty in their efforts to teach critical content in ways that enable students to perceive potential applications in their intended future teaching contexts. Several scholars concur that critical work must entail opportunities for actualization, lest intellectual exertions such as textual deconstruction fail to catalyze the attempted disruption or subversion of hegemony through discernible pedagogical choices (Johnson & Golombek, 2011; Luke, 2004; McComiskey, 2000). Stated more plainly, work performed in the name of the critical should not be limited to the continual development and refinement of theoretical positions; rather, it should also encompass analysis of how criticality is manifested in the pedagogical strategies that individuals deem possible and advisable in their actual or desired teaching contexts.

Moreover, the insights raised by this study may help scholar-practitioners at various stages of their professional development to focus their heuristic processes of developing effective, context-specific critical pedagogies. Ideally, contemplating the ways in which participants characterize the component concepts and methods of criticality will prompt

readers to consider whether similar conceptions would be appropriate for their familiar teaching environments. In pondering to what extent the approaches described would need to be modified or reinvented in order to be successfully incorporated into their own teaching, scholar-practitioners may discover new pedagogical possibilities.

My Personal Connection to the Topic

I commenced my doctoral studies after teaching EFL in Japan for two years. Though this experience had kindled an abiding passion for working with English language learners, the problematic nature of my teaching context had also resulted in a great deal of alienation and resentment. I had worked at a franchised *eikaiwa* (English conversation) school, a venue of language teaching that co-opted the educational enterprise in the name of corporate profiteering. At the time that I was hired, I possessed very little expertise with TESOL but was nonetheless a desirable candidate due to my status as a native speaker of English; embedded cultural perceptions of EFL learning in Japan were shaped by the circulation of powerful discourses that posited native speakers as the ultimate exemplars and arbiters of acceptable English usage (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). Furthermore, as a Caucasian male, I benefited from possessing racialized identity markers that were deliberately conflated with teaching expertise in high-profile *eikaiwa* advertisements in order to commodify access to native instructors and evoke yearning for the Occidentalized West (Bailey, 2006; Kubota, 2011a; Takahashi, 2013). Thus, my experiences also forced me to confront the privilege that had exerted a fundamental role in my journey to the language teaching profession (further details are presented in the *researcher positionality* section of Chapter 3; see also Nuske, 2014).

When I began to formally study the TESOL and Applied Linguistics disciplines, I carried an embodied opposition to dominant assumptions about language teaching but lacked the vocabulary necessary to articulate my discontent and name the injustices I sought to rectify. Hence, it was perhaps only natural that critical work resonated with me deeply and soon came to occupy the bulk of my efforts to establish a disciplinary identity. As I completed my coursework, I encountered many scholars whose work revolutionized my conceptions of language teaching. In what follows, I will cite but a few of the crucial insights gained from these figures:

The work of Berlin (1988) inspired me to view writing as an inherently ideological act and the teaching of writing at postsecondary institutions as an endeavor necessarily involving the reproduction of the ideologies that gave rise to those institutions. Articles by TESOL scholars such as Canagarajah (2006), Kubota (2004), Kumaravavidelu (2003), Park (2012), and Pennycook (1996) taught me about systematic mechanisms of discrimination through which White Anglophone norms are valorized while alternative usages stemming from different cultural traditions are denigrated. These texts also brought my attention to how conventional educational practices served to position so-called "non-native speakers" and speakers of minority dialects disadvantageously within social hierarchies of power and prestige; as such, I began to contemplate issues surrounding the potentially tenuous and conflicted coexistence of standard English proficiency with individuals' other linguistic and literacy resources.

During class discussions of such works, however, my classmates and I often expressed a perceived discord between critical theories of language teaching and the circumstances of our actual teaching experiences. This is not to say that critical theories were

dismissed without any consideration whatsoever. In fact, discussions of criticality frequently proceeded in stimulating and engaging ways, provided that they occurred on primarily abstract or scholarly levels.

However, the question of how to apply the tenets of critical theories to our various actual or intended future teaching contexts would be raised eventually (and sometimes at my own instigation). More often than not, the mood of the class would drop as if a switch had suddenly been flipped and the discussion would adopt a pessimistic or even jaded tone. It seemed the verve with which my classmates had teased out the nuances of critical theories was now devoted to enumerating the various reasons why critical approaches could not actually be incorporated into their various teaching contexts: "It's simply not practical." "The community college where I teach requires a multiple choice, grammar-based final exam, so I have to teach to the test." "If my students don't know how to write an argumentative essay in standard English by the time they walk out of my class, I've done them a great disservice[4]."

That I occasionally expressed similar reservations was largely due to the institutional character of the teaching contexts in which I worked while pursuing my doctoral degree. The first of these was a language institute that was affiliated with a university in the Northeastern United States. The student population at this institution consisted of international students whose scores on the standardized Test of English as Foreign Language (TOEFL) were not high enough for full-time admission to American universities. Though the institution offered a diverse (albeit non-credit) curriculum designed to build students' overall fluency, TOEFL

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[4] These are not verbatim quotes but paraphrases meant to anecdotally convey the type of sentiments I have encountered during graduate coursework. Also, my remarks here are not intended as a judgmental statement about my classmates' resistance to the implementation of critical theories in their own teaching. I want to reiterate that this resistance was often motivated by their perception of students' needs and the desire to provide access to the skills they feel will help students to achieve more equitable circumstances for themselves.

scores were the only factor considered by the university admissions office when determining whether to allow students to enroll in for-credit coursework.

Thus, my students quite understandably tended to resist any teaching approaches that were not directly related to their achievement of the TOEFL scores necessary for entering universities. In this case, the test-centric cultures of the institution and the affiliated university were direct impediments to pursuing my critical goals for ESL teaching, including the decentering of powerful discourses and the facilitation of more socially equitable processes of language learning. While I was later able to obtain a university teaching position that afforded me a greater degree of pedagogical autonomy, I typically taught American students from middle-class backgrounds and often struggled to make linguistic discrimination and other instances of social injustice relevant to largely homogeneous and privileged populations (Hurlbert & Blitz, 1991). Thus, I continued to echo the frustration and pessimism expressed by my colleagues as they struggled to discern feasible critical practices for their teaching contexts.

The discussions I had with my classmates about the limited applicability of critical theories were disheartening, particularly because I felt such cynical acquiescence amounted to a fundamental misunderstanding of the awareness critical work seeks to raise and the types of social changes it strives to effect. Bourdieu's (1991) notion of *symbolic power* holds that the power of dominant groups and institutions lies in their ability to depict hegemonic social structures as the natural order of affairs, in effect compelling the marginalized to consent to their own domination and restricting the scope of social and institutional changes considered possible by subjugated populations:

Dominated individuals are not passive bodies to which symbolic power is applied, as it were, like a scalpel to a corpse. Rather, symbolic power requires, as a condition of its success, that those subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it. (p. 23)

When scholar-practitioners willingly engage critical theories on abstract and intellectual levels but prematurely dismiss the viability of adopting critical practices, they risk perpetuating the authority of status quo social structures and the discriminatory mechanisms that sustain them. My personal experiences with teaching and completing graduate coursework suggest a need for more rigorous and sustained discussions of how theory can be integrated with practice. Through repeated inquiry, teachers may discover techniques which simultaneously meet students' immediate needs and open dominant institutional ideologies to resistance and subversion.

Limitations of the Study

Because the present study aimed to provide thick description (Geertz, 1973) of teachers' unique processes of engaging with criticality rather than to make broad generalizations, the number of participants (13) was relatively low. In this regard, my study followed the precedent set by qualitative case studies which have focused on single individuals or small groups in their investigations of other topics related to language teaching, such as students' struggles to acquire academic literacy (Canagarajah, 1997; Spack, 1997; Leki, 1995). Despite their small-scale focus, these studies have raised a wealth of considerations for larger communities of language teachers through the breadth of factors that they illustrate and the sophistication with which they represent the learning processes of particular individuals and groups.

The other primary limitation of the study is that student participants' attempts to discern pedagogical applications of critical principles were restricted to retrospective reflection on their past teaching or hypothetical conceptions of their future teaching. Because the participants did not have access to teaching opportunities during the period of data collection, I was unable to observe their attempted enactment of critical pedagogies in actual teaching situations. In order to counteract this limitation to the greatest extent possible, I strove to elucidate the complexities of their situated and shifting understandings of criticality through a carefully constructed sequence of focused reflection tasks.

Overview of the Coming Chapters

The remainder of the study is presented in five additional chapters. In Chapter 2, the *literature review*, I survey critical literature of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields as well as its influential predecessors to arrive at a definition of criticality as the synthesis of deconstruction and advocacy. Chapter 3, *methodology*, presents my rationale for adopting a qualitative case study approached centered on the triangulation of concept mapping, semi-structured interview, and classroom observation tools of data collection. In Chapter 4, the first of two *results* chapters, I analyze data collected from my faculty participant to establish how criticality was constructed in TESOL 500. I then turn my attention to data collected from student participants in Chapter 5. Three overarching outcomes of critical teaching training are defined, and a representative case study of each outcome is presented in full (additional case studies are located in appendices). In Chapter 6, *discussion*, I conclude by offering two metaphors of criticality, examining factors that facilitated or inhibited participants' development of substantive and enduring manifestations of criticality, and making suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I conduct a thorough survey of critical literature in TESOL, Applied

Linguistics, and various related fields to substantiate my definition of criticality as the

synthesis of deconstruction and advocacy. Content is presented according to the following

organizational structure: a) a conceptual definition of criticality; b) notable forbearers of

critical work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics; c) critical perspectives on the social

enterprise of education; d) a differentiation of critical conceptualizations of language from

formal linguistics; e) prominent examples of critical deconstructive work; f) prominent

examples of critical advocacy work; g) critiques of critical pedagogy; h) particular critical

teaching activities; and i) scholarly accounts of critical teacher training.

Criticality: A Conceptual Definition

While ruminating on the nature of the critical, Luke (2004) posed a series of

questions that neatly encapsulate many of the primary concerns of the present study:

> What exactly is the compelling reason for second language teachers to engage with
>
> the critical? Is it because the identity politics and dynamics of power and patriarchy
>
> within the TESOL classroom in so many countries typically entail social relations
>
> between teachers and students that reproduce larger social and economic relations
>
> between economically mainstream and marginal, cosmopolitan and diasporic, and
>
> white and colored subjects? (p. 25)

The crucial concept that emerges from these remarks is that social practices of language

teaching cannot be ethically depicted as neutral or benevolent transmissions of abstract skill

sets from instructors to learners; rather, these practices are both reflective and constitutive of systematic inequalities drawn along lines of language, class and race. When considered as a transnational phenomenon, the spread of English entails a particularly complex series of moral conundrums, bound as the language is with the legacies of colonialism and empire as well as the current diffusion of neoliberal ideologies via globalization (Kubota, 2011b; Lin, 2004; Pennycook, 1998).

Because powerful institutions in the existing order seek to naturalize and conceal those mechanisms of social stratification from which they have profited, the cultivation of a questioning and defiant mentality is required to unveil discriminatory dimensions of normative practices; an unwavering ethical commitment is likewise necessary in order to persist in the attempted amendment of the status quo in favor of more equitable social structures. *Criticality* is the term used throughout the present study to encompass these component elements of deconstruction and advocacy.

Though definitions of criticality tend to vary by academic disciplines and are themselves contested, critical paradigms routinely invoke similar ideas concerning the contested and political nature of reality and knowledge. On the broadest theoretical level, a critical paradigm is one which rejects positivistic notions such as universal, transcendent truths and the existence of objective reality independent of perception (Pennycook, 2001). Rather, criticality holds that concepts such as "truth" and "reality" are constituted by competing ideologies as embedded in discourse (Foucault, 1972); the term discourse refers to "a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 14). One major school of critical thought is postmodernism, which Lyotard (1984) concisely summarized as an attitude of "incredulity toward metanarratives,"

the latter term being defined as grand, totalizing discourses which impose order on the social

articulation, legitimation, and consumption of knowledge (p. xxiv). Similarly,

poststructuralism calls into question "universal notions of objectivity, progress, and reason"

by emphasizing the situated, indeterminate and dialogical character of knowledge (Morgan,

2007, p. 951). Critical paradigms are thus driven by the imperative to interrogate and

problematize canonical knowledge, including the ideological underpinnings of concepts

commonly believed to be natural or self-evident (Bourdieu, 1999; Dean, 1994).

     As previously asserted, another central purpose of critical inquiry is the indictment of

hegemony: the domination of certain privileged individuals, groups, nations and cultures

over others. However, to claim a critical dimension to one's work is not merely to espouse an

intellectual or philosophical affiliation; critique is valuable only insofar as it is used to inform

the direct and active pursuit of social justice (McComiskey, 2000). Thus, developing and

sustaining critical perspectives requires one to synthesize deconstructive skepticism with

activism and to make discernable gestures toward the resistance, subversion and

transformation of hegemonic social practices.

     Owing to my conviction that the scope of critical work should not be restricted to

purely intellectual enterprises such as textual analysis, I draw most extensively from

postcolonial domains of critical theory in the present research while invoking postmodern

and poststructuralist principles less frequently. Postcolonialism critiques real-world instances

of human subjugation and degradation, often with fierce intelligence and righteous

indignation. It indicts not only the historical and ongoing repression of marginalized

populations by sociopolitical regimes but also the devastating psychological consequences of

being forced into the role of a subaltern Other (Fanon, 1967). As such, postcolonialism is of

fundamental relevance to understanding the plight of multilinguals who are condemned to

perpetual inferiority against unattainable native-speaker standards (e.g., Kumaravavidelu,

2003; Lin & Luk, 2006; Phillipson, 1991). Moreover, critical work in this vein considers how

powerful groups, institutions, and nations impose their moral certainties on others, often in

the guise of "universal truths," *precisely because* of an overriding conviction that effecting

more ethical and democratic practices is possible (Pennycook & Coutland-Marin, 2003)

The most ardently relativistic strains of postmodernism and poststructuralism, by

contrast, would have scholar-practitioners believe that the subjective and fragmented nature

of human experience precludes our ability to explore questions of what is morally right. If

they accept this philosophical proposition, however, it would seem that the very proposition

of redressing injustice is rendered futile[5].

Another crucial aspect of criticality is *decentering* (Smolcic, 2011)*.* Individuals

commence decentering by striving to step outside the ideological systems that have

structured their schema of perception and belief. In effect, decentring compels people to

"problematize their culture's representation of the world, taking an outsider's view of their

own culture which they had before known only as an insider" (Smolcic, 2011, p. 18). Luke

(2004) questioned whether individuals will be able to undertake these processes of drastic

reappraisal if they have not experienced the denigration of their race, heritage, and customs at

the hands of the dominant culture. For Luke, experiences of being discriminated against may

be a prerequisite for actualizing critical ideas:

> We can and should ask how and whether it is possible to teach the critical to those
>
> who have not had the experience of being Othered. Indeed, to what extent does the

[5] As the limits of postmodern theory were once memorably described to me, "Even Derrida
went to the doctor." (Hanauer, personal communication)

critical, without [such] biographical experience … become a pro forma or indeed

formal analysis and renaming of the world, a parsing of design, or mastery of text

deconstruction and reconstruction? To what extent does ideology critique stay,

indeed, just that –an intellectual exercise lacking a translation into embodied action

that might disrupt, interrupt, or transform the fields in question?" (p. 27)

In order to further explore these intriguing questions, the present study aimed to illuminate

the complex influence of privilege and marginalization on individuals' engagement with

criticality and investigate the extent to which they came to view criticality as a generative

and relevant asset to their pedagogical repertoire.

In keeping with the definition of criticality established above, it is important to stress

that critical approaches are inherently contextual and any attempt to establish a universalized

conception of critical teaching is a self-defeating proposition. However, as will be described

in greater detail in this and subsequent chapters, criticality entails a series of imperatives that

are relevant to scholar-practitioners in many language teaching contexts: 1) Continually

problematize the given (Dean, 1994); 2) Dismantle discursive norms so as to uncover

implicit connections among language learning, ideology, politics, and unequal power

relations; and 3) Pursue more democratic social practices by acting out of solidarity with the

denigrated, marginalized, and oppressed.

Notable Forbearers of Critical Work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics

Before delving further into particular manifestations of critical tenets in English

language teaching, I will briefly review three essential predecessors of critical scholarship in

TESOL and Applied Linguistics: Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *capital*; Foucault's

formulation of *power*; and Freire's *critical pedagogy*.

The previous chapter demonstrated how Bourdieu's (1991) notion of *symbolic violence* (the indoctrination of the marginalized to consent to their own domination) could be applied to explain the perpetuation of educational customs that are alienating and disempowering to both teachers and students. Another pertinent concept pioneered by Bourdieu is *habitus*, which refers to the socially inculcated ways of speaking and acting that individuals consider to be "regular," though they are not "consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (1991, p. 12).

Examining variations in the respective habitus of privileged and oppressed populations within educational fields can be an instructive means of problematizing the meritocracy myths that are frequently vital to the concealment of institutionalized discrimination. The concept of the level playing field within which disparities in individual achievement can be objectively measured is rendered deeply problematic when one considers that certain students' enculturated ways of speaking and behaving are congruent with those valued by dominant ideologies of educational institutions. Hence, students from privileged racial and socioeconomic backgrounds enjoy a profound advantage that is all the more valuable by virtue of its invisibility; these learners possess an intuitive grasp of the implicit rules of the game and therefore succeed simply by acting naturally (Bourdieu, 1991).

Of course, members of historically oppressed populations often lack this ingrained savvy and are thus ostracized, resulting in feelings of anger and isolation as they struggle to navigate the expectations of institutions in which they are traditionally underrepresented (Canagarajah, 1997; Curry, 2007; De Costa, 2010). A closely related concept at work in this disparity is *cultural capital*, which refers to the actual or symbolic resources that enable individuals to lay claim to status and prestige (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu (1991) posited that

various language forms are themselves imbued with disproportionate amounts of social and symbolic capital, thereby endowing speakers of prestigious dialects with more resources to impose reception of their utterances on others than speakers of marginalized dialects. In classroom settings, cultural capital enables students to behave in institutionally sanctioned ways and to direct classroom events toward topics and procedures that suit their own learning objectives (Curry, 2007).

Though Foucault's conception of *power* is invoked less frequently than Bourdieu's notions of habitus and capital within the present study, it is nonetheless an invaluable asset for unpacking the reified realities that produce, shape and restrict the terms on which knowledge is circulated and legitimized. While the Foucauldian version of power is labyrinthine in its complexity, it essentially seeks to amend narrow notions of power as mere superior force that is exerted to subordinate or oppress:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes," it "represses," it "censors," it "abstracts," it "masks," it "conceals." In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. (Foucault, 1979, p. 194)

Because Foucault's work emphasizes the generative nature of power, it is of clear importance to critical investigations of the ostensibly objective truisms that are "discursively produced and circulated within specific fields such as ELT [English language teaching] and … act on people in ways that potentially restrict their freedoms" (Morgan, 2007, p. 960); within the TESOL field, such discourses can structure novice scholar-practitioners' perceptions of the extent to which they can claim expertise as English teaching professionals and the degree of

pedagogical autonomy they can hope to achieve amid the ideologically-determined rules and requirements of particular teaching contexts.

In contrast to the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, which primarily pursued nuanced intellectual understandings of the invisible mechanisms of the social order, Freire's *critical pedagogy* demonstrated an overt intention to intervene in the propagation of social inequalities as localized in classroom practices. Freire's (1970) landmark text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* decried the predominant *banking* model of education, in which students are considered passive vessels to be filled with information. Characterizing the banking model as a derogatory archetype that not only dehumanized students and teachers alike but also reaffirmed the dominance of the colonizer over the colonized, Freire called for a pedagogy of consciousness raising through which the oppressed are compelled to name and resist the circumstances of their disenfranchisement.

Critical Perspectives on the Social Enterprise of Education

Because the present study attempts to elucidate connections between the pedagogical possibilities discerned by novice scholar-practitioners and the reproduction or subversion of larger inequitable power dynamics, it is crucial to review critical perspectives on education. Contrary to the prevalent assumption that education is a wholly altruistic social endeavor, critical work holds that it is an inherently ideological phenomenon and cannot be performed in a neutral or objective manner. Therefore, it is inaccurate to characterize teaching as the impartial transmission of subject-specific knowledge and skills from experts to novices. Rather, teaching is predicated upon an implicit process of enculturation, as students are trained or coerced to adopt the beliefs and values that have given rise to current social structures and foster their perpetuation (Apple, 1999; Berlin, 1988).

Critical paradigms moreover hold that educational standards discriminate in favor of privileged populations by establishing their linguistic, cultural, and social practices as universal criterion of what is praiseworthy and desirable (Bourdieu, 1991). As mentioned previously, the consequences of this hegemony are that students from non-majority backgrounds are systematically disadvantaged in their attempts to meet standards and furthermore subjected to the profoundly demeaning message that their culturally-valued modes of self-expression possess little to no value in mainstream domains. Accordingly, schooling serves a gatekeeping function by legitimating the unequal distribution of resources through the false pretense of objectively assessing individuals' intelligence and merit (Shohamy, 2001).

The social practice of testing further corroborates the complicity of educational institutions in cultural reproduction, as tests compel students to participate in their own evaluation or ranking according to criteria which are established by authoritative individuals (e.g., teachers) or institutions (e.g., boards of education, university admissions offices, government agencies) (Shohamy, 2001). In this regard, critical perspectives challenge widespread tendencies toward assessing linguistic performance via "psychometric testing with emphases on blind measurement rather than situated forms of knowledge" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 17).

Differentiating Critical Approaches from Formal Linguistics: Details and Disclaimers

An essential step in capturing the tenor of critical work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics is to establish its points of contention with conventional bodies of scholarly knowledge concerning the phenomenon of language learning. Hence, in this section I critique prominent conceptions of language as expressed in literature of formal linguistics or more

22

traditional domains of applied linguistics. I want to clarify, however, that these critiques are not meant to suggest that research in linguistics lacks scholarly value, nor am I accusing linguists of being unaware of or unconcerned with matters of social justice.

Indeed, Noam Chomsky, the originator of "generative grammar" theories and almost certainly the most well known figure in contemporary linguistics, has also published an extensive array of political critiques. In these works, Chomsky decries what he perceives as profound crimes committed by proponents of Western imperialism and transnational corporatism. However, in Chomsky's (1979) own assessment, there is "no very direct connection" between his linguistic and political writings (p. 3). Thus, Chomsky's varied oeuvre suggests that even those individuals who totally eschew a political dimension to their work on language may possess detailed critical understandings of social hegemonies, injustices, and power disparities. Nonetheless, it simultaneously typifies the problematic penchant of traditional scholarship to depict language learning as the cognitive processing of syntactic codes, thereby divorcing the learning act from the socially situated perceptions and motivations of individual learners (Hanauer, 2012; Kramsch, 2009).

Having presented these disclaimers, I will now explain how the present study echoes and builds upon a large body of critical research that seeks to decenter tenets of formal linguistics by engaging in the following methods of skeptical disruption:

1. Questioning its fundamental characterization of language as an abstract, cognitive, rule-governed phenomenon that can be meaningfully understood in decontextualized ways.

2. Contesting its relegation of social context, and more specifically language users' various positions within historical disparities related to nation, race, class, and gender,

to the status of secondary variables. Rather, critical approaches argue, these are primary factors constitutive of and inseparable from the encoding and decoding of linguistic meaning.

3. Contending that it has played a role in the establishment of a prevailing model of linguistic norms and deviations through standards of correctness. This model is problematic because standards of language use perpetuate social hierarchies by valorizing the customary practices of dominant populations and denigrating those of the oppressed. Linguistic standards are moreover employed for the purposes of demarcating literal and figurative boundaries between belonging and exclusion within and among nation-states (Shohamy, 2006). The enforcement of these standards occurs systematically on all strata of society and is bolstered, naturalized, and concealed by metanarratives of "scientific" objectivity (Lyotard, 1984).

4. Pointing out that it is privileged by dominant, positivistic paradigms of research and knowledge. Furthermore, the validity of qualitative, critical approaches to linguistic inquiry has been dismissed by some adherents of traditional linguistics and applied linguistics (e.g., Davies, 1999).

5. Asserting that highly-contextualized, qualitative research methods are valid and, in some cases, preferable means of understanding linguistic phenomena such as second language acquisition and literacy development in specific domains (e.g., poetry writing; academic discourse) (Hanauer, 2010; Spack, 1997).

6. Avowing that formal linguistic inquiry interprets the phenomena of usage differences within broad linguistic codes (e.g., "Standard English" versus "African American Vernacular English") from a theoretically determined, liberalistic perspective of

inherent equality. While such perspectives may intend to remove subjective prejudices from the act of analysis, their ahistorical orientation is ultimately counterproductive to the unveiling and rectification of institutionalized discrimination (Kubota, 2004). As a result, "neutral" statements about the theoretical equality of all language varieties neglect a key component of linguistic divergence: ideological struggle between the dominant and the marginalized.

Prominent Examples of Critical Deconstructive Work

In this section, I review work that is primarily concerned with the deconstructive components of criticality, i.e. those texts that reveal the ideological and political underpinnings of concepts and practices that are commonly believed to be neutral or self-evident. As will be demonstrated in the course of my synthesis, even concepts that appear to possess critical dimensions upon initial consideration may be in need of further critical deconstruction.

The Native Speaker Fallacy and Linguistic Imperialism

Historically, teaching approaches in a wide array of formal ESL and EFL contexts have been shaped by profoundly monolingual-normative conceptions of language and literacy. In such models, languages are considered discrete and static entities rather than fluid entities amenable to hybridization; bilingualism is therefore conceived as the coexistence of constituent monolingualisms rather than the reciprocal blending of codes and discursive conventions to facilitate agentive self-expression (Canagarajah, 2006b, 2010).

As a result, native-like fluency is assumed to be the goal toward which learners should naturally strive and native speaker teachers are positioned as ideal models for multilingual students, even when the teachers themselves are monolingual and possess scant

or non-existent teaching qualifications. This phenomenon, which Phillipson (1992) labeled the *native speaker fallacy*, has resulted in the proliferation of private and governmental institutions that import native speaker "experts" to dispense and disseminate "authentic" language, often at considerable profit (Lai, 1999; Nuske, 2014; Pennycook, 1994). By contrast, local multilingual teachers often experience a devaluation of their abilities, as reflected in lower salaries and lesser prestige than their native counterparts, despite sharing first-language fluency with students and having a unique capacity to anticipate areas of difficulty on the basis of their own firsthand experience with English learning.

In two highly influential works, both of which constituted a "harder-edged Marxian challenge to extant theory" (Bolton, 2005), Pennycook (1994) and Phillipson (1992) contended that the pervasive influence of the native speaker fallacy was not the result of any innocent misconception or outmoded understanding of language learning. Rather, they attributed the far-reaching spread of native-centric Englishes to deliberate efforts toward the wider perpetuation of asymmetrical power relations between wealthy Western nations (and former colonizers), such as the United Kingdom and United States, and former colonies (e.g., India, Hong Kong, Singapore) or nations with burgeoning markets for English teaching (e.g., Japan, Korea, Saudi Arabia).

Thus, the Western-centric phenomenon of globalization, while often dubiously characterized as an agentless historical progression, has in actuality reinforced the dominance of Anglophone countries by promoting access to "authentic" English and the ability to emulate it as lucrative assets for career advancement (Kubota, 2011b). On local levels, native speaker teachers are often recruited on the basis of their youth, appearance, or other characteristics thought to be conducive to the marketing of English, Western culture, and

globalization (Lai, 1999; Nuske, 2014; Takahashi, 2013). When perpetrated systematically, such discriminatory hiring practices serve to discursively reaffirm the prevailing conceptions that English is rightfully the ideological property of native populations and non-natives are obliged to approximate an idealized native standard that they can never fully attain. In this way, widespread customs of English instruction further the cause of imperialism in ways formerly achieved through political intimidation and military force, i.e. via "the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47).

Though the notions of the native speaker fallacy and linguistic imperialism have been critiqued for positing an overly conspiratorial explanation for the spread of English and thereby disregarding the possibility of individuals' autonomous interest in learning (e.g., Atkinson, 2010; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; see also the *critiques of critical pedagogy* section below), these concepts remain potent tools for deconstructing learner's motivations and their perceptions of their own legitimacy as English speakers and instructors (Park, 2012; see also the case studies of Diana, Linlin, Mei and Salem and in the present research).

Critical Multiculturalism

As indicated above, the cultivation of a substantive and enduring criticality involves the reappraisal of concepts that initially appear to be critical but may actually be rooted in problematic assumptions; liberal conceptions of multiculturalism are an illustrative example in this regard. Liberal multiculturalism espouses an agreeable doctrine of fairness and tolerance centered on "common humanity and natural equality across racial, cultural, class, and gender differences," with the result that it elicits near-universal support in academic domains (Kubota, 2004, p. 32).

However, Kubota (2004) cautioned that such interpretations of cultural difference neglect historical trends of discrimination, thereby erasing instances of exploitation and cruelty stemming from the West's contempt for the cultures and societies of the racial Other. As such, they moreover risk reifying the concept of essential difference and concealing social power hierarchies within narratives that posit discrimination as a ubiquitous phenomenon suffered equally by the dominant and the marginalized. Drawing from the work of Giroux (1988, 1995) and avowing that dehistoricized doctrines of equality tend to veil and evade issues of power, Kubota (2004) called for a conception of multiculturalism that critically interrogates "how various kinds of difference are produced, legitimated, or eliminated within unequal relations of power" (p. 38).

Critical Contrastive Rhetoric

A topic that has long been the subject of contentious debate in the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields is the extent to which discursive customs associated with individuals' first languages and home cultures may influence the rhetorical techniques and textual structures that they employ when writing in a second language (e.g., Atkinson, 2004; Connor, 2011; Kaplan, 1966; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Matsuda, 1997). This area of inquiry, which was known initially as contrastive rhetoric and later as intercultural rhetoric, began as a well-intentioned effort to understand and respond to the composing strategies used by multilingual writers.

Nevertheless, early work in contrastive rhetoric was implicitly guided by an ideology of linguistic norms and deviations; textual and rhetorical practices associated with multilingual writers' first-language literacies were considered as impediments that interfered with their ability to reenact conventions of English-language academic discourse

(Canagarajah, 2006b, 2010). Cultural conditioning was additionally held to exert a deterministic influence on the composing strategies of individuals, who were reduced to passive and monolithic incarnations of broader cultural trends (Leki, 1997; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Matsuda, 1997; Spack, 1997).

In order to foster more agentive roles for multilingual writers as well as an understanding of second language writing as a process of "[appropriating] … dominant linguistic forms for liberation," Kubota and Lehner (2004) advocate for critical contrastive rhetoric (p. 20). Rather than adopting a narrow focus on comparing the culturally governed modes of thought supposedly evinced in genre-specific patterns of textual organization, critical contrastive rhetoric pursues politically conscious and disputative attitudes toward assumptions of fixed difference, instead posing questions such as:

> How have we come to believe that a certain cultural difference is true?, What political purposes have motivated the construction of particular beliefs about cultural difference?, and What alternative understandings of cultural difference, or counter-discourses, are available to transform our taken-for-granted knowledge? (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p.17)

Problematizing and Subverting Academic Discourse Norms Through a Pedagogy of Shuttling

A closely related endeavor that is of particular relevance to ESL and EFL teachers at universities is deconstructing the normative authorial persona that writers are expected or required to adopt when writing English language academic texts. Hyland (2002) argued that the act of composing an academic text is equivalent to forging a representation of self. However, given the highly elaborate, idiosyncratic, and value-laden nature of academic

discourse norms, it is unlikely that this composing process will bear many similarities to the types of linguistic performance that writers associate most strongly with authentic self-depiction, even if they have undergone extensive training in academic writing throughout their formal schooling.

On the contrary, academic texts are typically composed in deference to specialized, restrictive standards that are imposed *sans* justification by authoritative individuals and texts (e.g., teachers, manuscript reviewers, and style guides). Critical interpretation of the normative authorial self that these standards serve to cultivate reveals a privileging of the "objective" logical reasoning prized by powerful discourses of scientific neutrality and the concurrent devaluation of emotional, interpretive, and situated forms of knowledge (Pennycook, 2001); academic writers are compelled to engage readers as detached and impartial discussants of the topics at hand. As such, the discursive choices that have currency in academic domains are marked by "formality, explicitness, and impersonality" (Canagarajah, 2010, p. 167), and the ideal manner of expounding knowledge is one that is "*clear*, *overt*, *expressive*, and even *assertive* and *demonstrative*" (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 48, emphasis in original). These discursive proclivities reflect values commonly valorized in Western cultures, including "the promotion of the self as expert, the celebration of the can-do, problem-solver ethic … and the celebration of efficiency" (Millward, 2010, p. 227).

Furthermore, these customs of authorial representation are privileged to the near-total exclusion of alternative approaches characterized by subtlety, implication, invocations of subjective personal experience, or appeals to local community values. Canagarajah (2006b, 2010) proposed a pedagogy of shuttling to counteract the disparaging assumption that

30

unconventional composing choices by multilingual writers can only be interpreted as errors based in incomplete understandings of customary techniques. In this model, multilingual writers are held to agentively draw from their entire body of linguistic and literacy resources to accommodate audience expectations and perhaps even engage in the subversive or parodic reappropriation of dominant practices to articulate minority perspectives.

Though admirably respectful of multilingual writers as autonomous individuals, Canagarajah's pedagogy is of questionable applicability to less confident and experienced academic writers (particularly as the example texts in his 2006b and 2010 pieces were written by a single fluently bilingual academic). Learners with lower proficiency levels, by contrast, may be left with no choice but to supplant locally esteemed modes of knowledge making with standard academic practices, however alienating and anxiety-raising this forced acclimation may be.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Another domain that has done a great deal to further the cause of problematizing the given is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Essentially, CDA is "concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2). Taking its origins in works by Fairclough (1989, 1995), Wodak (1996), and van Dijk (1993a, 1993b), among others, CDA shares with other critical works a primary objective of nuanced deconstructive description; i.e., it seeks to elucidate how "linguistic-discursive practices" are linked to "wider socio-political structures of power and domination" (Kress, 1990, p. 85).

As such, CDA studies are often guided by the moral principle that discourses have a restrictive effect on human freedom by inculcating widespread acceptance or resignation to

"particular constructions or versions of reality" and the degree of independence, power, and dignity one can conceivably attain within existing social structures (Locke, 2004). The scope of analysis in CDA ranges from basic linguistic units such as pronouns (which literally demarcate social hierarchies of belonging and exclusion along lines of "us" and "them") to complex rhetorical gestures that propagate hegemony (e.g., attributing the underperformance of minority students to some deficiency in their attitudes or the parenting they have received (Locke, 2004); perversely casting corporate executives and other members of the socioeconomic elite as victims of discrimination by those envious or resentful of their success (van Dijk, 2001)). Another similarity between CDA and the forms of critical scholarship discussed above is that work in CDA is not content to merely espouse intellectual critiques but rather possesses a "larger political aim of putting the forms of texts, the processes of production of texts, and the process of reading, together with the structures of power that have given rise to them, into crisis" (Kress, 1990, p. 85).

Their aims of disruption and democratization notwithstanding, some CDA studies have been critiqued for employing static and limited conceptions of power. One example is conversational analyses that define power solely as the ability to introduce and control topics of discussion, thereby neglecting the potential of silence and utterances of surface compliance to function as covert acts of defiance or subterfuge (Pennycook, 2001). Moreover, conventional work in CDA often betrays a tendency to presume binary, Marxist distinctions between oppressors and oppressed and indiscriminately apply them to any and all observed instances of linguistic contact, thus glossing over the myriad fluctuating senses in which individuals can be privileged *and* marginalized (Pennycook, 2001). Though these

criticisms have merit, CDA remains an indispensable aid to those scholar-practitioners who would seek to lay bare the obscured mechanisms of social stratification.

Post-Process Theories of Composition.

To this point, my review has focused on the cultural and identity politics that tacitly underlie widespread practices of language teaching and serve to discursively position practitioners and learners within hierarchies of power and prestige. Scholars in the field of Composition have undertaken a similarly critical movement toward *post-process* theorizations of the writing act itself. Post-process essentially rejects universalized characterizations of written texts as fixed representations of knowledge that are produced in discrete and clearly discernable stages (Breuch, 2002); it moreover scrutinizes the prevalent beliefs that circulating texts results in stable disseminations of meaning and employing archetypal textual practices will unfailingly elicit certain reactions from audiences, instead asserting that "no framework theory of any kind can help a student predict in advance the interpretation that someone else may give to an utterance" (Kent, 1993, p. 161).

As its name would suggest, post-process arose in response to process, a conceptualization of composition that was developed by seminal scholars such as Emig (1971); Elbow (1973); Flower and Hayes (1980); and Murray (1968). Process models sought to decenter prominent modes of writing instruction that viewed texts as products to be composed spontaneously in a single session and then abandoned (e.g., timed, prompt-response essay tasks). Accordingly, they emphasized a careful, longitudinal, and recursive approach to composition through a sequence of planning (a.k.a. prewriting), writing, and revising (Breuch, 2002).

Though intended to make writing less contrived and stressful for learners, process theories implicitly posited a decontextualized model of writer development in which students gradually attain the ability to articulate their thoughts in forms that audiences anticipate and understand. As an alternative, post-process scholars pursue a conception of writing as local, interpretive, and situated; that is, writing is considered a social practice which possesses no meaning other than that ascribed to it through the subjective and ideological interactions of readers and writers within particular cultural milieus (Brooks, 2009).

Though strict adherence to the principle that writing is fundamentally indeterminate in nature may lead to the defeatist position that it simply cannot be taught (Breuch, 2002), more flexible interpretations of post-process can further critical objectives: first, in rejecting the notion of a universal writing process that can be mastered and then passively reenacted in subsequent situations, post-process can encourage students to view writing as an inquiry process that is reinvented in the course of each new performance (McComiskey, 2000). This process of complication can then be connected to the issues of social justice described above, as students can be prompted to consider how possibilities for strategically representing themselves and making audiences receptive to their viewpoints are constructed by cultural, ideological, and political frameworks (Breuch, 2002, Couture, 1999).

Prominent Examples of Critical Advocacy Work

In this section, I discuss critical work that seeks to raise awareness of discriminatory assumptions embedded in normative practices and instill alternate understandings rooted in pluralism and inclusivity. On a macro-level, this advocacy work strives to acknowledge and validate the great diversity inherent in the transnational and transcultural phenomenon of English use. On a micro-level, it attempts to illuminate the challenges and obstacles

encountered by individuals from non-majority linguistic backgrounds as they pursue academic success.

World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca

The previous section on the native speaker fallacy and linguistic imperialism described a historical pattern of hegemonic language instruction in which the "standard" Englishes of the United States and United Kingdom are positioned as self-evidently preferable targets of instruction regardless of students' cultural backgrounds, linguistic resources, and purposes for learning. Discourses of native supremacy are circulated not only via the machinations of powerful institutions but also through mainstream paradigms of EFL instruction, which assume there is "one clearly distinguishable, codified, and unitary variety" of English that happens to be spreading throughout the world (Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 211); they therefore define communicative competence solely in terms of the ability to generate grammatical utterances. It is further assumed that standard forms of English can be unproblematically imported to any geographic and sociocultural context, often on the basis of the groundless supposition that non-natives' primary purpose for language learning is to communicate with native speakers (Canagarajah, 2007; Jenkins, 2006).

These are egregious distortions, as a wide array of research indicates that English usage in settings throughout the world amounts to an incredibly varied and fluctuating phenomenon (e.g., Jenkins, 2009; Kachru, 1985, 1999; Seidlhofer, 2004). Moreover, it is frequently characterized by the active negotiation of conventions to facilitate interaction rather than the approximation of native standards (Canagarajah, 2007). Yet, as acclimation to the Englishes of powerful populations is imposed through measures such as teacher

recruitment policies, standardized proficiency tests, and employment criteria, localized

varieties of English are concurrently devalued (e.g., Gill, 2009; Hung, 2009).

The scholarly disciplines of World Englishes (WE) and English as a Lingua Franca

(ELF) have materialized in response to need for more nuanced understandings of how the

lexico-grammatical features of localized Englishes diverge from their codified counterparts.

A closely related field is Lingua Franca English (LFE), which examines the communication

strategies evidenced in instances of intercultural conversation, including the impromptu

acceptance or adoption of unfamiliar usage patterns to ease the exchange of meaning

(Canagarajah, 2007; Firth, 1996). All three of these disciplines adopt a mutualistic outlook,

stressing that localized Englishes and lingua franca usages ought to merit respect and

encouraging multilingual English users to pursue communicative habits reflective of their

own "sociolinguistic reality" rather than adopt "[those] of a usually distant native speaker"

(Jenkins, 2006, p. 173).

Despite espousing the laudable moral principle of inherent equality among language

varieties, landmark work in WE and ELF such as Kachru's (1985) "cocentric circles"[6] model

of global English use has been criticized for "[focusing] on the majority linguistic group of a

nation without questioning its power" (Kubota, 2012, p. 59) and "[predefining]… language

[users] by geographical location or variety" (Pennycook, 2009, p. 203). There have, however,

been counterarguments to these critiques, as Bolton (2005) asserted that WE studies have

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[6] In this model, the *inner circle* consists of nations in which English is spoken as a mother tongue; the *outer circle* consists of nations in which English has historical importance and serves as an official or *de facto* second language (often as a result of colonization by inner circle countries); and the *expanding circle* consists of nations in which English has no direct historical connection or governmental endorsement yet is widely used as a foreign language or lingua franca (Kachru, 2009).

demonstrated a strong sociopolitical and sociohistorical bent since the publication of Kachru's 1986 essay "The power and politics of English" (p. 75).

On the individual level, the devaluation of localized Englishes can prompt "non-native speaker" English teaching professionals to internalize deficit-oriented appraisals of their own skills, qualifications, and abilities (e.g., Braine, 2010; Kahmi-Stein, 2004). Park (2012) reported an illustrative example in narrating the experiences of Xia, a female Chinese scholar-practitioner in a Master's level TESOL program. Upon commencing graduate study in the United States, Xia was overwhelmed by feelings of powerlessness as she subordinated her own expertise as an accomplished language learner to a compulsion to become more native-like in her speech. It was only through the experience of working closely with an inspirational non-native mentor that Xia gradually came to validate her identity as a capable multilingual teacher.

Struggles of Marginalized Populations to Achieve Academic Success

Despite the drive toward pluralistic conceptions of linguistic diversity in discipline scholarship, individuals from non-majority language backgrounds continue to experience intense and potentially debilitating difficulties within domains of higher education (e.g., Canagarajah, 1997; Curry, 2007; De Costa, 2010; Park, 2012; Spack, 1997). Hence, another major domain of critical advocacy work strives to unveil the complex hierarchies of prestige and stigma that influence students' attitudes toward various types of linguistic performance, including their own (Bourdieu, 1991). By raising awareness of these issues, critical advocacy work also seeks to suggest pedagogical possibilities for the establishment of more ethically responsive, inclusive, and empowering conceptualizations of "good writing" or "effective rhetoric."

A common theme throughout research on the experiences of multilingual, "non-native" students at the undergraduate level is that their classroom successes and setbacks cannot be attributed solely to the levels of L2 proficiency they have attained. Rather, the outcomes of their studies often depend on whether they can cultivate strategies for navigating the networks of arcane cultural assumptions that invisibly shape the policies and procedures of instruction: Spack's (1997) longitudinal case study of a Japanese learner's development of academic literacy at an American university found that the language of course readings posed relatively few difficulties as compared to instructors' assumptions of student familiarity with guidelines for composing academic texts. More broadly, Spack's participant struggled to acclimate to American customs of articulating meaning, which she held to embody greatly different cultural precepts (e.g., explicitness, comprehensiveness) than those she felt were reflected in normative practices of her home country (e.g., subtlety, implicit invocation of shared knowledge).

Adopting Bourdeusian interpretive frameworks, Curry (2007) and De Costa (2010) argued that the nature of students' experiences in ESL courses was largely dependent on the extent of their abilities to attain and exercise cultural capital by acting in institutionally sanctioned ways. Through ethnographic observation of a community college ESL class, Curry (2007) concluded that those students with previous experience in higher education had cultivated an ingrained shrewdness regarding valued behaviors (i.e. *participation competencies* such as sitting near the instructor and actively voicing their thoughts and opinions) and the unspoken logic behind classroom activities (i.e. *curricular competencies* such as connecting discrete and decontextualized exercises to larger learning objectives). Accordingly, these students were greatly privileged in their ability to direct classroom events

38

toward practices that suited their own learning objectives, whereas students who lacked such savvy were rendered comparatively powerless.

Similarly, De Costa (2010) stated that the successful learning trajectory of a Hmong refugee was chiefly attributable to his ability to "[find] ways to work within the system while being distinctly aware that he had to fulfill [his institution's] expectations" (p. 530). More specifically, he developed the capacity to meet requirements (such as when he obtained his tutor's signature on an attendance form) while circumventing potential problems (such as when he rescheduled a tutoring session to attend to a medical issue). Both Curry (2007) and De Costa (2010) establish the need for instructors to overtly define the all too often unaddressed expectations of academic realms as well as the cultural values that underlie them.

Though Canagarajah's (1997) piece on "safe houses" in the academy pertains directly to African-American mother tongue speakers of English, it also has relevance to wider populations of students who are marginalized on the basis of their race or the non-mainstream variety of English that they speak. The students observed in Canagarajah's research repurposed an online class forum as a "protected, trusted safe house where they could express their frustrations, display resistance, and seek emotional sustenance and solidarity" in the face of the forced imposition of academic discourse norms (p. 179). The creation of this online community was a purposeful and political act of defiance, as forum interactions enabled the students to validate the linguistic behaviors that they associated with authenticity, vivacity, and lack of pretension; it is no coincidence that these were the very same communicative practices that students felt were being extinguished as they were

compelled to "[act] white" in order to meet the requirements of university coursework (p. 178).

Considered collectively, these studies raise profound ethical questions about how language teachers should depict, and respond to widespread depictions of, the concepts of "correctness" and "speaking properly" in their classrooms. A vital point to bear in mind is that students' attitudes toward standard and non-standard language varieties are rooted in the social vindication that results from speaking in accordance with dominant usage patterns or the social condemnation that results from speaking in defiance of them (Bourdieu, 1991). Therefore, approaches that insist upon the uniform adoption of standard language carry a great risk of making speakers complicit in the degradation or outright negation of their own identities. Furthermore, they can reinforce or exacerbate the psychologically damaging labels of deficiency or ignorance that denigrated speakers may have internalized in response to others' derision (Bourdieu, 1991).

Another option for critical language teachers is to follow Canagarajah's (2006a) call for mixed code texts, which expand the range of linguistic and textual practices typically considered acceptable in academic domains. Choosing this option may help critical teachers to persuade minority students that their experiences can be depicted accurately and given credence within academic settings (though they would be well advised to remind students that the pluralistic, supportive atmosphere of their classroom may not be reflected in the attitudes of job interviewers and others who will potentially have a stake in determining the course of their futures).

Because critical advocacy work seeks above all to prompt discernable gestures toward the achievement of more equitable power relations in society, I will conclude this

section with brief remarks about how instructors can commence the often intimidating and frustrating process of fashioning a critical pedagogical agenda. While teachers may feel that objectives such as dismantling the discursive concealment of discrimination and pursuing more democratic social structures are remote from the possibilities of practical instruction, they can begin their adoption of critical practices with a simple series of self-reflective questions: "What social visions do my current pedagogical practices support?"; "What is my vision for a preferable future society?"; and "How can I make my pedagogical practices more accountable to this latter vision?" (Pennycook, 2001; Simon, 1992) Exploring these questions may help teachers to ascertain reciprocal links between sociopolitical issues and their chosen language teaching practices, ideally resulting in the awareness that:

> Both language learning and language teaching are political processes, and … language [is] not simply a means of expression or communication but … a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future. (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 1)

Critiques of Critical Pedagogy

Through critical pedagogical theories have gained great prominence in TESOL and Applied Linguistics scholarship, they have also elicited a range of unfavorable reactions. In this section, I engage with some of the most prominent of these critiques, including the contentions that critical pedagogies involve the coercive imposition of teachers' political agendas (Hairston, 1992), run contrary to marginalized students' best interests by withholding access to the language of prestige and power (Delpit, 1988; Elbow, 1999), and romanticize critical pedagogues as benevolent liberators (Atkinson, 2010). Though I

41

acknowledge that these criticisms raise points worthy of careful consideration, I argue that they actually reaffirm the inevitability of ideological struggle in the classroom and thus the ethical necessity of implementing critical practices.

In a widely cited and critiqued piece, Hairston (1992) decried a perceived trend toward the politicization of the writing classroom; in her view, the teaching of writing had become endangered by an emerging model that "puts dogma before diversity, politics before craft, ideology before critical thinking, and the social goals of the teacher before the educational needs of the student" (p. 180). Hairston (1992) considered the notion that the educational endeavor might serve to contest rather than propagate the existing order to be a naïve fiction due to the inherently lopsided power dynamics of the classroom: "[the] real political truth about classrooms is that the teacher has all the power; she sets the agenda, she controls the discussion, and she gives the grades" (p. 188).

In response to the abstract critical pedagogue that Hairston constructs—an aggressive, artless figure who harangues students with her political beliefs (implicitly suggested to be leftist)—one might raise numerous questions: why are discussions of ideology presumed to be inherently blunt, one-sided and intimidating? Could they alternatively be conducted within a carefully cultivated atmosphere of mutual respect? Could they constitute fertile grounds for reciprocal transformative interaction between teachers and students? Why is directing students to issues of power and subjugation at work in their lives assumed to be a process undertaken at the expense of their development as writers? Could the acts of social and political critique bring a much-needed dimension of real-world relevance to academic writing tasks *and* directly benefit students' abilities to write well?

These objections notwithstanding, one of Hairston's points is well-taken: so long as teachers possess sole authority to give grades, aims of fostering egalitarian classrooms will be achieved only partially. There is furthermore a strong risk that, when responding to student work on sensitive topics such as social inequality, teachers will consciously or unconsciously discriminate in favor of those individuals whose statements reflect the tenets of their own belief systems.

However, I disagree with the implication that teachers' only recourse in a situation defined by unequal power dynamics is to remove overt references to ideology and politics from their pedagogical repertories. Such an approach is less likely to remove the teacher's ideologies from the classroom than to redirect the transmission of ideology into more subtle and concealed forms which students may be less equipped to perceive, contemplate, and resist. In other words, perpetuating the myth of a neutral standard of academic writing may ensure the preservation of decorum, but it cannot truly erase the systems of privilege and marginalization at work in students' experiences in higher education or society at large.

Hairston was equally overt in her derision of those who would challenge the status of "standard" English as the de facto language of university writing instruction:

One can say that because standard English is the dialect of the dominant class, writing instruction that tries to help students master that dialect merely reinforces the status quo and serves the interest of the dominant class. An instructor who wants to teach students to write clearly becomes part of a capitalistic plot to control the workforce! What nonsense! It seems to me that one could argue with more force that the instructor who fails to help students master the standard dialect conspires against the working class." (1992, p. 184)

Delpit (1988) and Elbow (1999) also advance the position that writing teachers should not withhold access to discourses of power in order to comply with the principle of validating students' home languages and dialects; they contend that teachers are in fact obligated to help students develop the linguistic skills that will enable them to achieve socioeconomic stability. On the basis of her interactions with teachers and the parents of underprivileged African-American students, Delpit observed a vast disparity between educational agendas centered on fostering student autonomy and the stated needs of subjugated populations. Whereas the former are "a very reasonable goal for people whose children are already participants in the culture of power and who have already internalized its codes," the latter demand the very sort of skills-based instruction that is often condemned as being hegemonic or prescriptive, i.e. explicit teaching of the "discourse patterns, interactional styles, and spoken and written language codes that will allow them success in the larger society" (p. 285).

While these sentiments are powerfully argued, the principles of recognizing students' valued modes of expression and demystifying powerful discourses need not be mutually exclusive—rather, the questions of primary importance are how standard language is depicted and what extent of agency writers are afforded as they are prompted to emulate it. From a critical perspective, academic discourse should be positioned not as a self-evidently superior or more logical means of articulating meaning, but rather as a series of ideologically-rooted conventions that students can appropriate to make powerful audiences amenable to their viewpoints.

Though not nearly as confrontational in tone as Hairston, Atkinson (2010) also questioned whether potentially problematic assumptions might be operating in critical

approaches. Atkinson noted that, though critical frameworks purport to reject metanarratives that govern the production of knowledge, much work in critical pedagogy adopts a rigidly dichotomous "neo-Marxist" orientation to class struggle:

> In this work, a modernist narrative of oppressor vs. oppressed is clearly represented—it is the 'system' (represented by institutions, administrators, frequently teachers, and sometimes TESOL in general) against the student, and the clear message is that to redress this imbalance students must be given their own voices and power. (pp. 9-10)

To build upon the implications of Atkinson's observation, it could be alleged that critical pedagogues have displayed elitism and arrogance by crafting a social model in which they themselves are afforded the roles of benevolent liberators and "assigned the role of leading the way toward a classless society by actively opening the eyes of the disempowered to their own oppression" (p.10). Liberatory approaches to language education, therefore, could actually perpetuate the marginalization of the oppressed by presuming they have an incomplete or unsophisticated understanding of their lives and are dependent on more enlightened individuals to guide them to real awareness (see also the roundtable comments by Nancy Mack reported in George [2001]). Considering that some critical teachers and scholars have attained positions of relative socioeconomic security, further questions have been raised as to whether their calls for student rebellion against dominant discourse norms reflect the assumption of a disingenuous or even immoral philosophy of armchair revolution (Bolton, 2005). In response to these comments, I would assert that true critical language teaching should not presume to replace students' existing understandings of the world with those of the instructor. Rather, it should seek to cultivate a range of problem-posing

dispositions that students can use to reinterpret past experiences and reconsider future possibilities.

Furthermore, when advocating student resistance to dominant linguistic practices, teachers should strive to contextualize the progressive aims of their classrooms within a larger framework of discriminatory social attitudes and potential consequences in practical realms (e.g., job interviews). As a general guideline, critical teachers would be well advised to minimize student risk while maximizing students' opportunities to stake out equitable circumstances for themselves.

Particular Critical Teaching Activities

Despite the insistence of critical work that teaching approaches be derived from contextual considerations and its accompanying opposition to anything resembling a prescriptive or universalized method (e.g., Kumaravadivelu, 2003), scholars have examined how critical principles might be manifested in concrete teaching strategies or activities. Of course, the trans-contextual applicability of particular tactics may be scant, especially as accounts of critical teaching in published literature tend to be authored by "very experienced, gifted, and committed teachers working in favorable circumstances" (Crookes, 2013, p. 12). Nonetheless, reviewing specific activities is a worthwhile endeavor in light of the need to "[make] critical pedagogy's ideas at least pragmatically accessible" (Kanpol, 1999, p. 138), an objective that requires "a multitude of situated examples … to make critical education more imaginable" (Edelsky & Johnson, 2004, p. 123). Therefore, this section presents a sampling of teaching activities that pursue deconstructive or activist goals.

Kramsch (2009) and Hanauer (2010) presented creative writing activities that emphasized the unique humanity of individual learners, thereby foregrounding the

dimensions of the learning experience that are obscured by traditional, decontextualized approaches to ESL and EFL instruction. Kramsch (2009) asked foreign language learners to construct similes by completing the prompt "learning a language is like …". The rich and evocative sensory description contained in students' responses revealed the extent to which the learning act was bound with their intellects, subjectivities, and desires. At least as far as Kramsch's participants were concerned, the primary significance of language learning stemmed from its capacity to profoundly alter the learners' pre-existing senses of self; in other words, the importance of the learning phenomenon was certainly not restricted to the cognitive processing of abstract syntactic codes or the emerging ability to generate grammatical utterances.

Similarly, Hanauer (2010) conducted a poetry-writing project with undergraduate study abroad students, all of whom were undertaking foreign-language coursework in English. When writing English language poems, the multilingual poets often elected to describe experiences of isolation, loneliness, and disillusionment with American culture. Thus, they used the target language to craft highly individualized, defiant, and cathartic depictions of moments in which they were marginalized because of their imposed status as lesser or incomplete English speakers. A common theme of these activities is that learners were prompted to engage with the entirety of the language learning experience, and particularly its social and emotional facets, as they overtly named and resisted the social power hierarchies that positioned them into outsider roles.

Because some students are unaccustomed to the notions that English learning carries implications for the redefinition of their identities and is connected to broader sociopolitical power dynamics, they are influenced by neoliberal discourses that construct English

47

proficiency as a neutral skill for career advancement (Kubota, 2011b). Accordingly, they may request, expect, or even insist upon traditional modes of grammar-based, test-preparatory instruction (see Julian's case study in Appendix J). Critical pedagogues might therefore encounter a conundrum wherein their intentions to accommodate students' desired classroom practices come into conflict with their personal drive to disrupt hegemonic teaching methods that grant students no recourse but to obey externally derived rules. However, Morgan (2004) describes how strategic pedagogical choices can help teachers to accommodate students' grammar-learning goals while simultaneously encouraging their pursuit of agentive self-representation and opening spaces for safe discussions of politicized issues.

Morgan's students were adult ESL learners living in Toronto, all of whom were Chinese and most of whom were originally from Hong Kong. When designing a lesson on modals of probability—*should, must, I'm sure (that), it seems (that)*, etc.—Morgan centered both controlled practice and free discussion activities on the then-impending Quebec referendum on sovereignty. This topic was not only timely but also bore considerable similarity to China's reclamation of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Great Britain in 1997, an event that raised questions of future economic uncertainty for students' friends and family still living in Hong Kong as well as anxieties about new restrictions on liberties of travel and expression which might be imposed by the Chinese government.

The resulting lesson enabled students to practice modal use, thus potentially bolstering their linguistic capacities to express "feelings and meanings of ambivalence, apprehension, and possibility regarding the future" (p. 163). At the same time, they were presented with opportunities to voice their conflicted feelings regarding transnational identity

and the tension between individual freedom and proper allegiance to the nation. Morgan's deft pedagogical choices demonstrate the essentially groundless nature of Hairston's (1992) contention that critical approaches are enacted at the expense of students' own educational needs. Nonetheless, the extent to which Morgan's students were able to build upon the discrete critical perspectives that they articulated during the lesson and achieve enduring critical dispositions remained unclear (a trend throughout research on critical teaching that the present study aims to rectify).

Though the critical composition pedagogy described by McComiskey (2000) was designed for mother tongue speakers of English, it established several objectives and approaches that could be adapted for critical purposes in ESL and EFL classrooms. Among these were problematizing the notion of universal discourse norms and cultivating criticality as a prerequisite for concrete action, thereby discouraging a purely intellectual or cynical version of critical consciousness.

Contesting the often-ingrained assumption that the rhetorical strategies available to a writer for a given act of composing are finite and rule-governed, McComiskey (2000) strove to foster conceptions of reading and writing as "heuristic [cycles] of cultural production, contextual distribution, and critical consumption" (p. 38). In doing so, he helped students to investigate how the cultural and social values encoded within sanctioned textual practices are tied to larger mechanisms of power and control. Crucially, students were then required to apply their newfound or expanded critical faculties by writing to an audience outside of the classroom and attempting to effect some positive social change, however local or minute in nature.

Accounts of Critical Teacher Training

In this concluding section, I present an overview of scholarly accounts of critical teacher training. My review aims to demonstrate that, despite the range of noteworthy insights produced in this body of work, there has been a dearth of detailed, longitudinal investigations of how novice scholar-practitioners engage with critical ideas in contexts of formal graduate education in TESOL. Furthermore, the factors that facilitate or inhibit the cultivation of substantive and durable manifestations of criticality among scholar-practitioners have not as of yet been fully explored.

One proposed option for enhancing language teachers' criticality is for them to participate in routines of reciprocal observation, dialogue, and reflection, as described by Pennycook (2004) in his account of observing two ESL lessons and then conversing with the course instructors about the broader implications of classroom events. Modeling the manner of prolonged critical reflection teachers can undertake, Pennycook offered numerous observations about how even the most seemingly mundane or straightforward dimensions of a teaching situation are rich with underlying critical significance. Among these was the remark that teacher-student and student-student interactions in multicultural classrooms reflect divergent standards of culturally appropriate behavior that must be negotiated and are themselves predicated on the naturalization of gender and race-based hierarchies. Pennycook moreover contended that cooperation-based dialogue activities, which have long been a staple of ESL instruction, "provide passively cooperative subject positions for language learners" (p. 338).

Though Pennycook stressed the lack of clear-cut solutions to such dilemmas, he noted that term "critical" could be applied not only to broad pedagogical strategies but also to

precise instants. During these "critical" moments, implicit assumptions and value judgments come to the fore, existing schema of relations are open to change, and new understandings become possible; therefore, partaking in regular reflection and dialogue is one way that practitioners can develop the ability to capitalize on critical moments when they unexpectedly arise and, by extension, to establish critical pedagogical expertise. (Other studies [e.g., Farrell, 2008; Thiel, 1999] also invoke the term "critical moments," albeit in a more general fashion; in these works, critical moments refer to any unplanned occurrences that reveal insights about how practice can be transformed rather than specifically those that unveil connections between pedagogical decisions and the perpetuation or disruption of inequitable power structures.)

While thought provoking, the actual data driven portions of Pennycook's (2004) text are rather limited in scope, consisting only of two reported conversations with in-service ESL teachers about their lessons. In both this piece and the larger conversation on critical teacher training, there is a pronounced lack of information on the elements that give shape to scholar-practitioners' earliest and most formative interactions with critical scholarship in TESOL and Applied Linguistics. Further research aimed at eliciting factors that potentially inhibit the adoption of critical practices is of particular importance because "student teachers often have difficulty integrating what they have learned from [their] coursework into their classroom practices, finding discrepancies between theoretical coursework and actual classroom teaching" (Ahn, 2011, p. 239).

Indeed, research on teachers' processes of professional development illuminates the perilous confluence of psychological, social, and institutional obstacles that novice practitioners must navigate in order to actually discern opportunities for the implementation

of ideas or principles learned in coursework. First, concepts learned through explicit instruction may exert relatively little influence on scholar-practitioners' nascent pedagogical philosophies as compared to the body of beliefs they have accrued throughout their own lived experiences (Lortie, 1975; Pajares, 1993).

Second, even when novices enter teaching contexts intending to adopt pedagogies fully reflective of current disciplinary knowledge, they may encounter socioculturally situated student resistance or pressure from peers and supervisors to acclimate to firmly entrenched normative practices of particular educational cultures (Ahn, 2011; Kim, 2011). Efforts to operationalize theory are rendered even more difficult when scholar-practitioners are attempting to enact criticality, a disposition that cannot be definitively obtained but rather demands the perpetual and vigilant reappraisal of established beliefs about foundational concepts such as language, culture, gender, and race (e.g., Kubota, 2004; Morgan, 2004; Park, 2009; Pennycook, 2001; Pavlenko, 2004).

To conclude this section, I will review the study that exerted the greatest influence on the design of my own research: Lin's (2004) account of her efforts to introduce a critical pedagogical curriculum to an MATESL program at the City University of Hong Kong. Because I had already come to identify as a staunch proponent of critical teaching at the time of reading Lin's text (see the previous chapter and the researcher positionality section of Chapter 3), the author's descriptions of her successes and setbacks resonated with me deeply; upon learning of the myriad issues that surrounded Lin's attempts to teach critical pedagogy, I reaffirmed my commitment to helping novice scholar-practitioners perceive the potential relevance of criticality to their past, present, or intended future teaching contexts.

At the onset of Lin's endeavors, she encountered an embedded cultural resistance to the very concept of being critical, which carried a connotation of "disturbing harmony by creating dissent" (p. 272). Because her graduate students worked as schoolteachers and were largely unfamiliar with Western educational literature, they "had never before come across any course which required them to critically interrogate long-accepted, taken-for-granted notions about language, culture, and education" (p. 273).

Two main difficulties emerged as Lin tried to catalyze her students' critical reappraisals of these concepts: "(a) brokering the difficult academic language of critical pedagogical texts, and (b) dealing with pessimism and frustration that critical consciousness, alone, cannot overcome" (p. 274). Regarding the former, reading scholarly texts was a source of frustration and discouragement for Lin's students. This was not only because the texts included many elaborate and unfamiliar words but also because students felt that the texts' highly intellectual and abstract means of argumentation did not speak to the more immediate practical demands of their teaching contexts.

Drawing on the work of Ellsworth (1992) to interpret her students' struggles, Lin (2004) posited that the study of critical theory will itself become an oppressive act if learners are not provided with sufficient opportunities to relate its tenets to their own immediate experiences: "The discourses of critical pedagogy theorists, like those authoritative discourses that they critique, are themselves likely to run the risk of becoming authoritative discourses … in relation to schoolteachers whom they often purport to set out to empower" (p. 277).

Despite these impediments, Lin (2004) experienced some success with in-class consciousness-raising sessions, during which students connected the intrusive and anxiety-

raising regulations that typified their work environments to "the colonization of education by capitalist, globalized business, and management discourses" (p. 279). Hence, they began to view the intensification of their workloads and the prescribed use of standardized textbooks as deliberate measures taken by administrators to restrict their pedagogical autonomy (Apple, 1999). Yet, forging critical understandings of these imposed duties did not enable Lin or her students to discover viable means of resisting or subverting them: "I felt a strong sense of frustration myself as I felt that I failed to connect a critical analysis of their situation to any substantive vision or action strategies that might work toward changing their situation" (p. 279).

Lin's successes (i.e. raising students' awareness of the repressive and exploitative ideologies at work in their teaching contexts) and failures (i.e. the inability to determine tangible ways to resist the circumstances of their marginalization) speak to the need for further studies of how novice scholar-practitioners engage with critical theories in graduate TESOL courses. More specifically, there is a scarcity of information about the factors that structure graduate students' situated understandings of criticality and influence the extent to which they view it as a concept that can be actualized in practical teaching situations. Finally, additional sources of empirical data need to be incorporated into the slight body of research on this topic, as Lin's data sources were restricted to her students' writings, her own teaching journals, and an informal discussion with two students after the course had concluded.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I surveyed literature in TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and related fields such as Composition to substantiate my definition of criticality as the synthesis of deconstruction and advocacy. In the next chapter, I present a detailed description of the

present study's methodology, focusing on my rationale for adopting a qualitative case study

approach centered on the triangulation of concept mapping, semistructured interview, and

classroom observation data.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I provide detailed descriptions of the methodological approaches I used to conduct my research. The following areas of my study will be addressed: (a) overall purposes and procedures; (b) benefits of employing a theoretical framework involving Bourdieu's (1991) notions of *habitus* and *cultural capital* as well as actions taken to counteract its potential limitations; (c) some critical disclaimers regarding power in classroom and interview settings; (d) my researcher positionality; (e) rationales for conducting qualitative research and using a case study approach; (f) the study site, focal participants, and proposed timeframe for the completion of my research; (g) rationale for triangulation of methods; (h) descriptions of data collection procedures at each stage of my research; (i) issues of trustworthiness and ethicality; and (j) a summary of data analysis processes.

Overview

As established in the first chapter, the main research questions that guide my study are:

1. How is criticality constructed in a Master of Arts (MA) TESOL course?

2. How do graduate students' understand the concepts and methods of criticality?

3. How do these understandings change during a semester-long course and after the course has concluded?

Concept mapping, interviews with the instructor and students, classroom observation, and analysis of course texts (e.g., the syllabus, lesson plans, assignments and their assessment criteria) were combined to pursue an in-depth understanding of these phenomena through

triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Stake, 2010). I drew on the work of Bourdieu (1991), Curry (2007), and De Costa (2010) to bring critical dimensions to my methods of data collection and analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Prior to the design of my study, I needed to establish a theoretical framework that would bring an overarching structure to my investigation of how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolded in one particular MA TESOL course. Moreover, I sought a framework that would allow me to not only examine how sociocultural and personal factors influence students' engagement with critical concepts but also integrate prominent critical scholarship in TESOL and Applied Linguistics with my data collection and analysis methods.

I eventually determined that employing a theoretical framework involving Bourdieu's (1991) notions of habitus and cultural capital offered a feasible and critical orientation to analyzing participants' understandings, motivations and actions. As discussed in the previous chapter, Curry (2007) and De Costa (2010) applied these aspects of Bourdieu's work to research in the TESOL field. Both scholars argued that the positive or negative outcomes of students' experiences in ESL courses were largely dependent on the extent of their abilities to exercise cultural capital by acting in institutionally sanctioned ways (e.g., sitting towards the front of the class; actively vocalizing their thoughts and opinions; perceiving the often-implicit purposes of classroom activities and assignments; and fulfilling institutional expectations). Their abilities to acquire and employ relevant forms of cultural capital were in turn determined by habitus: socially inculcated ways of speaking and behaving.

My study built on the work of Bourdieu, Curry, and De Costa by asking what kinds of critical work graduate students are asked to do in a TESOL course and how well or ill-

equipped they are to perform this work based on the ingrained perceptions of language teaching to which they have been acculturated through their life experiences. As will be seen in the course of the coming chapters, I did not always make overt references to habitus and capital in describing the nature of participants' perceptions and experiences. However, these concepts uniformly guided my investigations of how the perceptions of education, teachers, learners, and language that students have cultivated throughout their life experiences influenced their engagement with criticality as it was constructed in the course.

Habitus and capital constituted a highly useful framework because they allowed me to integrate critical concepts (e.g., problematizing the given and situating language teaching issues in larger power disparities) with my process of data analysis. However, their use also involved some potential risks and limitations. When social discourses are emphasized as explanatory factors for individuals' statements and behaviors, there is a danger that people will be reduced to passive manifestations of larger cultural trends (Hanauer, 2010; Matsuda, 1997). Mutch (2003) also questioned whether the notions of habitus and cultural capital project simplistic dichotomies of "have" versus "have not" and dominant versus marginalized upon the innumerable, constantly fluctuating power dynamics at work in everyday life.

In order to address these concerns, I employed De Costa's (2010) view of habitus as "a site of struggle" (p. 528) that takes into account "both structural and agentive forces that shape learning" (p. 521). In my research, habitus is considered a "theoretical lens to trace the … development of learners who engage structural forces while enacting their agentive will" rather than a force that rigidly dictates or restricts individuals' thoughts and behaviors (De Costa, 2010, p. 522). Moreover, I echo Lin's (1999) claim that habitus can be transformed as

individuals work deliberately towards the modification of their "[attitudes], dispositions, skills, and self-image" (p. 410).

Some Critical Disclaimers on Power in Classroom and Interview Settings

Given the critical ambitions of my research, it is important to acknowledge the innate power disparities at work within classroom contexts and interview settings. Thus, prior to offering detailed commentary on the methodological approaches adopted in the present study, I establish some caveats about how these power dynamics may have impeded the process of autonomous empowerment that the course instructor and I sought to facilitate through instruction.

Power in Classroom Settings

As will be demonstrated, the instructor's approach to teaching TESOL 500 was predicated on empowering learners, decentering the traditionally absolute authority of teachers, and emphasizing peer-centered learning through group work, class discussion, and student presentations. Likewise, students were repeatedly encouraged to connect the tenets of critical work to their lived experiences in the hope that they would *voluntarily* embrace criticality as a core principle of their budding expertise. However, it is crucial to clarify that instructor's decisions to emphasize critical content via critical teaching approaches did not wholly emancipate students from the inherent power disparities of classroom settings.

Like nearly any teacher who assigns grades in credit courses, the instructor functioned as a gatekeeper with considerable power to determine the path of students' futures. Thus, in light of the clear preference for critical perspectives that was evident in her words and actions, it must be acknowledged that students' journeys toward increased critical awareness (when they did in fact occur) may not have been the result of reasoned consent or

passionate investment in the subject matter. Rather, students may have felt compelled to reproduce, or feign agreement with, the critical outlooks discussed in class in order to appease the instructor (despite the efforts she and I continually made to foster a safe environment for the candid exchange of ideas).

Moreover, Foucault's (1972) contention that power *produces* subjectivities raises the possibility that any such process of coercion may have occurred outside of students' conscious awareness. Essentially, the critical scholar-practitioner persona that students were encouraged to inhabit—i.e. one who questions, subverts and disrupts—may have been ironically undercut by broader discursive constructions of students as those who obey and emulate. Hence, what seemed to be agentive alterations of beliefs, values and worldviews among learners in TESOL 500 may have merely been conventional reproductions of prevailing ideologies in the classroom setting. My efforts to acknowledge these possibilities, however, are undertaken for the sake of being cautious; the dominant impression that emerged from my research was that the majority of students did in fact come to understand, engage with, and scrutinize criticality in autonomous and personally meaningful ways.

Power in Interview Settings

It is essential to stress that my interviews with participants were also governed by inequitable (albeit fluctuating) power dynamics. In contrast to the traditional perception that interviewers extract stable, pre-existing truths from participants in a detached and objective manner, I adopted a more critical conception of interviews as a collaborative process of constructing contextual knowledge (Talmy, 2010). As the interviewer, I possessed the authority to predetermine focal points, ask for elaboration, shift the conversation to the next topic as I felt necessary, or otherwise establish and control the parameters of discussion

(though participants also exerted agency by interrupting me, requesting clarification of questions, or redirecting the flow of our interactions).

As such, I must directly acknowledge that I played a significant role in co-creating particular representations of participants' beliefs and experiences within the interview setting. Furthermore, the nature of my research led to frequent discussion of problematic or alienating aspects of participants' previous teaching experiences (which often occurred at my instigation but sometimes surfaced at their own volition). These aspects were in turn bound with controversial sociopolitical issues in their home countries, such as restrictions on women's rights in Saudi Arabia, racial-linguistic power hierarchies in Indonesia, and paternalistic or misogynist dimensions of normative educational practices in China.

My interpretations of participants' comments about such experiences were inevitably shaped by my own culture-specific values, sensibilities, and ideological-political affiliations (e.g., critical pedagogue, liberal, feminist, etc.). Though I support the critical principle that qualitative researchers cannot, and should not, attempt to divorce themselves from their subjectivities, I must nonetheless point out a conundrum that arose from my decision to foreground these contested social issues: If I ventured to critique a reported social practice that I found objectionable, I risked abusing my privileged position as the researcher by wresting expertise from the cultural insiders themselves and presenting the very sort of essentialized depiction of the Other that critical work seeks to challenge. Striving to counteract the likelihood of this disquieting eventuality to the greatest extent possible, I focused on the emotions and opinions that participants associated with their experiences and endeavored at all times to distinguish their positions from my own reactions and interpretations. For example, my criticisms of what participants described as the harsh

authoritarian culture of Saudi universities were based not only in my personal beliefs but also in participants' overt commentaries on how demeaning and disempowering they found working within this culture. Finally, in a more general methodological sense, I strove to follow established practices of interviewing by "echoing" participants' comments in order to ensure that I had properly understood their intended meanings (Stake, 2010).

Researcher Positionality

In this section, I will relate a brief narrative that describes how previous teaching experiences have shaped my researcher positionality. I provide this information in an attempt to establish positioning transparency, i.e., to openly discuss my personal connections to my research topic and context (Canagarajah, 2005; De Costa, 2010). Disclosure of this type enables researchers to critically resist the metanarratives of scientific neutrality and objectivity that have long been ingrained into academic research paradigms.

In my case, the most important positioning to acknowledge is my strong identification as a proponent of critical teaching. Ironically, my journey toward this stance began in a language-teaching venue that exhibited many of the values and assumptions most commonly castigated in critical TESOL and Applied Linguistics scholarship. As mentioned in Chapter 1, my first experiences with EFL teaching occurred after I accepted a job at a branch of one of the largest and most successful *eikaiwa gakko* (literally, "English conversation schools") in Japan. *Eikaiwa* (as the term is often abbreviated) are typified by their highly corporatized, profit-driven, and native-centric modes of language teaching. Major *eikaiwa* companies conduct high profile marketing campaigns that stress the benefits of learning English for leisure (e.g., enjoying conversations with an American, Australian or European teacher) or career advancement (e.g., obtaining a standardized test score necessary for promotion)

(Kubota, 2011a, 2011b) Marketing strategies such as these reflect the primary directive of *eikaiwa*: to achieve corporate profits by recruiting new students and persuading current students to renew their contracts.

Eikaiwa also perpetuate the native speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992; see previous chapter) by recruiting American, Australian, and British native speakers, some of whom who have little to no formal qualifications in teaching English as a foreign language. As a result of this hiring policy, *eikaiwa* rely on heavily prescriptive curricula that deny teachers and students any significant input in the objects or procedures of instruction. At the company where I was previously employed, course texts were determined at the corporate level, and a multi-tiered system of teacher training, lesson observation, and performance evaluation was used to enforce the standardization of lesson procedures.

It suffices to say that very few facets of English teaching as it marketed and performed at *eikaiwa* demonstrate concern for the wealth of personal, social, psychological, and political factors involved in learning a language. Furthermore, realistic timeframes for achieving language-learning goals were not given much significant consideration. For these reasons, I struggled greatly with various aspects of teaching at *eikaiwa*, including being thrust into an expert role for which I was underprepared, finding ways to make externally imposed course content relevant to students, and dealing with student expectations that were sometimes unrealistic. Through my relative inexperience rendered me unable to name the causes of my frustrations at first, I nonetheless realized that the *eikaiwa* method of teaching was beset with many serious flaws.

Yet, within this deeply problematic paradigm of language teaching, I encountered caring and capable colleagues who found ways to teach substantive concepts and make

English learning meaningful to students. These individuals helped me to design new, more effective teaching materials. Discussing our respective experiences also led me to reflect on how I could subvert the overriding assumptions of *eikaiwa* and help students to inhabit roles as possessors and creators of knowledge in the classroom. Additionally, many of my students were bright and determined; observing their motivation helped me to maintain my own during several emotionally taxing periods of living abroad.

In addition to fostering my passion for teaching English language learners, my *eikaiwa* experiences served as a "critical awakening"; they spoke profoundly to the problematic consequences of uncritical teaching and inspired me to contextualize my practices for the purposes of empowerment to the greatest extent possible. Because of these personal experiences, my research interests gravitated toward critical domains after I returned to the United States and commenced doctoral study in TESOL and Composition. My emerging interest in critical domains of teaching, research, and scholarship was further bolstered by my experiences teaching non-credit ESL courses at an institution affiliated with my graduate university.

As previously mentioned, this institution offered much greater autonomy for teachers than I was afforded at my previous workplace. However, the implementation of critical approaches in this context proved exceedingly difficult because scores on the standardized Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) were the only factor considered by the university in deciding whether to admit students to degree programs. This unfortunate policy prompted students to resist any modes of instruction not directly related to the achievement of sufficient scores on high-stakes exams.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the disquieting proposition that the study of critical theory can itself become an oppressive act when students struggle to discern how critical concepts can be applied to the vital issues at work in their current and future teaching contexts (Ellsworth, 1992; Lin, 2004). Moreover, students may become defensive and resist the critical reappraisal of their own beliefs and assumptions if they are not provided with repeated opportunities to do so in a safe and supportive environment.

Keeping these crucial concerns in mind, I strove at all times to ensure that my research did not force students to express agreement with critical concepts. I also took a non-judgmental view of students' self-professed goals for graduate study and professional development, even if these goals appeared to be at odds with critical modes of language teaching. Finally, I endeavored to apply the notions of habitus and cultural capital in a manner that gave due credence to the structuring influence of social discourse but allowed for respectful consideration of students as autonomous individuals.

Choosing a Qualitative Methodology

Having determined a suitable theoretical framework, the first step in actually designing my study was to determine the type of research that was most appropriate to the phenomena I was investigating. From the very beginning, I was certain that I wanted to pursue a nuanced understanding of how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolded in one particular MA TESOL course. Because I sought to elucidate subjective and contextualized representations of human experience, the optimal approach to my research was qualitative rather than quantitative (Stake, 2010). Another reason for making use of a qualitative methodology is that I aimed to achieve thick description of the ideas, perceptions, and actions demonstrated by a fairly small participant group of focal participants (one faculty

member and thirteen students) (Geertz, 1973). In effect, I strove to illuminate the multifaceted notion of criticality from *emic* perspectives (i.e., those held by the participants themselves); a qualitative methodology was more appropriate for this purpose than a quantitative one (Stake, 2010).

Case Study Approach

Within the broad domain of qualitative research, a case study approach was particularly suited to my research objectives. This is because the phenomena I aimed to investigate (i.e., students' situated understandings of criticality) were *bounded* (Stake, 1995). That is, they occurred in a particular setting (a graduate course in TESOL) among a discrete group (the instructor and enrolled students) and had a set duration (15 weeks). Moreover, case studies are effective for the continual, recursive analysis of how phenomena evolve over time (Yin, 2009).

Study Site and Focal Participants

The study site was a midsize state university in the Eastern United States. The site was chosen for several reasons. First, the university's MA TESOL program enrolls a diverse group of students from various nations in Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and North America. Hence, program students bring a variety of culture-specific experiences with learning English (and, in some cases, teaching English) to graduate coursework.

Second, my previous personal interactions with students in the program indicated that they had a wide range of intended teaching contexts after graduation: most international students planned to return to their home countries, though some sought to remain in the United States and pursue further graduate degrees. Similarly, some American students aimed to teach abroad upon the completion of the MA program, while others intended to pursue

jobs in the United States. I felt this diversity would be a great asset to my research, as I would have the opportunity to examine how students' past teaching experiences and intended future teaching contexts influenced their perceptions of critical concepts taught in the course.

While the university that serves as my research site also offers a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) program in Composition and TESOL, I restricted my participants to MA TESOL students. My rationale for this decision was that I was chiefly concerned with how criticality is understood by graduate students who will teach ESL or EFL learners in the future; Master's degree students were more likely to fit this description than doctoral students, as the latter were more likely to focus on research, scholarly publication, and/or teaching prospective teachers at the graduate level after the completion of their degrees.

Timeline for Completing the Study

My research was completed according to the following timeline:

August 2012 to December 2012: Data collection and analysis (conducted concurrently)

December 2012 to May 2014: Completion of dissertation manuscript

September 2014: Dissertation defense

Triangulation of Data Collection Procedures

As my process of research design progressed, it became clear that the phenomena I was attempting to investigate were extremely complex: within the context of a graduate course in TESOL, I sought firstly to determine how the instructor constructed the notion of criticality through her course objectives, pedagogical techniques, and assignments. Furthermore, I aimed to illuminate how graduate students understood the component elements of criticality and what factors structured their engagement with criticality throughout the course. To reiterate a statement from the previous chapter, research suggests

that teachers and learners' classroom experiences are shaped by complex interactions of their cultural backgrounds, unique life histories, and the habits and dispositions inculcated through broader socialization processes (e.g., Ahn, 2011; Borg, 2006; Kim, 2011; Lin, 2004; Park, 2012).

Considering the myriad factors at work in my study, a single method of data collection would probably have proved insufficient. For this reason, I chose to make use of a triangulation approach. Triangulation combines methods to compensate for their individual limitations and establishes a more rigorous means of testing proposed interpretations of observed phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The methods I employed were semi-structured interviews; concept mapping and written explanation tasks; classroom observation; and analysis of course documents. The following table displays the methodological components I employed at each stage of my study as well as the topics they are intended to investigate.

Table 1

Methodological Components Employed at Each Stage of the Study

Stage	Data collection components	Topics investigated / research question(s)
1 (Before the course; very early stages of the course)	Semi-structured faculty interview Analysis of course documents Pre-instruction student interview	Instructor's conception of criticality and critical objectives for the course (1) How the instructor's critical course objectives are manifested in course documents (1) Students' life histories, perspectives on language teaching, goals for graduate study (2)
2 (During the course)	Classroom participant observation Pre-instruction concept mapping / written reflection Mid-semester interview Post-instruction concept mapping / written reflection Post-instruction faculty interview	How students engage the notion of criticality in the classroom though statements, actions, and behaviors (2, 3) Students' understandings of the components of criticality and their methods of interrelation (2, 3) Students' reflections on significant classroom events and critical concepts taught in the course (2, 3) Students' understandings of the components of criticality and their methods of interrelation (2, 3) The instructor's reflections on how the teaching of critical ideas unfolded in the course (1)
3 (After the course)	Follow-up concept mapping Follow-up student interview	Students' understandings of the components of criticality and their methods of interrelation (2, 3) How students' understandings of criticality have continued to evolve as their coursework progresses (2, 3)

In the following sections of the paper, I comment on how my research utilized each of the methods mentioned above. These methods are described according to the sequence in which I employed them, though some stages of data collection overlapped.

Stage One: Before the Course and During the Very Early Stages of the Course

Semi-structured Faculty Interview

I initiated my study by contacting Dr. Jean Sohn (hereafter referred to as Jean),[7] a faculty member who taught an MA TESOL class (TESOL 500[8]) at the research site during the Fall 2012 semester. After I explained the purposes and procedures of my research, Jean consented to serve as my faculty participant and invited me to join the class as a participant-observer. We also agreed that I would serve as a "course assistant" and have some input in the selection and sequencing of course readings. Jean's course was ideal for my research because each cohort of incoming students is required to take it during their first semester; I was therefore privy to some of students' earliest experiences with TESOL coursework at the graduate level. Furthermore, I confirmed with Jean that critical concepts played a foundational role in her course objectives.

After obtaining Jean's signature on an informed consent form, I conducted a semi-structured interview with her. Semi-structured interviews are "directed by a set of general themes, rather than specific questions, and researchers have a great deal of flexibility in the manner in which they encourage the interviewee to talk about these themes" (Borg, 2006, p. 190). This less formalized approach is also reflected in the conversational manner of interaction between researcher and respondent, which aims to make participants feel comfortable in a relaxed and casual atmosphere (Borg, 2006). Another objective of this approach is to build rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee, thereby "[encouraging] interviewees to play an active part in the research, rather than being passive objects to be studied" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, as cited in Borg, 2006, p. 203); as such,

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[7] All names in this study are pseudonyms
[8] The course title and number have been changed

the knowledge elicited and constructed during a semi-structured interview is of a fundamentally collaborative and dialectic nature (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

My semi-structured interview with Jean was intended to elicit her conception of criticality and how this understanding was manifested in her course objectives (see Appendix A for the full interview protocol). The discussion of these themes in a casual atmosphere resulted in the discovery of unforeseen topics, insights, and possibilities. Because my role as a "course assistant" granted me a voice in shaping course procedures, a semi-structured interview setting also provided us with an opportunity to dialogically construct a context-specific definition of criticality. As with all of the interview components of my study, my discussion with Jean was audio-recorded and transcribed.

Analysis of Course Documents

The contextual definition of criticality that was provisionally established during the semi-structured interview was refined through the analysis of course documents. These documents include the course syllabus, PowerPoint slides created for instructional purposes, and assignments and their assessment criteria.

In keeping with Pennycook's (2001) call to turn the critical concept of skeptical reappraisal on itself, my analysis was informed by a reflexive application of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995). As detailed in the previous chapter, CDA pursues the denaturalization of ideologies that have been naturalized in order to change the discriminatory dynamics of particular contexts (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1996). Thus, my investigation of course documents was centered on the following questions: What ideological principles and imperatives are manifested in the critical objectives of the course? What dominant ideologies of the TESOL field does Jean's course seek to problematize and

disrupt? What critical concepts are students asked to engage in their processes of reappraising their perspectives on language teaching and learning?

Pre-instruction Student Interview

The remaining components of my research shifted the focus of inquiry to students' situated understandings of criticality. In an attempt to capture the subtleties of this phenomenon, I combined semi-structured interviews, which are a flexible mode of data collection, with concept mapping tasks and written reflections, which are relatively controlled measures.

To commence this portion of my research, I solicited the participation of students who were enrolled in TESOL 500 during the first class session (a more detailed account of the participant recruitment process is presented in Chapter 5). Next, I provided willing participants with informed consent forms and obtained their signatures. After the first class session had concluded, I contacted each participant by email to arrange times for one-on-one interviews. Though I endeavored to conduct the interviews as soon as possible, they took place over a span of approximately two weeks (September 2 to September 18, 2012) because I had to accommodate the participants' availability.

During this session, students participated in a semi-structured life history interview (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Woodhouse, Dunne, & Goddard, 2009). As noted above, semi-structured interviews encourage the collaborative construction of knowledge through conversational interaction in a casual atmosphere (Borg, 2006). The themes that guided this interview were students' life histories, their perceptions of teaching and learning languages, and their goals for graduate study (see Appendix B for the full interview protocol). Essentially, this interview served as a preliminary elicitation of participants' habitus—their

socially inculcated ways of speaking, acting, and viewing the world (Bourdieu, 1991). The tentative depictions of habitus established in these interviews were continually revised as I observed students' behaviors in class and followed up on noteworthy statements and events in subsequent interviews.

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Stage Two: During the Course

Pre-instruction Concept Mapping and Written Explanation

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During the first class session, all students participated in concept mapping and written explanation activities (see Appendix C for the full concept mapping protocol). Upon the completion of these activities, I photographed the maps of those students who consented to participate and collected their written explanations.

Concept mapping is a research technique that aims to elicit and represent participants' understanding of conceptual structures in the form of a graphical map (Calderhead, 1996). The typical sequence of concept mapping tasks is as follows: "respondents … first brainstorm on a particular list of concepts related to [the central topic]; they then construct a diagram which shows their understandings of how these concepts are related" (Borg, 2006, p. 264). My participants were asked to: 1) brainstorm a list of the topics, issues, and concepts related to critical language teaching; and 2) construct a diagram that shows how they are related.

Mergendoller and Sachs (1994) contended that comparing content maps produced by the same individuals at different points in time is useful for measuring cognitive change resulting from participation in academic courses. The comparison of content maps was thus highly suited to investigating how students' situated understandings of criticality have changed after a semester of instruction.

An additional benefit of incorporating concept-mapping tasks into my methodology is that they allowed me to bring a controlled element to data collection (i.e., each student participant produced data of the same general type: maps and written explanations). Having participants create concept maps at various points (i.e., the beginning of the course and the conclusion of the course) allowed me to examine changes in a given individual's maps and, by extension, the general tenor of the individual's situated understanding of criticality.

Because the construction of concept maps is a highly open-ended and idiosyncratic task, it is difficult to draw conclusions about students' understandings from concept maps alone (Borg, 2006). For this reason, I designed my data collection procedure so that concept mapping was immediately followed by a short writing task in which students were asked to explain their processes of map creation. The direct sequencing of these activities was influenced by the generally accepted principle that participants will provide more accurate explanations of previously performed actions when the time between the action and the focused reflection is minimized (Borg, 2006).

The prompt for the written explanation directed students to explain their processes of map construction, including their reasons for including particular concepts and connecting them in certain ways. By comparing students' written explanations with my own interpretations of their concept maps, I intended to achieve a more nuanced and rigorous understanding of their situated understandings of criticality.

Data collected from concept mapping tasks and written explanations will be analyzed in terms of the following questions: How do participants understand the components of criticality? How do participants understand and graphically represent their methods of

interrelation? How do these understandings change as a result of engaging critical ideas in coursework?

Classroom Observation

The research methods described to this point were supplemented by my observation of each class session (one session per week for 15 weeks). As a research technique, observation "provides direct evidence of behavior … and allows large amounts of descriptive data to be collected" (Borg, 2006, p. 227). However, entering an environment for the purposes of observation inevitably alters the dynamics of the situation being observed (Borg, 2006).

During preliminary discussions with Jean, my faculty participant, we agreed that I would be a participant-observer. Participant-observation is defined in contrast to non-participant observation, in which the researcher minimizes her presence to the greatest extent possible (Burgess, 1984). As a participant-observer and course assistant, I was an active contributor to class activities and discussions. By openly acknowledging my presence in the classroom, I hoped to foster a comfortable atmosphere, put students at ease with my presence, and build rapport with my participants. However, I limited my involvement in certain classroom activities in order to reduce the likelihood of "leading" participants' statements and behaviors during data collection sessions (Denscombe, 2002). In other words, I refrained for the most part from sharing my personal views on how critical language teaching might be conducted; this was because I wanted to avoid situations in which participants "told me what I wanted to hear" by repeating my own perspectives in their interviews and concept maps.

My observation was unstructured in that systems of coding data were not defined in advance (Everston & Green, 1986), though data generated from the pre-instruction interviews and concept-mapping tasks focused my attention on certain aspects of participants' actions and behaviors in the classroom. Rather than applying pre-existing categories, checklists, and rating scales to collect observation data, I took fieldnotes to pursue extensive accounts of the phenomena under study (see Appendix D for the full classroom observation protocol). Fieldnotes are a loose system of observations written by the researcher as incidents transpire. Points of focus for these observations include events, behavior and activities; the physical settings of events; and portraits of the individuals involved (Bogdan & Bilken, 2003). Soon after the period of observation has ended, the researcher shapes fieldnotes into "comprehensive and comprehensible [accounts] of what has happened" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011, p. 466). My analysis of classroom observation data was centered on the following overarching question: How do participants engage with the concept of criticality during lessons through their statements, actions, and behaviors?

The final aspect of classroom observation to be addressed is disclosure, which Borg (2006) defines as "the extent to which the purposes of the observation are explained to those being observed" (p. 230). While my faculty participant received full disclosure about the scope and objectives of my research, students received partial disclosure. That is, I informed students that the general purpose of my observations was to study the teaching and learning of critical ideas in an MA TESOL course. As mentioned above, however, I sought to let specific conceptions of criticality emerge from participants themselves in response to course texts, assignments, and activities rather than discussing my own perspectives on criticality at

length, as the latter approach might have influenced participants' remarks and actions during data collection.

Mid-semester Student Interviews

At the approximate midpoint of the semester (week 8 of 15), I conducted semi-structured interviews with student participants. During these interviews, I invited students to reflect on significant events I observed in the classroom as well as discuss their thoughts and opinions on critical concepts taught in the course to that point. By asking participants to share their outlooks on these topics, I hoped to refine my interpretations of how they understood criticality and the factors that shaped their understandings (see Appendix E for the full interview protocol).

I also followed up on the comments made by participants during pre-instruction interviews about their life histories, goals for graduate study, and perspectives on language teaching. More specifically, I asked students about how relevant they felt critical concepts were to their future teaching and the degree to which they had reevaluated their goals and experiences as a result of having learned critical ideas in the course. The mid-semester interviews therefore allowed me to bring more depth and nuance to my representations of students' habitus.

Data collected from mid-semester semi-structured interviews was be analyzed in terms of the following questions: How do students understand the critical concepts taught in the course? What factors structure these situated understandings?

Post-instruction Concept-mapping and Written Explanation

Towards the end of the semester, students participated in a second concept-mapping task. The collection of this data was conducted according to the same protocol as that

employed during the previous concept-mapping task: after participants completed their maps, they produced written explanations of their processes of map creation (see Appendix F). However, an added element of this stage was the comparison of participants' first and second maps. After participants had completed their concept maps and written explanations, I showed them the maps they had constructed during the first class. Participants were then asked to return to their written explanations and add reflective comments on how their maps had changed and what factors or events prompted the changes. To conclude the activity, I photographed the maps of those students who had consented to participate in the study and collected their written explanations. The primary purpose of the post-instruction concept mapping and written explanation tasks was to investigate how students' situated understandings of criticality had changed as a result of participating in the course.

Post-instruction Faculty Interview

At the conclusion of the course, I interviewed the instructor about her perspectives on how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolded in her course. This semi-structured interview addressed the extent to which Jean felt the class was able to achieve the critical objectives that were established prior to the start of instruction. I asked Jean to reflect on assignments and activities that went well and those that did not go according to plan. During the final portion of the interview, we discussed future possibilities for teaching critical ideas in TESOL courses (see Appendix G for the full interview protocol).

<center>**Stage Three: After the Course**</center>

Follow-up Student Interviews

A third series of interview sessions was conducted with 11 of the 13 participants from April 1 – April 25, 2013 (approximately four months after the conclusion of TESOL 500).

The rationale for including this final stage of data collection was that it would enable me to investigate how students' situated understandings of criticality evolved as they proceeded with their graduate coursework. By investigating how the critical tenets of Jean's course were reinforced or contradicted by the concepts emphasized in other classes, I was able to explore the relationship between ongoing, structured exposure to critical concepts in coursework and the preservation of critical perspectives among students.

My analysis of data collected during follow-up interviews is centered on the following questions: How do students' situated understandings of criticality continue to change after instruction at the research site has finished? What are the implications of these changes? To what extent do course concepts continue to factor into students' situated understandings of criticality? To what extent are they able and willing to repurpose the critical concepts they learned in Jean's class for their present classes and imagined future teaching contexts? (see Appendix H for the full interview protocol)

Trustworthiness

As with any research methodology, the approach outlined in this chapter entailed certain limitations. In this section, I elaborate on some of the potential limitations that were touched upon previously as well as steps I took to maintain the trustworthiness of my research findings. Participant reactivity (i.e., changes in individuals' behaviors due to their awareness of being observed) and potential bias arising from my positionality as a proponent of critical teaching constituted the primary threats to the credibility of my study. Another issue is that the relatively small number of focal participants limited the transferability of my research.

The main strategies I used to offset these potential threats were prolonged engagement with participants, triangulation of research methods, member checking, and peer review. By interacting with students on a weekly basis for a period of approximately four months, I strove to connect with them in meaningful ways and gain access to their candid perspectives on critical language teaching. I also tried to make students comfortable with my presence in the classroom, and thus reduce participant reactivity, by adopting a friendly demeanor and assisting them (e.g., by clarifying points of confusion or giving casual feedback on their work) when the need arose.

Triangulation was another practice employed to strengthen the trustworthiness of my research; none of my research questions will be answered with a single type of data or information collected on a single occasion. My interpretations of participants' understandings, statements, and actions were furthermore tested for accuracy through member checking (Cresswell, 2003). Participants were provided with relevant portions of my dissertation manuscript and invited to confirm the accuracy of certain highlighted areas; these areas will be chosen for their importance or in the event that I am unsure of whether I have captured the nature of participants' beliefs and experiences.

The credibility and persuasiveness of my findings was also assessed through peer debriefing. In addition to receiving critical feedback from my dissertation committee, I presented preliminary findings at the 2013 and 2014 Conferences of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL), which enabled me to solicit responses from other professionals in the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields.

As regards transferability, I cannot claim that my research will suggest means of predicting how individuals in different contexts will engage with the notion of criticality.

Taking critical work's insistence that meaning is situated rather than universal into account, I do not advocate the prescriptive application of my context-specific findings to individuals or groups in other environments. By providing thick description of particular individuals' processes of engaging with critical ideas, however, I hope to raise points for graduate TESOL instructors to consider as they contemplate how and to what extent they should incorporate critical ideas into their own teaching. I also anticipate that my study will be a useful resource for other researchers to consult as they determine the optimal means of investigating the teaching and learning of critical ideas in their research sites.

Ethical Issues

I adhered to established guidelines for ethical research practices at each stage of my study. Both faculty and student participants were provided with detailed descriptions of the purposes and procedures of my research before signing informed consent forms. Participants were informed that: 1) all of the information they provide through their participation in my research would be held in strict confidence; 2) they had the right to stop participating in the study at any time without any negative consequences; 3) they would be referred to by pseudonyms in the research report in order to preserve their anonymity; and 4) data would be secured in a locked case and kept for three years, in compliance with federal regulations. Upon granting their consent to participate in the study, participants were asked to choose pseudonyms. Subsequent data collected from each participant was be labeled with the participants' pseudonyms only. In the instance that participants voluntarily included personal information such as their full names on collected data (e.g., as part of their concept maps), I blacked out this information with a marker so that it was no longer legible.

Perhaps the most significant ethical concern related to my study is that my faculty participant is one of my dissertation committee members; therefore, there is a high risk that my student participants will be identified even though I will change their names in my research report. In order to prevent the eventuality that my research influenced students' course grades in any way, I refrained from sharing or discussing any of my data with the course instructor until after the course had concluded and students' final grades for the semester had been submitted.

Benefits Associated with Participation

Participants did not receive any monetary benefit from this study. Student participants may have received indirect benefits from having the opportunity to reflect on critical approaches to language teaching, an increasingly important domain of disciplinary knowledge, in one-on-one interview settings. Additionally, interviews functioned as an outlet for students to voice their thoughts, opinions, and concerns about the course. Finally, if students requested additional clarification of course concepts during our meetings, I helped them to the greatest extent of my ability.

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Data Analysis

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This chapter concludes with a general overview of my data analysis procedures. Data collection and analysis were be conducted concurrently and recursively: tentative understandings reached through pre-instruction interviews and participants' initial concept maps were utilized in the interpretation of significant classroom events. These events were in turn made subjects of inquiry in mid-semester interviews, and the knowledge elicited during interviews suggested new possibilities for the (re)interpretation of past and future classroom events, concept maps, and interview responses. Thus, I conducted data collection and

analysis in a cyclical manner in order to affirm that my methods were producing relevant information and allow for the reinterpretation of previous findings based on new insights that emerge as the study progresses (Bodgen & Biklen, 2003).

As mentioned previously, my process of data analysis was guided by several analytic constructs: critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995) and Bourdieu's (1991) notions of habitus and cultural capital. CDA was well suited to my study because two of its primary objectives are to unveil the ideologies that underlie textual practices and to demonstrate how texts both reflect and reproduce power disparities (Fairclough, 1995; Pennycook, 2001;Wodak, 1996). I reflexively applied CDA to discern how critical objectives are manifested in Jean's course documents. More specifically, my analysis of these documents aimed to establish the textual practices, ideological orientations, and modes of inquiry that students were encouraged or expected to engage with in the course. CDA was also used to draw connections between participants' written or spoken textual practices and the extent of power they possessed in given fields (Bourdieu, 1991), whether these are concrete (the classroom, interview settings) or abstract (communities of novice scholars and prospective ESL teachers).

In addition to CDA, I used Bourdieu's (1991) concepts of habitus and capital to interpret and depict participants' situated understandings of criticality. As stated above, habitus is a socially inculcated system of dispositions that is instantiated in ways of speaking and acting that are "'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 12). Capital refers to the actual or symbolic resources, including styles of speech and behavior, which enable individuals to lay claim to status and prestige.

Taken together, these constructs directed my analysis of how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolded at my research site. Tentative representations of participants' habitus were elicited at the beginning of the semester and continually revised as further data was obtained. My data collection procedures encouraged participants to reflect on positive, negative, or ambivalent feelings about culture-specific experiences with teaching and learning languages in educational settings. On a broader level, my research was intended to illuminate how participants perceive fundamental concepts such as teacher and student roles as well as possible subjects and procedures of instruction. Obtaining this data enabled me to analyze how well or ill-equipped students were to perform the forms of critical work that are valued in Jean's class. By collecting data before, during, and after the course, I aimed to analyze how students' situated understandings of criticality changed as a result of participating in the course and the extent to which students were able and willing to apply critical concepts to their second semester coursework.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS PART I

My process of data collection began when I met with Jean to discuss how she defined and drew upon the concept of criticality in determining her objectives for TESOL 500, the Master's-level course[9] that was to serve as my research site. In what follows, I expound upon the comments Jean made during our initial interview. This interview was conducted on August 12, 2012, shortly before the course commenced. I also incorporate several remarks from a post-instruction interview, which was conducted on December 4, 2012, in order to further establish how Jean defined the notions that are fundamental to her pedagogical philosophies and approaches. Furthermore, my commentary on Jean's statements from both interviews is augmented with relevant excerpts of the course syllabus and field notes taken during my observations of each class session.

I began the initial interview by asking Jean to describe her understanding of what it means to be a critical practitioner in the TESOL field. She responded by relating a short narrative about the events that initiated her journey towards overt recognition of criticality's significance to her own scholarship and practice: early on in her doctoral studies, Jean casually asked a fellow graduate student about her dissertation topic. The student responded that her topic was critical pedagogy. Jean reported that this then-unfamiliar topic piqued her curiosity:

I said, "Huh, interesting. What is that?" … then … that phrase "critical pedagogy"

stayed with me for [a] very long time. And even during my … preparation for [my]

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[9] TESOL 500 was a required course for all first-semester students in the MA TESOL program. Class sessions occurred once per week and lasted two hours and thirty minutes. The course met a total of 15 times from Aug 30, 2012 to Dec 14, 2012.

dissertation, even though I read things about [it], I didn't really understand that my work was an example of critical pedagogy. So, I think that my definition or my understanding of all that stuff [has] evolved, but, at this point in time … I believe that being a critical practitioner is all about showing my students what it means to be an advocate. (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

Three themes that would be reiterated throughout Jean's course emerge from this remark: the centrality of advocacy in Jean's definition of being a critical practitioner; her conviction that one's conception of criticality develops gradually and is continually in flux; and her use of narratives as a critical reflection tool for situating one's experiences, perceptions, and goals within larger discourses of the TESOL field.

Advocacy

On one level, Jean's course employed the accepted definition of advocacy as active efforts in support of a particular group or cause, though Jean's understanding of the term extended beyond its literal meaning to include the factors that motivate it and render it fulfilling among its practitioners. When elaborating on the importance of advocacy to the course and her teaching in general, Jean stated, "I see advocacy as part of who you are … it's not something that … I can … push somebody to do, or push myself to do if it's not part of who I am" (Interview 2, Dec 4, 2012). As indicated by these remarks, Jean conceived of advocacy as a deeply meaningful pursuit rooted in the core of an individual's sense of self and vision of the world. In keeping with this view, Jean stressed that advocates must begin by pursuing empowerment of self before they can attempt to empower students. Advocacy was moreover held to be a pursuit with immediate relevance to the TESOL 500 students' nascent

careers in graduate education rather than an objective to be deferred until their completion of the program:

> [students] don't necessarily need to wait until they … go back to teaching [to become advocates], … it could come out in their own program … in their own preparation of becoming teachers … if they can't advocate for themselves here, how can they ever advocate for other people? Because I always tell my students … "if you can't do this for yourselves how're you gonna do this for your students?" (Interview 2, Dec 4, 2012)

Thus, Jean strove to catalyze a process of self-validation and self-advocacy among her students; this aim held particular urgency for the incoming cohort's international students, several of whom entered the program having internalized "deficit-oriented" views[10] of their abilities and qualifications as non-native speakers of English (as will be subsequently discussed in greater detail). As such, Jean's overarching aim of promoting self-advocacy would require students to not only embrace their emerging identities as capable professionals with unique strengths but also achieve critical consciousness of the social, political and institutional factors that may result in their marginalization within particular contexts. The assigned readings for the course (some of which were selected collaboratively by Jean and myself) were therefore chosen in an attempt to raise awareness and stimulate discussion of such issues.

These readings addressed a wide range of critical topics in the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields, including: the relationship between individuals' highly complex

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[10] By "deficit-oriented views," I mean a penchant for negative self-appraisal of one's own English usage against native speaker norms (often owing to the internalization of discourses lauding the latter's superiority) and accompanying devaluation of linguistic and literacy resources such as one's first language.

motivations for English language learning and feelings of alienation or exclusion from majority populations (Gao, 2010); the continued dominance of native or "standard" English norms over localized dialects in both instructional paradigms and the preferences and attitudes of instructors and students (He & Zhang 2010); calls to decolonize the practice of English instruction through the implementation of postmethod approaches suitable to the needs of local learners (Kumaravadivelu, 2003); utilizing a pedagogy of shuttling between languages to attain more nuanced understandings of multilinguals' composing strategies (Canagarajah, 2006); the emotional journey of an individual "non-native speaker" instructor from her initial senses of self-doubt and powerlessness to embracing her identity as a TESOL professional (Park, 2012); unveiling the ideological mechanisms of discrimination that underlie discourses of cultural difference (Kubota, 2004); using the colonization of educational institutions by discourses of business management as a lens for critically interpreting schoolteachers' anxiety-raising experiences (Lin, 2004); and the sociopolitical origins of beliefs that have become reified truths of second and foreign language teaching (e.g., student plagiarism is a transgressive act) (Pennycook, 1996).

Becoming Critical as a Gradual and Fluctuating Process

Jean observed that many of her previous students seemed to carry the perception that developing expertise was a straightforward process of learning decontextualized teaching methods. Thus, she stated that prompting reevaluation of this ingrained perspective was likely to be a key component of promoting advocacy for self and others among her students. Speaking about general impressions cultivated during her time as a graduate instructor in the MA TESOL program, Jean noted that incoming students' views of becoming qualified instructors tended to contain "an element of 'okay, I need to get to the end. I need to know X,

Y, and Z in order for me to be seen as a good teacher [or] effective teacher'" (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012). Furthermore, she reported that the incoming 2012 cohort of international students demonstrated this propensity during a pre-semester orientation meeting. When asked to briefly describe their goals for graduate study, "every single one of them wanted to know the [best] method [or] improve their methods" (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012).

In Jean's view, this penchant stemmed from a larger human desire to bring stability and predictability to the performance of challenging tasks through the implementation of abstracted methods. This mindset, however, runs contrary to the critical imperative to problematize universalized knowledge claims and pursue inherently subjective, contextually situated, and politically conscious perspectives. Therefore, Jean felt the successful teaching of critical ideas in her course would depend in large part on students' abilities to challenge conventional notions of knowledge acquisition. In this regard, Jean noted that her strategies for teaching critical concepts were:

> All about helping them to kind of feel that … being a critical practitioner is … process-oriented, and it's not gonna … come easy and… it's not gonna be something … that you'll immediately get. … but I think there are also very different ways of being and becoming [a] critical practitioner, and I think that it is [important] to first raise awareness of what it means to be a teacher of English, which is very complicated. (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

Thus, in Jean's course becoming critical was viewed as an unpredictable and highly personalized process. While subsequent stages of this process would introduce complex critical tasks such as reappraising beliefs cultivated through previous experiences and interpreting theory by considering particular requirements of intended future teaching

contexts, the preliminary stages focused on bringing students' attention to the extensive and contested knowledge domains that constitute the phenomenon of English language teaching.

Jean's goal of helping students "see [the] whole picture" of the TESOL field was reflected in her decision to organize the sequence of course readings and assignments in terms of four domains of disciplinary knowledge (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012). These domains are described under the heading of "COURSE OVERVIEW" on the course syllabus:

> The purpose of this course is to provide an investigation of the major trends and
> issues that have affected, and do affect theory, practice, and policy within the fields of
> TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and language teacher education. As such, this course
> provides both an emphasis upon the historical, theoretical, and pedagogical
> underpinnings of TESOL, Applied linguistics, and language teacher education in
> relation to the interconnected and complex knowledge domains in the fields:
> Knowledge of Learners/Teachers and their Sociocultural & Sociopolitical contexts;
> Knowledge of Pedagogy; Knowledge of Subject Matter & Research; Knowledge of
> Curriculum and Policy; and Knowledge of Assessment and Educational Goals.
> (TESOL 500 syllabus, 2012, p. 1)

This multi-tiered organizational structure served in one sense to bring an element of systematicity to the presentation of course content, yet Jean noted that it was also designed to diversify and complicate students' perceptions of English teaching:

> I talk about the knowledge domains as a way for specifically the [TESOL 500]
> new students to understand that there're different ways of looking at the field. And
> that … by presenting or having them talk about the different knowledge domains, that
> it helps them to raise awareness about things that are more, I wouldn't say more

important, but things that are just as important as what they call, "Oh, I'm here to improve my English and learn all about methods." (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

Jean observed that encouraging students' to explore the multifaceted and often disputed bodies of disciplinary knowledge in TESOL is "one way of showing them this process of understanding what it means to be a critical reader and a teacher and a … scholar" (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012). In addition to helping students investigate where their own work stands in relation to established epistemological positions in the field, this approach stimulates them to bring critical scrutiny to aspects of language teaching that are commonly ignored or taken for granted. As Jean remarked:

> [exploring the knowledge domains will] help us to number one, raise awareness, [and] number two, to help us and our students to be more critically conscious about the things that we often don't think about and often are not on our radar when it comes to teaching English like, you know, what does race have to do with teaching English? Or what does gender have to [do with it?]… So I think by focusing on these articles, that will kind of surface. (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

Narratives as a Critical Reflection Tool

While Jean was hopeful that addressing multiple knowledge domains would instigate critical discussion of concepts such as race, gender, nativeness, and power among the TESOL 500 students, she was also aware that the students were likely to find processing the abundance of information raised through this approach to be a particularly daunting and disorienting task. For this reason, she assigned an "Educational Journey Narrative" to be completed between the first and second class meetings. As described on the syllabus, the Educational Journal Narrative asked each student to provide "a glimpse into your educational

91

journey that led you into an MATESOL program in the US. This narrative will be revisited at the end as a way to synthesize what you have gained from this course" (TESOL 500 syllabus, 2012, p. 2).

By essentially commencing the course with a narrative reflection task, Jean sought for students to concretize their lived experiences with teaching and learning languages in narrative form; ideally, depicting their experiences in this fashion would enable them to establish a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice, wherein lived events were utilized as a framework for the interpretation of scholarship and ideas from readings were drawn upon to critically reappraise previously accrued beliefs and perspectives. As Jean stated:

> There will be some times when I want them to kind of think about [a certain] article … or [once] we've gone through three weeks … focusing on knowledge of learners, [asking them] when you go back to your country and you have … [this] bag of ideals and stuff like that, how would you get your students to focus on that? Or, something [like a] very theory to practice kind of connection. (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

As I describe in detail over the coming chapters, Jean was mostly successful in achieving this objective. Ten of thirteen student participants demonstrated a consistent ability to draw upon their personal experiences when articulating critical responses to course readings and in turn utilize new critical insights derived from scholarship to reconsider the implications of historical events or institutional policies. Transformation of perceived pedagogical possibilities was a more measured achievement, however, as only four participants could draw upon critical theory to discern practical teaching approaches in their past or intended future teaching contexts.

While the students speculated on reciprocal connections between theory and practice on their own initiative at certain times, Jean and I also encouraged this line of thinking through numerous structured activities, including: diagrammatically representing intersections among the students' sociocultural, theoretical, and practitioners' knowledge (field notes, Oct 4, 2012); drafting suitable plagiarism policies for their intended future teaching contexts (field notes, Oct 18, 2012); freewriting on the question "After graduating from [this] MA TESOL program, what will this program allow you to do?" (field notes, Nov 9, 2012); and drawing visual representations of what they had learned in the course (field notes, Nov 29, 2012). Additionally, the specific importance of narratives as heuristic devices was reinforced through readings that employed various genres of narrative as data (e.g., Hanauer, 2010; Lin, 2004; Park, 2012) and Jean's in-class commentary on the usefulness of narratives for eliciting specificities of individuals' contexts and unpacking their assumptions (field notes, Oct 4, 2012).

Synthesizing Critical Understandings

To this point, I have discussed three major elements of criticality as it was constructed in Jean's TESOL 500 course: promoting advocacy for the empowerment of self and future students; conceiving of the development of critical consciousness regarding issues such as race and gender in language teaching as a personalized, gradual and fluctuating process; and using personal narratives as a critical reflection tool for pursuing a mutually informative relationship between scholarly knowledge and lived experience. As the course approached its conclusion, Jean challenged students to synthesize these elements into a coherent statement reflecting how their understandings of teaching English had been transformed during the class: "at the end I say 'Well, [how] do all of these things sort of …

come together [in terms of] teaching English? The focal point is teaching English [by] understanding these different elements" (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012).

To this end, Jean chose an "Individual Synthesis Paper" as the culminating assignment of the course. This task required students to fuse insights gleaned through the integrative exploration of personal history and disciplinary knowledge, the latter having been addressed through assigned readings and the TRENDS group project, a focused literature review of particular issues in the field as discussed in prominent journals. The assignment guidelines for the Individual Synthesis Paper directed students to:

> reflect on the educational narratives constructed in the beginning of the course and
>
> see how your own educational journey narratives have shifted as a result of
>
> conducting the TRENDS project and this course, and how does what you now know
>
> further fuel your interests in the fields of TESOL and Applied Linguistics. (TESOL
>
> 500 syllabus, 2012, p. 3)

It was accordingly Jean's hope that, upon the completion of this assignment and the course as a whole, students would have engaged in sustained inquiry concerning their own stakes in pursuing graduate education in TESOL; the role of social, cultural, and political factors in shaping these stakes; and the tentative research agendas through which they would continue to cultivate expertise as scholars and practitioners.

Concluding Remarks and Principles List

I concluded my initial interview with Jean by asking her to summarize what she hoped students would take away from her teaching of critical concepts. She responded:

> I want them to examine how … criticality will be perceived … and idealized in their
>
> own context because I think it's gonna be very difficult to challenge the people at the

top, but I want my students to feel like they have an option … and that having that option will help them to be … critically-conscious about this ever sort of evolving work that we do as English teachers. (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012)

These remarks encapsulate Jean's position that criticality is neither a perspective or disposition which one acquires at any definite point in time nor a mandatory orientation to language teaching; rather, it is posited as a means of unveiling the hidden and possibly discriminatory ideologies that inform policies and practices in students' future teaching contexts. Moreover, it is envisioned as a resource to possibly guide the disruption of these practices in favor of more democratic or mutualistic approaches, albeit with the understanding that any challenge to the existing social order is likely to meet with resistance or reprisal from authoritative institutions.

In the preceding comments, I have explicated how the concepts of criticality and being a critical practitioner were constructed and taught in Jean's TESOL 500 course. Several fundamental principles are embedded in this context-specific definition of criticality; these principles can be summarized as follows:

- Students should be strongly encouraged to become advocates for themselves and their future students. Advocacy is considered a deeply meaningful endeavor that begins with self-empowerment and is predicated on the development of students' abilities to discern how larger sociocultural and sociopolitical forces may inform the circumstances of their marginalization, as well as that of their students, in particular contexts. Working towards advocacy would require several of the international students enrolled in TESOL 500 to confront discourses that had constructed deficit-oriented depictions of their aptitudes as "non-native speaker"

95

English instructors. For all students, advocacy involves embracing their developing identities as qualified professionals with valuable knowledge of learners in various contexts.

- In order to "see [the] whole picture of TESOL," students should critically reappraise the perception that developing expertise is a straightforward process of learning abstract and universalized teaching methods (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012). By exploring areas of concord and conflict in the component knowledge domains of TESOL and Applied Linguistics, students will come to understand the breadth and depth of concepts involved in language teaching.

- Students should bring particular critical scrutiny to issues of race, gender, nativeness and power in language teaching on the grounds that these issues are commonly ignored, taken for granted, or obscured by systematic mechanisms of discrimination at the societal level.

- As students begin their forays into the TESOL field, they should foreground their lived experiences by depicting them in narrative form. This will ideally result in their continual pursuit of a reciprocal connection between theory and practice, as lived experiences are employed as a framework to weigh the potential value of theory to future teaching situations and insights derived from scholarship prompt the reappraisal of established beliefs.

Having elucidated these principles, I now turn my attention to the investigation of how the TESOL 500 students understood the concepts and methods of criticality at the onset of the course and the various ways in which these understandings changed during the semester.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS PART II

In this chapter, I describe the data collection and analysis procedures used to elicit graduate students' shifting perceptions of criticality during and after an MA TESOL course. First, I present an overview of my data collection process, list participant demographics, and note methodological disruptions. Next, I define the three overarching categories that were developed to identify trends in outcomes of instruction. To conclude the chapter, I provide a representative case study and summaries of additional cases for each category.

A Summary of Data Collection Procedures

Having obtained data from my faculty participant, the next stage of my research process was to recruit student participants from Jean's TESOL 500 course. This stage began when I attended two pre-semester orientation events for the incoming cohort. Jean introduced me as her course assistant at these events, and I had several opportunities to "break the ice" with the students through casual conversation. As such, the students had become somewhat acclimated to my presence when the first session of TESOL 500 was held on August 30, 2012. Following a few preliminary remarks about the course, Jean yielded the floor to me, whereupon I conducted the first concept mapping activity according to the protocol previously described. Upon the completion of this activity, I explained the nature of my dissertation research, solicited the students' participation, distributed informed consent forms, and described the measures I would take to preserve their anonymity should they choose to participate. Jean assured the students that she would have no knowledge of who did or did not choose to participate for the duration of the semester and their decision would have no bearing whatsoever on their final course grade. Those students who were willing to

participate were asked to sign and return one copy of the informed consent form during a break in the class session.

Fourteen of the 15 enrolled students signed and returned informed consent forms. However, one participant withdrew her enrollment from the MA TESOL program between the first and second course meetings, which left a total of 13 participants. All 13 individuals continued their participation throughout the semester (though they were notified that they were free to stop participating at any time without any negative consequences), and 11 of 13 agreed to meet with me for follow-up interviews four to five months after their first semester had concluded. With the exception of Julian and Diana, all participants were first-semester students in the MA TESOL program. Julian was a second-year student who had transferred into the TESOL program from the university's MA program in English Literature midway through the previous academic year, and Diana was a Fulbright scholar who taught a Korean language class at the university while attending TESOL 500 and one undergraduate course. Table 2 below displays each participant's name, country of citizenship, and student status.

Table 2

Participants' Demographic Information

Name (Gender)	Country of citizenship	Student status
Julian (M)	China	Second-year MA TESOL
Linlin (F)	China	First-semester MA TESOL
Mei (F)	China	First-semester MA TESOL
Zhao (F)	China	First-semester MA TESOL
Hani (F)	Indonesia	First-semester MA TESOL
Diana (F)	South Korea	Fulbright scholar
Laila (F)	Saudi Arabia	First-semester MA TESOL
Myriam (F)	Saudi Arabia	First-semester MA TESOL
Salem (M)	Saudi Arabia	First-semester MA TESOL
Zahra (F)	Saudi Arabia	First-semester MA TESOL
Afia (F)	United States	First-semester MA TESOL
Dagney (F)	United States	First-semester MA TESOL
Katya (F)	United States	First-semester MA TESOL
F=female; M=male. All names are pseudonyms.		

Following the first concept mapping activity, I scheduled one-on-one interviews with the

participants for the purposes of eliciting additional commentaries on their concept maps (i.e.,

I requested details and clarifications beyond what participants had provided in the

explanations they had written immediately after constructing their maps) and discussing

noteworthy life events that had led them to a graduate TESOL program in the United States.

Though I strove to conduct this series of interviews as soon as possible after the mapping

activity, I had to accommodate the participants' availability. Therefore, these interviews took place from September 2 to September 18, 2012.

I performed a second series of interviews during the latter half of the semester. As previously mentioned, the objective of these interviews was to explore the participants' responses to the critical concepts taught in the course to that point and ask follow-up questions about topics and themes that had emerged from the previous interviews. I experienced greater difficulties in scheduling the second series of interviews because the participants had become busy with various obligations related to their coursework. However, I was able to meet with each participant between October 22 and November 12, 2012.

The second concept mapping activity was conducted in class on November 15, 2012. Though two additional class meetings would be held after this date, the participants had effectively finished the classroom instruction component of the course at the time of the activity; Jean devoted much of the remaining sessions to clarifying questions about the culminating assignment and holding individual meetings with the students. Katya and Salem were unable to attend class on November 15, but I was able to meet with them individually to make up the second mapping activity within the next two weeks.

A summation of the data collection procedures conducted with student participants appears below in Table 3.

Table 3

Data Collection Procedures with Student Participants

Procedure	Format	Date(s) of completion
Concept mapping activity 1 • Map creation • Written explanation of map	In-class activity	Aug 30, 2012
Interview 1	One-on-one interview	Sept 2 – Sept 18, 2012
Interview 2	One-on-one interview	Oct 22 – Nov 12, 2012
Concept mapping activity 2 • Map creation • Written explanation of map • Written comparison of maps 1 and 2	In-class activity	Nov 15, 2012 Nov 26, 2012 (Salem) Nov 29, 2012 (Katya)
Follow-up interview	One-on-one interview	Apr 1 – Apr 25, 2013 (not conducted with Katya or Laila)

Methodological Disruptions

I encountered two significant methodological disruptions in the course of data collection. First, Katya asked to conclude her participation in my research after the second concept-mapping task because she was feeling overwhelmed by her numerous responsibilities for work and school. I honored her request and did not attempt to contact her for a follow-up interview. Furthermore, when we met to make up the second concept mapping activity that she had missed in class, she was unable to write an explanation of her map due to time constraints. I asked her to skip this step of the activity and proceed to the written comparison of her first and second maps, as I felt the latter text would be more valuable to my analysis of how her understanding of criticality had changed. Second, Laila did not participate in a follow-up interview, as she simply did not respond to my requests to arrange a meeting time. Though my ability to depict shifts in Katya and Laila's perceptions

was somewhat restricted by this reduced scope of data collection, I endeavored to illuminate the changes in critical understanding that occurred within their first semester.

A Summary of Data Analysis Procedures

A major challenge that emerged in course of data analysis was reconciling the need for data reduction with the critical imperative to embrace, rather than erase or simplify, the intricate array of factors at work in each participant's unique experiences. Through a process of repeated revision and consultation with my advisor, the following procedure was developed to navigate the delicate balance between these partially conflicting objectives:

1. Each participant's shifting understanding of the concepts and methods of criticality was depicted in an *individual case study*. In keeping with my intention to honor the complexity of the phenomena under investigation, I adopted a highly qualitative approach to the integration and interpretation of data sources. However, the case studies are uniformly presented in a chronological sequence: they commence with a brief biographical sketch, depict participants' pre-instruction conceptions of criticality, trace significant changes in these conceptions as the semester progressed, and conclude with summative commentary on the extent to which participants' understanding evolved.

2. Once several case studies had been completed, I began the process of recursively developing a *set of overarching categories* that could be used to identify trends in outcomes of instruction. Categories were continually refined as each individual case study was completed. While these categorizations do not attempt to encapsulate the entirety of participants' nuanced and fluctuating perspectives (see

the *Caveats* section below), they allow for a general understanding of the varying ways in which the learning of critical concepts unfolded in TESOL 500.

3. A *representative case study* was selected for each of the three finalized categories on the grounds of its ability to illuminate the changes in conceptual understanding and development of advocacy agendas (or lack thereof) that each category represents.

4. Additional case studies in each category were placed in appendices to be consulted at the reader's discretion. A summary of additional cases in each category appears in the main text immediately following the representative case study. (Some essential disclaimers about how I have attempted to reconcile potential contradictions between this method of data classification and the principles of criticality are presented below)

Definition of Categories

As established in the previous chapters, criticality is often depicted in TESOL and Applied Linguistics literature as the synthesis of deconstruction and advocacy; these concepts were also of fundamental importance to the conception of criticality that guided Jean's course objectives, choice of readings, and assignments in TESOL 500. Accordingly, they were employed as the primary criteria in interpreting the outcomes of participants' engagement with critical ideas.

Category 1: Deconstructive Transformation of Understanding Leading to Advocacy Agenda

Individuals in this category exhibited and/or overtly testified to the influence of course concepts in fashioning more critical perspectives on their previous experiences with

learning and teaching English. Generally, the deconstructive tenor of these shifting

perceptions was evinced as participants moved away from interpreting their lived histories as

a series of naturally occurring events with self-evident significance and began to situate their

experiences in larger fluctuating dynamics of privilege and marginalization.

Moreover, individuals in this category were able to build upon their increased

awareness of language teaching as an inherently ideological and political act to develop

concrete pedagogical strategies in pursuit of self and student empowerment via the disruption

of local and global hegemonies. These strategies were retrospective (i.e., identification of a

more critical approach they could have adopted in their past teaching; critical reappraisal of

the broader ramifications of prior pedagogical decisions) or hypothetical (i.e., critical actions

they viewed as feasible and advisable in their intended future teaching contexts).

Category 2: Deconstructive Transformation of Understanding Counteracted by
Inability or Unwillingness to Discern Advocacy Agenda

As with the individuals in the category above, individuals in this category utilized

course concepts to deconstruct the significance of their histories with English and detect the

influence of larger social mechanisms of discrimination in their lived experiences. However,

these individuals differ from those in Category 1 in that they viewed the adoption of critical

approaches as unfeasible or inadvisable in their past and intended future teaching contexts.

This position, which was often attributable to their belief that institutional and/or student

resistance to critical teaching constituted an insurmountable obstacle, precluded them from

discerning concrete pedagogical tactics in service of critical objectives.

It should be clarified that the placement of individuals into this category is not

tantamount to a negative judgment or a definitive pronouncement that they are forever

incapable of detecting applications of critical ideas; this category is instead intended to elucidate factors that thwarted the discernment of concrete agendas within the period of data collection.

Category 3: Limited Transformation of Understanding

In contrast to the individuals in categories 1 and 2, individuals in this category rarely exhibited the influence of course concepts in any consistent or significant manner when reflecting on their lived histories or the perceived demands of their intended future teaching contexts. The isolated critical perspectives that they expressed about particular events or concepts were situated within, and to a great extent cancelled out by, predominantly uncritical pedagogies and worldviews. Their stasis of understanding frequently originated in the enduring power of their previously cultivated beliefs to govern their impressions of new ideas encountered in graduate coursework. Still, the classification of individuals into this category should not be construed as an assertion that their future development of consistently critical perspectives is unlikely.

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Categorization of Participants: An Overview

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A breakdown of how the 13 participants were placed into the 3 overarching categories appears below in Table 4.

Table 4

Breakdown of Participant Categorization

Category	Number of participants / Percentage of total	Participant names / demographic information
1: Deconstructive transformation of understanding leading to advocacy agenda	4 (31%)	Afia (F, United States) Dagney (F, United States) Salem (M, Saudi Arabia) Zhao (F, China)
2: Category 2: Deconstructive transformation of understanding counteracted by inability or unwillingness to discern advocacy agenda	6 (46%)	Diana (F, South Korea) Hani (F, Indonesia) Julian (M, China) Laila (F, Saudi Arabia) Myriam (F, Saudi Arabia) Zahra (F, Saudi Arabia)
3: Limited transformation of understanding	3 (23%)	Katya (F, United States) Linlin (F, China) Mei (F, China)
F=female; M=male		

As demonstrated above, the development of participants' criticality was a phenomenon sufficiently varied and complex to defy attribution to any single causal factor such as nationality or first-language background. Instead, the phenomenon was shaped by the nuanced interplay of factors such as lived experiences of marginalization, unacknowledged privilege, and the ideologies in which previous contexts of language teaching and learning were implicitly situated. Variations in the categorization of participants by nationality are displayed below in Table 5.

Table 5

Participant Categorization by Nationality

Participant country of origin	Participants placed into Category 1	Participants placed into Category 2	Participants placed into Category 3
China (4)	1	1	2
Saudi Arabia (4)	1	3	0
United States (3)	2	0	1
Indonesia (1)	0	1	0
South Korea (1)	0	1	0

Caveats

Though the categories above are intended to illustrate meaningful distinctions in outcomes of instruction, it is crucial given the critical framework of the current study to emphasize that the results of participants' engagement with critical ideas were not entirely reducible to such means of classification. On the whole, the data set supported Pennycook's (2001) contention that the cultivation of criticality is a decidedly non-linear process: participants in all three categories were prone to contradicting themselves and making statements that connoted both critical and uncritical dimensions as they wrestled with a body of critical knowledge that challenged their foundational assumptions.

The individual case studies, therefore, strive to establish that certain overall changes in understanding were indeed discernible among the participants, but these were rarely manifested as stable, unidirectional progressions. As data collection proceeded, individuals in categories 1 and 2 continued to espouse discrete uncritical viewpoints amid their broader shift toward increased critical awareness. Likewise, participants in category 3 articulated critical perspectives on occasion, though these did not cohere into a consistent pedagogical philosophy. It should thus be highlighted that categorization was conducted on the basis of

those aspects of participants' shifting understandings that they emphasized and exhibited most consistently throughout data collection.

Additionally, for all participants criticality was not an intellectual and dispositional attribute that was definitively obtained at a certain point in time. Instead, it emerged gradually and to varying degrees via recurrent vacillation between skeptical reappraisal of ingrained perspectives and reversion to established beliefs.

As such, my decision to categorize participants into one of three overarching categories could be interpreted as an attempt to impose artificial order on the innately subjective, shifting, and individualized nature of participants' perceptions. Some perspectives might hold that the more critical approach would have been to present a more loosely structured form of qualitative inquiry (e.g., narrative analysis) centered on the uniqueness of each case rather than commonalities and differences among the cases.

In response to this potential objection, I want to clarify that my decision to employ and interpretive and organizational structure focused on outcomes of instruction was not intended to simplify or erase the rich diversity of participants' experiences for the sake of convenience. Rather, it emerged from recursive analysis of the cases, as I realized that the ability or inability to discern concrete applications of critical principles was:

1. An issue that extended across all cases in ways intimately tied to participants' lived experiences and their methods of pursuing disciplinary expertise; and

2. A crucial distinction to acknowledge in moving the conversation on criticality forward

In other words, I placed primary emphasis on to what extent novice scholar-practitioners came to view criticality as feasible and advisable in their intended future teaching contexts

because this issue is likely to exert a profound and enduring influence on their willingness to further disseminate critical ideas to their future students through discernable pedagogical gestures. In this regard, my research aims to reduce the risk of insularity that arises should critical work circulate in domains and linguistic registers accessible only to the academic elite. In summary, the use of three overarching categories allowed me to illuminate how frequently, and for what reasons, individuals came to view criticality as something that could conceivably inform their future teaching and be productively applied or reconfigured within familiar sociocultural contexts.

Furthermore, my decision to place the majority of participant case studies into appendices could be construed as a marginalizing act or an indication that these participants' histories, journeys, and insights are less worthy of consideration than those of the individuals who were selected as "representative case studies." Any such implications were absolutely not my intention; placing content into appendices was a practical decision made in an attempt to avoid overburdening the reader with a results chapter that exceeded 200 pages. Likewise, for me to say that representative case studies most clearly illustrate the three overarching outcomes of instruction is not to suggest that the participants selected as representative cases are more perceptive, intelligent or interesting than those placed in the appendices. Indeed, the summaries of additional cases in each category are provided to direct readers to the cases that may be of greatest interest to their own research and teaching, whereupon the unabridged case studies may be consulted.

A Final Note on the Presentation of Findings

Case studies are organized according to the chronological sequence outlined above. As such, data is typically presented in the same order as it was collected (first concept map

and written explanation → first interview → second interview → second concept map, written explanation, and written comparison of maps). Selected data obtained from follow-up interviews are referenced at the conclusion of each individual case study in the event that they shed new light on the participant's understanding of criticality.

My original intention was to foreground the concept mapping data and make only sparing reference to interview and classroom observation data for the purpose of furnishing supplementary insights. However, I soon realized that the items appearing on participants' concept maps could not be meaningfully interpreted except through extensive discussion of the body of beliefs and attitudes they had accrued through their lived experiences. Thus, interview data came to occupy the bulk of the case studies as I endeavored to achieve thick description of the unique factors structuring each participant's situated perceptions (Geertz, 1973); concept maps were analyzed to summarize the essential character of their pre and post-instruction understandings.

Category 1: Deconstructive Transformation of Understanding Leading to Advocacy Agenda

Representative case study: Dagney

Dagney (Female, United States) entered the MA TESOL program having taught English as a Foreign Language at two venues in South Korea. She was moreover a seasoned learner of numerous languages in formal and informal settings. Dagney reported that positive experiences with schooling during her otherwise awkward early childhood and adolescence had a formative effect on her career objectives and sense of self, both of which were shaped by fervent dedication to intellectual inquiry and academic achievement. Cerebral, passionate, and restlessly inquisitive, Dagney embraced the range of ideas introduced in Jean's course

with verve and often spoke of their transformative effects on her previous beliefs and perspectives. During interviews, Dagney was both gregarious and contemplative as she narrated her experiences and pondered their implications.

Dagney's initial concept map, displayed below in Figure 1, exhibits a detailed, albeit somewhat speculative, representation of critical language teaching.
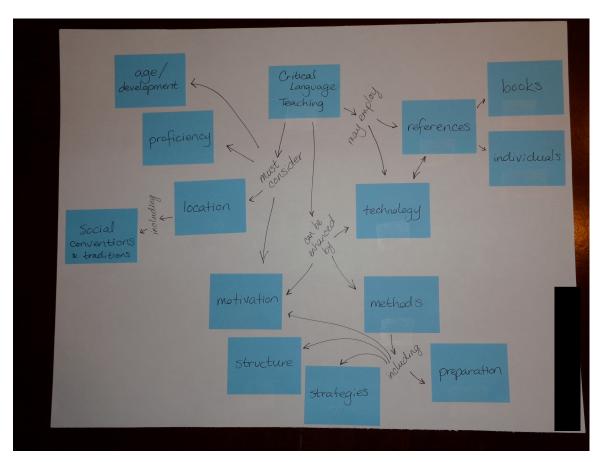
Figure 1. Dagney's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

On this map, the concept of "critical language teaching" appears in the upper center and branches out into three component clusters: the factors that it "must consider"; "can be enhanced by"; and "may employ." Each cluster includes four or five further items; two of these—"motivation" and "technology"—are connected to multiple clusters. Proceeding from left to right, the "must consider" cluster consists of mandatory factors to be taken into

consideration when adopting a critical approach, or, in Dagney's words, "what must be considered prior to the teaching itself" (Map explanation 1, Aug 30, 2012). These include learner's "age/development"; "proficiency"; and "location → including → social conventions & traditions." These items suggest that Dagney's pre-instruction understanding of criticality already placed a strong emphasis on the importance of context; this conclusion is further supported by her comment that the "location of the instruction can impact the lesson, and social conventions can add or detract from a particular approach" (Map explanation 1, Aug 30, 2012).

The second cluster displays aspects and resources that may enhance the effectiveness of critical language teaching, including "motivation"; "technology"; and "methods," which is linked back to "motivation" (indicating a reciprocal relationship between the two) and additionally includes "structure"; "strategies"; and "preparation." The third cluster focuses solely on resources that may be employed in service of critical approaches: "technology"; "references"; "books"; and "individuals." However, Dagney was terse and tentative when commenting on how the items appearing in the second and third clusters might be used toward critical ends:

> Teaching requires a source of knowledge which considers what the instructor might employ. Students need to hear or see something, which would be a reference. Technology can be a means to access references, or vice versa. (I'm not sure if I understand myself there.) (Map explanation 1, Aug 30, 2012)

Dagney's first map, therefore, indicated both her firm grasp on the critical notion that teaching and learning are inherently contextual phenomena and her general uncertainty as to how criticality might shape targets or methods of language instruction.

112

When describing life experiences that led her to graduate study in TESOL during our first interview, Dagney made repeated references to concepts that would eventually come to the forefront of her conception of criticality. The most notable among these were language learning as a facet of identity construction, the limitations of teachers whose only qualifications lie in their status as native speakers of the target language, and the need to transcend such limitations through the pursuit of culturally informed practices that are responsive to the needs of students in particular contexts.

As part of her larger identification with academic achievement as a positive aspect of her identity, Dagney excelled in her study of French, German, and Chinese at the high school and university levels. One dimension of her language learning that consistently won praise from teachers was her ability to emulate the "native" pronunciation modeled in textbooks' supplementary audio materials; she described her high school French instructor's comment that she sounded "just like a little French girl" as being particularly confidence boosting (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Dagney's initial positive association of acquiring languages with appropriating native norms, however, would be disrupted through subsequent experiences as a student and teacher (as is described below).

For Dagney, language learning was appealing not only as a vehicle of classroom success but also as a mode of identity alteration. She described how learning French enabled her to associate herself with a series of mindsets and lifestyles that she found alluring and exotic (though she readily acknowledged their stereotypical nature):

French became part of my identity, because … there's stereotypes about French. It's a gorgeous language. And then French people, they're so *laissez-faire* and drinking the wine and like they're hanging out and spending time [laughs]. So I think I liked those

stereotypes and I wanted those stereotypes to apply to me [laughs]. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

During our second interview, Dagney further elaborated that studying French was attractive because she felt it led others to view her favorably, allowed her to become more cosmopolitan in her own outlook, and ultimately granted her access to an increased range of opportunities in life:

I guess in my case it was some sort of like an identity that I wanted to be perceived [in] some way, and so that was my motivation for learning the language. In another way, I wanted to broaden my opportunities, I wanted my identity to open the door and what better way than to learn a language so you can … have more cultures, you know more input of cultures. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

Taken as a whole, these comments connote a critical perspective in characterizing language learning as a phenomenon intimately bound with an individual's perception of self in relation to the social world rather than the emergent ability to generate utterances according to abstract syntactic codes. Nevertheless, selected comments from Dagney's first interview insinuated that her study of French had been shaped by an uncritical bias towards native speakerism in that desired identification with French people, who were themselves characterized as idealized and monolithic entities, was a major motivating factor. As Dagney proceeded from high school to university and then to the job market, however, she came to recognize that the employment of language teachers who possess few qualifications beyond their native fluency in the target language often results in serious difficulties for teachers and students alike.

Dagney's first experiences in this regard occurred in a university level German language course that was taught by a native speaker of German who had no previous training in foreign language teaching. Through Dagney found the instructor affable, she felt his lack of language teaching expertise reduced the course to a monotonous process of completing textbook exercises, thereby impeding her ability to sustain motivation for studying:

> The professor … was not a language teacher, he was a literature professor so it was kind of not his area of expertise to be teaching it as a language but they needed a German instructor and he happened to be from Germany. He was a really sweet guy, but it just seemed like there was something missing, there was a gap that like, okay, we can fill in the blanks [in the textbook] but then it just seemed like there was no incentive. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

This unfulfilling language learning experience notwithstanding, Dagney pursued English teaching opportunities abroad after graduating university even though her coursework in English literature did not include any language-teaching component. Dagney explained that, while she would have ideally pursued accreditation in EFL teaching before commencing her job search, "money [was] a huge factor" in her decision to immediately pursue gainful employment, as she was faced with the exigent need to begin the process of paying back student loans (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Dagney's decision to teach English overseas, therefore, was prompted by both a long-standing desire to live abroad and the restrictive qualification requirements of domestic teaching positions.

In exploring teaching opportunities, Dagney "found out that you can teach English in China without [any] education credentials" but was later dissuaded from working in China by a friend who had had negative experiences there (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Undeterred,

115

Dagney searched out other prospects and eventually found a position at a Montessori[11]

school in South Korea that was attractive not only in terms of compensation but also because

American native English speakers were culturally held in high regard and sought after as

linguistic models:

> So I looked into it, [in] South Korea, they give you more money, it's a really really
>
> safe country, they love the USA like as far as policy goes and they want the native
>
> dialect, they want my speech. And so I'm like, okay, well they obviously have a high
>
> demand for me. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

Thus, it must be acknowledged that Dagney's professional journey towards English teaching

was fundamentally predicated on the discursive privileging of native Englishes in the South

Korean context; ironically, the problematic positioning of native speaker teachers as a

brokers of authentic speech that had so frustrated Dagney as a language learner later

benefitted her as a candidate for teaching positions.

The onset of Dagney's teaching career in South Korea proved to be a watershed

experience that led her to realize the extent to which she was inadequately prepared to meet

the challenges of teaching EFL. She reported that her lack of prior formal training in the field

was compounded by a very brief orientation period at the Montessori primary school, with

the result that her initial teaching efforts were clouded by uncertainty: "when I first walked

into the classroom … I had no idea what the students needed" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012).

Dagney's difficulties were further exacerbated by the school's absolute English immersion

policy, which was enforced despite students' nearly non-existent English proficiency.

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[11] Montessori schools typically teach students aged 3 to 18 using an educational approach
centered on mixed aged classrooms, some measure of student autonomy in selecting
classroom activities, and hands-on, exploratory learning rather than direct instruction
("Introduction to Montessori," 2013).

Dagney was able to persevere throughout these adversities partly due to the assistance of two more experienced colleagues and partly because the Montessori teaching method combined English practice with other hands-on activities involving props and demonstrative gestures, thus alleviating the need to rely solely on English for the purposes of communicating with students: "I was lucky because we were at a Montessori school so I incidentally taught English by doing cool things and then speaking about it in English" (Interview 1, Sept 12, 2012).

Through Dagney grew increasingly comfortable with the Montessori teaching method over the course of her first year in South Korea, she elected to change jobs and work at a public elementary school chiefly because the latter context offered more vacation days and time for lesson preparation. Working at a public school entailed a new series of challenges for Dagney: class sizes were larger, students were typically more reticent, and she was required to cover their entirety of a government-mandated textbook in the course of an academic year. Within this prescriptive curriculum of lesson content, however, Dagney was free to experiment with various teaching approaches. Reflecting on her efforts in this regard, Dagney remarked that she experienced some success by adapting Montessori methods and was on the whole able to forge meaningful connections with her students. Yet, these achievements were counterbalanced by lingering doubts about the overall quality of her English teaching in relation to what it could potentially become, culminating in self-directed feelings of illegitimacy:

> I was teaching from a textbook and I was not qualified to be a language teacher. I know I was relying too heavily on the government approved materials … for as good as I [had] gotten teaching my lessons and the students loved me and I loved them and

it felt like they were learning something, I just still felt like I have so much to learn.

And that was one huge impetus because they deserve it, and I kind of felt like a fake.

I hate to say that, but I felt like a fraud like I just happened to be a native speaker and

that's how I got this job and I felt like I needed if I'm gonna make this a career, I

need to have the background, I need to have the credentials, I need to understand

what I'm doing and where has it come from and what are the rationales behind it all.

(Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

In order to rectify her reliance on conservative, textbook-centric activities as well as intuitive

processes of trial and error in crafting teaching approaches, Dagney took it upon herself to

research potentially effective teaching strategies online. She stated that she "sort of came into

the identity of a language teacher" by emulating experienced language teachers' advocated

methods and incrementally synthesizing them into a coherent instructional philosophy:

I spent so much time on google, and it was like two three hours a day I would

research how do you teach a language? And gradually I would get … activity plans,

and I would plan these activities based on what people who knew what they were

doing suggested and that's kind of how I gradually got a really fragmented picture of

how to be a language teacher. And towards the end … I felt as though I was a good

language teacher. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

The most noteworthy change resulting from Dagney's self-directed pursuit of

teaching expertise was the customization of her teaching approaches to suit students'

culturally situated expectations and preferences for classroom interaction. She found that

accommodating students in these ways enabled her to go beyond developing friendly

relationships with them and actually make English learning meaningful: "if you can link the

118

target language with the relevant social conventions … then it resonates and then if you can create a real association within the learner, then … it seems to stick more" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Dagney's process of adaptation involved first understanding and accepting that a communicative approach centered on the required textbook alone was impractical because students were culturally unaccustomed to raising their hands and volunteering their thoughts and opinions in a foreign language classroom setting. Then, she attempted to entice students' interactive participation by using materials related to their interests as discussion points.

As Dagney commenced graduate study in TESOL having reflected on the immense power of language learning to transform one's perception of self and experienced firsthand the inadequacies of language teaching performed on the strength of native fluency alone, it is perhaps unsurprising that she was greatly receptive to the critical ideas taught in Jean's course. During our second interview, Dagney spoke with a mix of confidence and awe about the "massively transformative" effects of course readings and discussions on her conceptions of language teaching (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012).

Dagney used several provocative phrases to describe her evolving understanding of the TESOL field, noting that:

> Every article that we read [in TESOL 500] is bringing … an opportunity to take away a veil and see a bigger picture … That's exactly why I enrolled in the TESOL program because I wanted to be slapped in the face with the truth. And that is definitely happening." (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

The violent overtones of Dagney's figurative expression included a self-directed component in that she bluntly reappraised her own educational journey in terms of the privilege she had enjoyed as a native speaker of English. This manner of reflection catalyzed negative feelings

as she realized she had inadvertently been complicit with larger systems of hegemony in the language teaching industry:

> Well like Lin [2004] brought up the kind of depression that comes with [critical reflection] you know like the feeling of pessimism and that hit me for a while there were a few weeks when I couldn't smile because I was like "I'm a terrible person and I've been for a long time and I've screwed up all the kids in Korea" and you know like such huge questions. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

I expressed concern that the critical concepts discussed in TESOL 500 had led Dagney to develop disparaging thoughts about herself, but she assured me that the ultimate lesson she had taken away from reading the work of Lin and others was to "do something empowering" with her newfound critical awareness by attempting to use it as a guiding principle as she continued to orient herself to the discipline (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). To this end, class discussions of identity as a fluid entity that is agentively and strategically performed (field notes, Sept 9, 2012) helped Dagney to perceive how she could foreground critical aspects of her emerging disciplinary persona:

> The identity is constructed and it's somehow a whole, but some pieces of the whole are inconsistent with the new ideas that we're getting, so we can systematically choose what parts of our identity are no longer valid. And reinforce the parts of our identity that are valid and that have good useful social positive outcomes. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

In Dagney's case, the "invalid" aspects of her identity were those which formerly took native privilege for granted, while the "valid" components were those that emphasized her role as

an informed advocate for, and ally of, marginalized non-native teachers and learners of English.

By engaging with course content in this manner, Dagney began to reconceptualize the ideological implications of her previous pedagogical strategies; she questioned her reliance on competitive activities to motive students in Korea, remarking that, while such tactics prompted student engagement, they inevitably carried consequences such as:

> You have to have winners and losers and nobody wants to be the loser, right? … it bothered me because some kids had to be losers, and that is in some way … the game of life, right? But I didn't want to rely on that, and I just felt like there must be a better way … aren't we over survival of the fittest? … it kind of reflects how I feel about like war and things like that. Like I'm very much a peaceful person, so does it make sense that I'm creating this … conflict in my classes, everyday? And it [was] kind of … wearing on me. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

These ruminations demonstrate a shift in Dagney's pedagogical priorities; she had begun to appraise the value of teaching approaches not merely in terms of their immediate effectiveness but also the ways in which they ingrained potentially problematic mentalities among students. As such, Dagney's move away from competitive classroom activities takes on critical significance in that her rationale was to seek out alternatives that entailed a lower risk of students' desensitization to social inequalities or even military aggression perpetrated by powerful nations.

Beyond reinterpreting her past teaching, Dagney also reconsidered how she would hypothetically approach the design of university-level ESL or EFL courses, one of her desired future teaching contexts. She stated, "I can already see the difference [in] how I

121

would have planned a university course before I took [my first-semester MA] courses and the things that I would change <u>greatly</u> about those" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). Dagney reported that, because she had functioned as an exoticized object of student attention in her previous teaching contexts, her natural inclination would have been to construct a teacher-centered university course that presumed students' pre-existing interest in the subject matter.

After having engaged with critical concepts in TESOL 500, however, Dagney realized that "there are a lot of different motivations for coming into an English course. Some of the students … don't even want to be there … and if it's a prerequisite course … I've gotta take that into consideration" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). Dagney remarked that potential means of responding to student resistance or indifference included soliciting input on their preferred methods and approaches but also challenging them to move beyond concepts that they are "interested in on a whim" and make substantive explorations of "the way they construct the world." She elaborated that this could be accomplished by encouraging students to question the ideologies underlying the social enterprise of education, stating her intention to "[have] the students zoom out with me and say 'Let's question this whole system.'" Summarizing the central objective of her future teaching, Dagney stressed her desire to effect the same momentous shift in critical consciousness that she herself had been undergoing in Jean's course:

> my goal in my future teaching situations [is] to have the students transformed in some way kind of like I'm being transformed I think it's a wonderful attribute to positive education. So I want my students to finish the class with feeling like different people in positive way, that they feel that their perspective is widened and in a good way, you know? (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

The significant change in Dagney's understanding of critical teaching is further reflected in the adoption of a new organizational structure in her second concept map, which is displayed below in Figure 2.
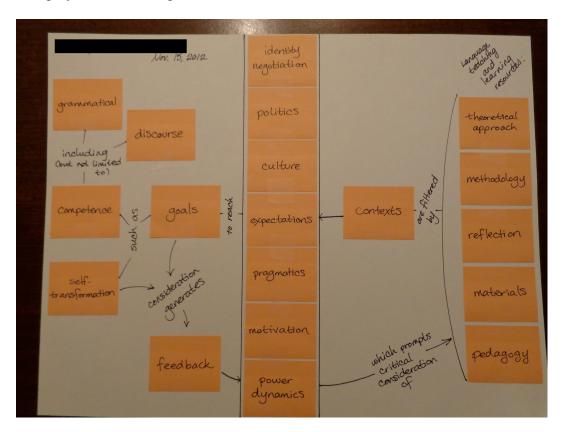
Figure 2. Dagney's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

In this map, contextual elements such as "culture," "pragmatics," and "motivation" have been moved to the center of the map and arranged in a column in combination with "politics," "identity negotiation" and "power dynamics." In her explanation, Dagney described the logic behind her decision to visually emphasize the centrality of these elements to critical teaching approaches:

> At the center of my map, there is a sort of 'wall' of context. To the right of the
>
> wall are teaching and learning resources, including strategies. To the left of the wall,
>
> there are the goals or outcomes of the practices of teaching or learning. Nothing can

pass from the right to the left or from the left to the right without passing through the "wall" of context. (Map explanation 2, Nov 15, 2012)

It is significant to note that, within the goals and outcomes cluster on the left, "competence" is connected to "discourse and "self-transformation" in addition to "grammar." The arrangement of these items further reinforces that Dagney has situated her conception of the language teaching process in terms of its effects on learners' shifting perceptions of self within social fields of unequal power rather than the mere appraisal of learners' abilities to generate grammatical utterances.

Similarly, the teaching resources cluster on the right demonstrates a shift from the pre-instruction map, which simply listed potential resources such as "books," "individuals," and "technology." In her second map, Dagney has listed "materials" as one element in a column of items that also includes "theoretical approach," "methodology," "reflection," and "pedagogy." This change suggests the critical perspective that teaching resources are significant only in so far as they are employed in service of a coherent, theoretically informed instructional philosophy.

In sum, a comparison of Dagney's maps suggests that she has progressed from a tentative understanding of criticality to one that is quite sophisticated and thought provoking. Whereas the clusters on the first map were essentially depicted as distinct and discrete entities—an organizational choice explained by Dagney's reflection that she "wasn't sure how most of the elements interacted" at the time of the map's creation—the second map displays a recursive relationship in which student feedback continually prompts critical reconsideration of appropriate pedagogical strategies and resources (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012). Furthermore, as displayed on the second map, the relationship between teaching

strategies and learning outcomes cannot be considered except in terms of the myriad contextual elements that define any instance of language learning. Commenting on the more elaborate methods of conceptual interrelation displayed on her second map, Dagney wrote, "I'm proud of the circularity (recursiveness) inherent in my second map as I now understand knowledge to be constructed in a recursive manner" (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012).

Moreover, Dagney's interview comments connote a progression from an early, uncritical conception of language learning as a process of emulating native norms, to feelings of self-recrimination upon realization of the unquestioned privilege she had enjoyed as a native speaking teacher, to the emerging construction of a pedagogy centered on the skeptical disruption of dominant ideologies. As such, there is ample evidence to support Dagney's assertion that attending TESOL 500 constituted a "massively transformative" experience.

The striking development of Dagney's criticality was only further reinforced by a follow-up interview conducted five months later. During this interview, Dagney discussed her intention to conduct her thesis research on writing center tutors' conceptions of social justice as well as the extent to which they felt issues of discrimination and inequality could be addressed during tutoring sessions (April 15, 2013). In extending her scope of critical inquiry to a new, personally meaningful domain (Dagney began working at the university writing center near the onset of her first semester in graduate school), she had reaffirmed the primacy of critical work to her ever-burgeoning disciplinary expertise.

A Summary of Additional Case Studies in Category 1

In addition to Dagney, 3 individuals were placed into category 1 due to the deconstructive transformations evidenced in their conceptual understandings and their concurrent development of specific advocacy agendas. What follows is a concise overview of

the differences among the case studies in this category; each individual case study can be consulted in full in Appendix I.

As an African studies minor during her undergraduate studies and the wife of a Ghanian, Afia (Female, United States) commenced her graduate career having already developed a critical desire to confront the historical injustices inflicted upon the African continent by Western powers and the pervasive stereotypes about African culture circulated in mainstream discourse. Throughout her studies in TESOL 500, she gave extensive consideration to how she might pursue a pedagogy of social change as an EFL instructor in Ghana without inhabiting a "white American liberator" role that would ultimately reproduce asymmetrical power relations.

Striving instead to become a facilitator of Ghanaians' self-motivated efforts to raise awareness of their experiences and rebuff stereotypes, Afia gradually discerned a range of pedagogical options centered on instilling English as an additive literacy resource for reaching powerful audiences. Among these were finding ways to solicit honest feedback from students, making use of students' interest in American culture to subvert teachers' culturally prescribed roles as absolute authority figures, and adopting a pedagogy of shuttling (Canagarajah, 2006) to balance her Western perspectives on language instruction with the validation of local traditions.

The critical pedagogical agenda developed by Zhao (Female, China) was far less extensive but nonetheless remarkable in light of the intellectual exertions she undertook to amend her entrenched perceptions of language learning as a wholly cognitive and apolitical process. Though these perceptions were reinforced by another of her first semester courses, which adopted an uncritical focus on decontextualized teaching methods, Zhao ultimately

embraced the critical ideas that were emphasized in TESOL 500. In doing so, she unveiled connections between standard educational procedures in China and the reproduction of class and gender-based social inequalities.

More specifically, Zhao indicted the widespread custom of placing students into college-preparatory or remedial tracks of high school instruction on the basis of a single high-stakes exam. She stated that those who performed poorly were socially stigmatized and subjected to a mundane and perfunctory curriculum, often prompting them to internalize the inferior roles into which they had been positioned. Zhao's most fully realized objective for her future teaching, however, was to establish her EFL classes as sites of feminist resistance against an educational culture in which female students were prompted to accept their socially inscribed roles as mothers and domestic caretakers. Brimming with righteous indignation as she recalled the demeaning remarks her own teachers had made, Zhao vowed to compel her female students to pursue autonomy in spite of cultural obstacles.

Salem (Male, Saudi Arabia) carried an ambitious long-term goal of joining the Saudi Ministry of Education in order to become involved in setting policy for the nation. At the onset of his graduate studies, many of his advocated educational reforms—increasing the availability of technology, adopting new textbooks, and addressing teachers' tendency to adopt distant and austere personas—implicitly suggested that progress and emulation of Western methods were synonymous. As TESOL 500 progressed, Salem developed critical awareness of the classroom as a site of ideological reproduction. Accordingly, he came to view administrative restrictions on teacher autonomy as means of silencing dissent from the intertwined hegemonies of the monarchial government and institutionalized Islam, the country's only legally sanctioned religion.

Though personal experience had rendered Salem aware of the immense stakes involved in defying cultural moratoriums on taboo topics such as women's rights and the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities (see also the case studies of Myriam, representative of category 2, and Zahra, Appendix J), he resolved to broach sensitive issues in his future EFL courses. Prompting students to interrogate the worldviews that were inscribed by the dominant culture emerged as a primary pedagogical imperative for Salem, as he had often found himself dispirited by encounters with young people who seemed to exhibit an ossified apathy towards social concerns. Though he remained wary of reprisal from superiors and uncertain of how exactly to navigate institutional obstacles, he stated an intention to raise contentious topics such as women being denied the right to drive in his EFL courses. Furthermore, he expressed the optimistic perspective that students who had come to truly appreciate the benefits of progressive instruction would stand unified with teachers in outreach campaigns aimed at effecting broader shifts in public opinion.

Category 2: Deconstructive Transformation of Understanding Counteracted by Inability or Unwillingness to Discern Advocacy Agenda

Representative Case Study: Myriam

Myriam (Female, Saudi Arabia) commenced her graduate study having accumulated three years of EFL teaching experience at a Saudi university. Though Myriam was outwardly prim and reserved during the majority of TESOL 500 sessions, she demonstrated an effervescent and sincere side during interviews. Confident yet self-effacing, she embraced the opportunity to reflect afresh on the implications of her experiences. At times she exuded a confident scholarly persona, speaking declaratively, posing rhetorical questions, and proudly referencing her accomplishments with teaching and learning English. At others, she

emphasized the humor in her struggles, with her comments often stalling in mid-sentence as she tried, largely unsuccessfully, to suppress spells of laughter.

Myriam's self-assurance was reflected in her ambitious long-term goals: upon the completion of her Master's degree, she intended to first accrue more practical experience at her previous place of employment in Saudi Arabia and then to enroll in a doctoral program. However, I suspected at times that a certain amount of self-doubt lingered beneath her confident exterior, as when she expressed her resolute opposition to writing a thesis during her MA studies (ostensibly because she doubted that the benefits would be worth the time and effort required).

Myriam's journey to a graduate TESOL program exhibited many parallels to Zahra's narrative (see Appendix J); both were strongly influenced by discourses that construct English proficiency as a desirable and prestigious form of symbolic capital as well as conservative cultural ideologies that place severe restrictions on women's career autonomy. Overall, the most remarkable aspects of Myriam's evolving criticality were past instances in which she covertly defied institutional restrictions and her ongoing reassessment of prior pedagogical decisions through the critical filter constructed by course readings. Nevertheless, these critical practices were situated within, and to a large extent negated by, her defeatist attitude toward the viability of adopting an explicitly critical approach in the authoritarian Saudi context.

Displayed below in Figure 3, Myriam's first concept map characterizes the notion of critical language teaching in terms of the approaches and philosophies that she had utilized in her previous teaching.
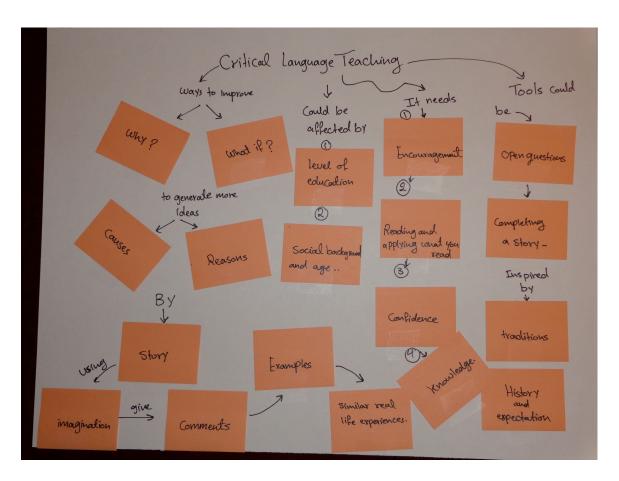
Figure 3. Myriam's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

On this map, the central concept is divided into four subcomponents: "Ways to improve";

"Could be affected by"; "It needs"; "and "Tools could be." The first of these subcomponents,

"Ways to improve," is the most extensively developed, constituting 9 of the total 19 items

appearing on the map. Beginning in the upper left portion of the map, it descends vertically

in a linear progression through "Why?";"What if"; "to generate more ideas →"; "Causes";

"Reasons"; "BY →"; "Story"; and then proceeds to the right through "using →";

"imagination"; "give →"; "Comments"; "Examples"; and "Similar real life experiences."

It became clear from Myriam's map explanation and subsequent interview comments

that this portion of the map depicted a teaching activity that she frequently employed, in

which she presented students with a hypothetical situation and challenged them to describe in

English what course of action they would take; she would thereafter introduce additional complications and ask further questions to form an extended narrative that was fictional yet based in the students' own experiences: "I think the questions why and what if … [are] a good way to help [students] to speak up and share their own experience in an open discussion where there is no correct or wrong answers" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). Though these items seemed upon initial consideration to amount to little more than a straightforward teaching activity unconnected to any critical objective, the specific topics that Myriam addressed in the construction of these chain-narratives revealed an unexpected and clandestine manifestation of criticality (see further discussion below).

The remaining subcategories on the map are more succinct, consisting of two to four component items each. Listed under the heading of "Could be affected by" are: "1) level of education"; and "2) Social background and age …". In emphasizing the importance of considering contextual factors when crafting teaching approaches, these items display the most readily recognizable critical position on the map. The subcategory "It needs" contains: "1) Encouragement"; "2) Reading and applying what you read"; "3) Confidence"; and "4) Knowledge"; these concepts foreground the need to foster student engagement by providing support and relevant content. The final subcomponent, "Tools could be," reinforces the previous recommendation of the chain-story teaching technique listed under "Ways to Improve" through the inclusion of the items "Open questions" and "Completing a story" while further clarifying that the topics of these stories are "inspired by →"; "traditions" and "History and expectation." These final two items make brief reference to the expansive influence of social and religious doctrines, often materialized in the form of strict

131

prohibitions, with which Myriam had periodically come into conflict even though she had no deliberate intention to contest prevailing value systems.

As Myriam narrated some of the significant life events that had shaped her path toward the English teaching profession during our first interview, her remarks alternately evoked moments of unquestioned privilege and painful marginalization; these in turn informed the body of conflicting outlooks (traditional and progressive, uncritical and critical) evidenced in her commentaries on teaching.

Myriam's first English instructor was a Saudi woman who elected to use an English-only approach despite her students' near-total lack of proficiency in the language; this decision bore the influence of what Phillipson (1991) termed the *monolingual fallacy*—the dubious pedagogical proposition that classroom use of students' first language inhibits the acquisition of their second. Myriam's earliest experiences with English learning were defined by her ambivalent response to this approach. On the one hand, trying to follow the teacher's utterances was a source of great frustration for her: "she never speaks Arabic … and it was too hard for me because I didn't study English before that" (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012). On the other hand, she felt that the extreme difficulty of the class forced her to seek out supplementary study tools such as websites and dual language phrasebooks and, more broadly, to take responsibility for her learning in a way that a less challenging mode of instruction would not have engendered.

Myriam expressed her viewpoint that, for this reason, students of this particular teacher tended to gain greater proficiency than students of teachers who relied on their shared L1 to resolve breakdowns in communication: "I think we … were better than the others. Because their teachers tend to use Arabic. If they are stuck, they usually shift to Arabic just

132

to make it easy for the students" (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012). In depicting L1 use as a crutch or hindrance, Myriam intimated that her increased English skills were chiefly attributable to her teacher's monolingual-normative approach; this conclusion is questionable in light of her previous remark that it was precisely the *deficiencies* of this approach that necessitated the use of supplementary study materials, all of which used Arabic as a scaffolding resource in some way. These remarks, then, indicate an uncritical dimension of her understanding at that time, as her conscious reflections on her own learning experiences were influenced more strongly by discourses lauding monolingual methods (which were themselves circulated in service of the ideological assertion of Western supremacy) than the larger implications of the concrete and specific actions she was compelled to take to compensate for the limitations of her teacher's monolingual approach.

Through Myriam held lukewarm attitudes toward her formal study of English throughout her secondary education, social and familial pressures played a key role in her decision to major in English at university. The latter were structured by another powerful discourse that characterized skilled English speakers as glamorous and sophisticated individuals. More specifically, Myriam explained that her mother would often lavish praise upon young women who were fluent in English and speculated that this penchant was based in her fascination with the type of education that had been denied to her:

> [My mother] loves when she sees a Saudi girl …talking in English she said, "Wow look at her." Although my mother is—she didn't study anything. She doesn't even know how to read and how to write [in Arabic]. But she likes to have a fluent girl. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Myriam's desire to win such commendation from her mother was a major motivating factor in her decision to continue studying English, and the praise that she received from her for having achieved a high degree of proficiency remained a source of pride:

> My mother, she loves to … say I am the one who makes her dream true … Even now when she has appointment in hospitals, she insists on having me with her … Just to be proud of her daughter. "See, my daughter is speaking English." [laughs].

As we discussed the topic further, it became apparent that Myriam's reference to hospital visits was no mere coincidence; English proficiency was especially valuable in this domain because large numbers of Filipina immigrant workers with limited Arabic proficiency were employed as nurses in Saudi hospitals:

> Let's say ten years ago, you couldn't find like Saudi nurse … So most of the nurses there are Filipinas or something like that so … they don't speak Arabic … Okay, so it was difficult to deal with them. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

This seemingly impracticable labor arrangement arose from conflicting cultural precepts: the nursing profession was feminized in Saudi culture, yet nursing was considered an unacceptable vocation for Saudi women due to conservative cultural opposition to mixed gender workplaces. Therefore, many Filipina women immigrated to the country in order to perform this type of socially undesirable work, often receiving wages that far exceeded those for equivalent positions in the Philippines but paled in comparison to those earned by Saudi workers (De Guzman, 2011). Myriam narrated an experience in which her English proficiency enabled her to take the nursing staff to task for the poor care her mother had received and resolve a situation involving a missing wheelchair to her family's satisfaction:

Yeah you have to speak with them in English. And we fight a lot with one of them yeah because … there was a bad nurse there she was Filipina and my mother was so sick. And they couldn't bring her like a wheelchair … I understand what happened then I started to quarrel with [the nurse]. So okay "I understand everything, you are supposing that all like Saudi female or Saudi people don't understand English … " Okay? So I think after that my mother became so proud, [her] daughter at the end bring her a wheelchair. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

In relating this occurrence, Myriam focused exclusively on the personally empowering effects of her English learning. Though it was only natural that her sympathies should lie with her ailing mother, her account of the events in question did not reflect a critical conception of the larger social, cultural, and economic power disparities that may have been underlying the unprofessional conduct of one individual Filipina nurse. In particular, consideration of how English use constructed and reinforced drastically different positions for herself and the nurse within the field of the hospital setting was notably missing; while Myriam's utterances signified an assertion of status, those of the Filipina worker were grounds for stigmatization, "Othering," and the implicit excusal of her economic exploitation as a non-Arabic speaking, and therefore illegitimate, presence in Saudi society.

Even as certain aspects of Myriam's pre-instruction understanding were shaped principally by unacknowledged privilege, others stemmed from the gender-based limitations placed upon her freedom to choose a career. Echoing statements made by Zahra, she remarked, "Actually, for me as a Saudi woman, [teaching is] the best job I could ever have. Because in my community … I won't work in a place with men" (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012).

Upon discussing the teaching career that she commenced after graduating from university, she reaffirmed observations made by Salem (see Appendix I) and Laila (see Appendix J) in noting that curricular impositions restricted her autonomy as a teacher. Unlike the case of Salem, however, Myriam's experiences of receiving prescriptive admonitions from her superiors had yet to cohere into an agenda for critical educational reform; instead, her remarks suggested a series of isolated critical gestures amid the more general development of a fairly traditional teaching philosophy.

Examples of the latter included her commentaries on the relative merits of various textbook series from major Western publishing houses and the factors that must be considered in order to design effective multiple choice assessment tools. While both showed evidence that Myriam had given these topics careful consideration, her inquiries were situated entirely within conventional modes of pedagogical thought; she therefore had considered how to maximize the effectiveness of these materials but neglected to critically question the prevailing assumption that they were necessary components of a foreign language curriculum or establish a firm rationale for their use in the Saudi EFL context.

The discrete critical actions referenced above can be grouped into two categories: defiant use of audiovisual materials that were, from Myriam's perspective, unjustly prohibited by her superiors; and indirect reference to taboo topics. Instances of the first category occurred when she disobeyed a directive barring the use of music in class for any purpose. Myriam explained that this edict was based in the religious doctrine of Islam: "in Islam it's *haraam* or forbidden to listen to music, any kind of music" (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012). Because she had often found that YouTube videos relevant to lesson topics captured students' attention in ways that authorized materials rarely could, however, she chose to

employ these resources even when they featured incidental music and were thus barred. In a noteworthy display of criticality, Myriam chose to reconcile the conflict between her professional commitment to making optimal pedagogical use of all available resources and the dominant culture's demands for slavish adherence to religious dogma in favor of the course of action that she felt would entail the greatest benefits for students:

> Even for the video clips, also the music is not allowed … in the classroom but I used them because most of the video clips I think it's with music and it will be so boring if I mute them. So you just do it.

Myriam reported that this decision was not without consequence, as she "got a warning once" from a supervisor (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012). In spite of being reprimanded, she unhesitatingly declared that she would take the same action in the future[12]:

> I think I will use [such video clips] anyway. If I like a clip and I felt it will be interesting for my students and beneficial I will use it. Even with music. … We have like, we all did like wrong things sometimes so why not to the benefit of our students? (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

As mentioned above, the chain-narrative teaching activity that featured prominently in Myriam's first concept map was another tool in her critical pedagogical repertoire. This activity constituted a more discrete manner of contravening official regulations and

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[12] At this point, it is important to clarify that Myriam's critical objection to the religiously motivated policy prohibiting music was not tantamount to a desire to challenge the teachings of Islam–she identified as a Muslim on numerous occasions during our interviews, and I note the co-existence of her critical and traditional viewpoints in the spirit of acknowledging the diverse intellectual palette underpinning her faith rather than accusing her of self-contradiction.

demonstrated how critical imperatives can be embedded in seemingly innocuous pedagogical choices; one hypothetical situation that Myriam commonly utilized to get the activity underway alluded in an indirect but unmistakable fashion to the controversial topic of women being denied the right to drive cars (the very same issue that Salem referenced). Myriam recounted that she would begin by asking the students to imagine the following scenario: "'One day I was … going to work for example and suddenly it was raining,' okay, then what happened?" (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012).

Considering that Myriam taught exclusively female student populations due to the practice of gender segregation in Saudi education, her initial prompt drew implicitly on their shared knowledge and experiences of subjugation at the hands of the discriminatory law (in other words, it was understood that they would not be driving to work on their own and would need to seek out some other resolution to the dilemma). As such, the literal statements about feasible solutions that students generated in order to complete the activity took on additional critical significance; those that were commonly brought up (e.g., "I would call my father to come to pick me [up]") could effectively function as cathartic indictments of their forced dependency on males, while those that were not viable and thus remained unsaid nevertheless brought renewed attention to the recourses that were denied to them as objects of male oppression (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012).

According to Myriam, non-marital relationships, as expressions of romantic and sexual desire unsanctioned by the patriarchy, were another example of topics that gained unspoken but universally recognized significance precisely because repressive social norms necessitated their conspicuous absence from class discussion:

So, for let's say American [teenager], what would they say? For example, "I will call my boyfriend" ... Okay. But in Saudi Arabia, you would never find a girl who said, "I will call my boyfriend." See? Maybe she has a boyfriend but she can't say that publicly. This is … controlled by the traditions, because this is like a taboo or something so bad in Saudi Arabia to have a boyfriend. There is nothing like that. You must have like your fiancé and your husband and that's it. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Hence, in using English to conduct a discussion that was "safe" insofar as its ostensibly hypothetical nature circumvented restrictions on classroom discussion of political issues, Myriam's chain-narrative activity was an adroit application of critical language teaching. Moreover, this example served as an important reminder that criticality is not always manifested in the form of overt consciousness-raising anchored in the terminology of Western scholarship on critical pedagogy; rather, it may be cloaked within complex systems of speech, implication, and silence whose semiotic significance is discernable only to those with an insider's awareness of particular contexts.

On the other hand, it bears repeating that the two pedagogical decisions referenced above were isolated components of Myriam's overall teaching philosophy. Furthermore, her observations on the extended narrative activity gave only tangential consideration to its critical ramifications as compared to its surface benefits (i.e., that students would increase their abilities to produce unrehearsed utterances), and many of the other teaching tactics she described, such as discussing popular TV talent shows, were admirably attuned to students' interests but largely superficial in content.

Accordingly, the general impression that emerged from our first interview was that Myriam possessed a capacity for discerning and implementing critical approaches in specific

situations, but this aptitude was relegated to the periphery of her pedagogical vision by a predominantly conventional approach to teaching. When we met approximately seven weeks later for our second interview, I found that several key concepts from readings and activities in TESOL 500 had prompted her to engage in more rigorous critical reappraisal of certain ingrained beliefs. However, she had concurrently become firmer in her pessimistic conviction, originally expressed in class on September 21 (referenced in Salem's case study, Appendix I) that plainly critical modes of language teaching were simply untenable in the Saudi university context.

We began the second interview by talking about the course readings that had made the greatest impression on her. Myriam referenced Pennycook's (1996) paper on the ideological underpinnings of plagiarism, and He and Zhang's (2010) examination of the widespread belief that codified native varieties of English are inherently preferable targets of instruction.

Reading He and Zhang catalyzed Myriam's skeptical engagement with one of the core assumptions of her previous teaching—i.e., that L2 immersion methods were optimal and use of students' L1 was, at best, a necessary but regrettable concession to their present ability levels. In doing so, Myriam looked beyond the benefits she felt she had derived from her first English teacher's monolingual methods and started to question the broader validity of this dominant paradigm:

> Because this is for the first time I think about "Okay, who told us so?" From where did we bring this assumption?" And we cause that to ourselves so [He & Zhang (2010)] was like an enlightening article for us. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

The content of this article and subsequent class discussion prompted Myriam to reconceptualize the meaning of past teaching decisions—her classroom use of Arabic now seemed to be not merely acceptable but pedagogically advisable, especially as it enabled lessons to progress efficiently without excessive time being devoted to English-only explanations of vocabulary and gave students the chance to inhabit roles as producers of knowledge by generating accurate translations:

> I think actually as a teacher, I use Arabic. Because sometimes to explain a word it will take me about half an hour to let them understand what is the word … and there is an equivalent in Arabic which I can say or usually I don't prefer to say it myself. I prefer that some students who are like higher level, they could say and I agree [with] that … And for grammar I agree that using a first-language to explain English is a good method.

As such, Myriam had critically reconfigured her framework of belief by forsaking the teaching methods that were governed by discourses of monolingualism and employed during her apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975) as an EFL learner in favor of those that made optimal use of students' existing literacies.

This trend, in which Myriam enthusiastically embraced pedagogical techniques that she had previously been reluctant to use upon discovering their theoretical and ethical justification in critical literature, extended to her views on plagiarism. She described how her English instructors at the secondary and postsecondary levels had encouraged her to incorporate content from outside sources into writing assignments without requiring any citation method, and she noted that she had achieved consistent success with this practice:

"Because in my country I used to get A in my all essay assignments. And actually I was pasting from other's work and the teacher agreed on that" (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012).

After reading Pennycook (1996), she had come to view these experiences as products of an ideological system that diverged from Western thought in positing communal, rather than individual, ownership of ideas. By stating, "I'm not really convinced that there is a plagiarism on ideas," Myriam endorsed Saudi customs of authorial attribution as deliberate invocations of social values rather than decrying them as signs of an archaic procedure lacking the precision of its Western counterpart (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012). Myriam therefore questioned whether teaching standard Western customs of citation in all of their elaborate and idiosyncratic detail was relevant to the majority of Saudi EFL learners (though she did allow for exceptions such as students preparing to study abroad):

> Yeah you know what because English there in Saudi Arabia it's only a foreign language and they don't have to use it at all. Maybe for some of them they … use it only in university, that's it. So why do I have to be strict on them and tell them you have to write professionally while they don't have the language? So that's my point. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

Thus, Myriam realized that she had already implemented critical practices in her classrooms by striving to validate and scaffold upon students' present linguistic resources as well as honor their shared cultural attitudes toward knowledge as collective property. This new awareness notwithstanding, Myriam expressed extreme skepticism about the possibility of transcending a covert system of criticality, wherein the questioning or defiance of authority could take only nebulous shape via tangential action, implication, or meaningful

omission, to adopt a direct and sustained system of critical inquiry of the type advocated in discipline scholarship.

When I asked Myriam to expand on her reasons for this perspective, she explained that the censorship of political and religious issues was among the first institutional policies established by a high-ranking figure at her former institution: "I think from the first meeting with our vice-dean, she said like … 'Do not ever talk about … politics [or] religion'" (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012). This comment and her previous experience of being reproached for using music in the classroom led Myriam to echo Salem's sentiment that fear of retribution, including potentially being fired, was a strong deterrent to broaching forbidden topics. While her remarks suggested that further discussion of gender discrimination could conceivably be conducted (albeit with great discretion), she utterly rejected the notion that her EFL classes could accommodate or encourage any critique of the ruling monarchical elite.

Myriam stated that the government, which has been characterized as an autocratic regime for repressive measures such as surveillance of social media sites and internment of political dissenters (Islam Human Rights Commission, 2011; Smith-Spark & Ayish, 2013 May 7), instilled in the citizenry a pervasive apprehension about defying authority. She spoke of an atmosphere of almost Orwellian paranoia, in which one could be incriminated by statements whose seditious components existed only in the minds of listeners:

> You know what I think in politics it would be a huge mistake [because] you could be
>
> jailed if you talk about politics … Yeah for us politics is a taboo even outside [the
>
> classroom] because you don't know sometimes we say something you don't intend to

like to criticize the king or something like that, but others may interpret it as

something else. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

The sense of helplessness in the face of a domineering system that hindered Myriam's

willingness to implement more overtly critical approaches was compounded by the persistent

influence of her uncritical perspective that conversations about race, nationality, or ethnicity-

based discrimination were irrelevant to homogeneous majority populations. On the subject of

political issues in Saudi society, Myriam remarked, "We have actually an ethnic group in like

the east part of Saudi Arabia and usually they can't admit that they belong to this ethnic

group," soon after intimating that the oppression of these minorities was widely known, if

rarely discussed (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012). Yet, she could not see any justification for

raising this topic with the student body at her former place of employment:

> But for us in Saudi Arabia especially in the city I live in, … we don't have any non-
>
> Saudi in the class. All of them are Saudi females. And also most of them I think from
>
> the same ethnic group. Um so I don't … face this problem a lot.

In addition, she seemed to view student indifference towards political concerns as a factor

that preemptively ruled out their inclusion in class discussion as opposed to a sign that

critical discussions were all the more necessary in her context:

> For like even for politics we don't speak about that because they are teenager and
>
> they don't like to speak about these things. Tell them about malls, about traveling or
>
> something like that. This is what will interest them. That's it.

Though the class had read and discussed Kubota's (2004) piece on Critical Multiculturalism

by the time of our second interview, Myriam appeared to have missed the author's point that

144

open dialogues about human degradation and subjugation are pertinent to all populations, including the privileged majority.

In sum, Myriam had cultivated complex and volatile critical sensibilities as her first semester of graduate school neared its end—many of her deeply entrenched beliefs about language teaching were unseated by critical alternatives, though this general shift in her thinking was susceptible to contradiction by the lingering influence of uncritical perspectives (some of which originated in her limited sensitivity to forms of discrimination from which she was exempt as a member of the ethnic majority). These sensibilities are displayed below, albeit in scant detail, in Myriam's second concept map.
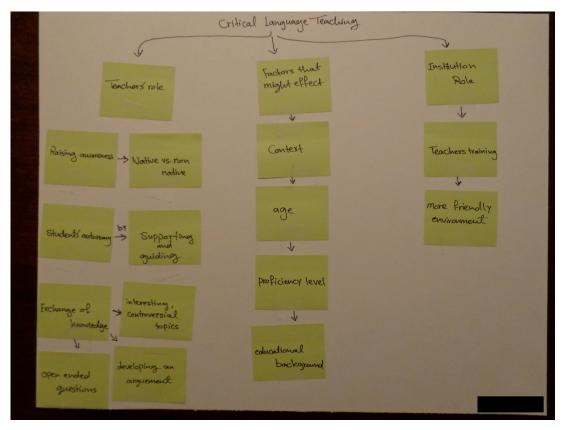
Figure 4. Myriam's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Myriam was one of the few participants whose second map contained fewer items than her first (17 as opposed to 19). The latter map, however, indicates a more expansive

understanding of critical language teaching in addressing a wider range of its constituent factors. Whereas the first map divided the central concept into four primary subcomponents, the second map uses three: "Teachers' role"; "Factors that might affect"; and "Institution role." Each of these subcomponents descends vertically into columns of further related elements.

The "Factors that effect" column displays the aspects of Myriam's understanding that have remained constant: It is conceptually very similar to the "Could be affected by" column in its predecessor, and its component items "Context"; "age"; "proficiency level"; and "educational background" are essentially rephrased versions of the first map's items "level of education" and "Social background and age," with the added item "Context" functioning as a concise summarization of the initial map's items "traditions" and "History and expectation." The repetition of these concepts, combined with Myriam's straightforward statement, "I think critical language teaching might be affected according to students' age, culture, background and proficiency level," indicates that one of the primary effects of taking TESOL 500 was to reinforce her preexisting conviction in the centrality of contextual considerations when developing critical approaches (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012).

By contrast, the "Teacher's role" column exhibits the greatest change from the first map, which was dominated by extensive description of the chain-narrative teaching activity. The previous map's lengthy sequence of content related to that activity is condensed on the second map into two items: "Open-ended questions" and "interesting, controversial topics," which are now explicitly named as an aspect of the procedure, thus suggesting that Myriam has increased her appreciation for its critical applications in addition to its benefits for conversational fluency.

146

Additionally, the activity is now situated among a wider range of critical concerns, including "Raising awareness → Native vs. non-native." Myriam's decision to include the native-nonnative dichotomy, a concept that was absent from the first map and is still among the most germane to critical work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics (e.g., Park, 2012), takes on even greater significance in light of her assertion that "teachers should [raise] their students' awareness about the native and non-native notion" (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012); This declaration revealed Myriam's perception of native speakerism as not merely a theoretical construct but also a vehicle for prompting students to question the roles of perpetual inferiority into which they were positioned by dominant ideologies of EFL instruction. Furthermore, a subtle change is reflected in the replacement of the first map's statement that critical language teaching needs "Encouragement" and "Confidence" with the contention in the second map explanation that "it is [teachers'] responsibility to promote students' autonomy by guiding and supporting them"; the latter places more emphasis on instructors' agency and accompanying obligation to foster independent thinking among students.

The third and final subcomponent, "Institution Role," consists of just two items: "Teachers training" and "More friendly environment," which collectively connote Myriam's position that "institution principals should provide an adquate [sic], proffient [sic] training for teachers and create a friendly atmosphere for them to be able to do their job" (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012). This appeal for a less rigid and authoritarian educational culture demonstrates rhetorical savvy specific to her past and intended future teaching context, as it is phrased with the modesty and indirectness that is perhaps necessary to prevent reprisal from Saudi Arabia's typically austere administrators.

During a follow-up interview conducted nearly five months later, I found that Myriam was still opposed to writing a thesis but had continued to exercise her critical faculties by skeptically appraising the quality and relevance of her subsequent graduate education. When speaking about an elective course concerning the cognitive aspects of language, Myriam alternately laughed with incredulity and seethed with acerbic derision as she lamented the total insignificance of course topics such as whether animals use language to her emerging disciplinary expertise in TESOL. Her negative evaluations of this course's content were moreover of direct significance to her developing criticality because she bemoaned its utter disconnect from concerns of social justice: "For me as an EFL teacher, how would I use that? … Are [animals] going like to solve all the problems in the world? Are they going to spread peace in the world? … It's nonsense to me." (April 14, 2013).

In addition to noting Myriam's persistent critical engagement with coursework, the chief impression that I took away from our follow-up interview was that she had continued to ponder the particular challenges and obstacles that she would encounter upon returning to her former teaching context. Though institutional opposition to critical practices is likely to be as intense as ever and Myriam espoused pronouncedly uncritical viewpoints on numerous occasions, the overall shift in her understanding gives cause for hope that the critical dispositions and capabilities that she had cultivated during her graduate study will enable her to discern stealthy yet potent means of resistance.

A Summary of Additional Case Studies in Category 2

Other than Myriam, 5 individuals were placed into category 2 because their demonstrated capacity to critically reevaluate the significance of their lived experiences was

148

offset by their inability or unwillingness to develop advocacy agendas. Full versions of the case studies summarized in this section can be located in Appendix J.

Upon the completion of her graduate degree, Hani (Female, Indonesia) intended to become a university lecturer in her home country, which is co-inhabited by ethnic and linguistic groups numbering in the hundreds. As such, one of her main goals was to craft teaching approaches centered on respect for student diversity and more specifically, awareness of how words, phrases, and variations in pronunciation entailed different meanings among various populations. As Hani read assigned texts and completed course assignments in TESOL 500, she reconsidered the liberal perception that cultural differences were naturally occurring phenomena and moved toward a more critical interpretation of the relationship between discourses of difference and the politically motivated stratification of Indonesian society.

These critical gains notwithstanding, Hani's willingness to engage students in serious dialogues about race, ethnicity, and language-based discrimination was inhibited by her fears that their immaturity would lead some of them to express prejudicial statements while others were intimidated into silence. Moreover, she neglected to fully interrogate the factors underlying the deep-seated resistance to English learning demonstrated by her previous students; ignoring the possibility of purposive opposition to the encroachment of Western culture, she instead attributed their behavior to anxiety or mere indolence. Accordingly, there was a disconcerting possibility that her skeptical assessment of students' potential to alter their worldviews would become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Diana (Female, South Korea) possessed a fierce desire to claim legitimacy in the field of English teaching despite a history of personal and professional interaction with the

language that had often left her feeling ill-appreciated, under-compensated, and socially ostracized. Through the crucible of marginalization, she had forged a skeptical and disputative disposition with which to appraise the politics of English learning as a social phenomenon in Korea. As her time in TESOL 500 unfolded, Diana became even more resolute in her support for non-native teachers but remained hesitant to accept localized English varieties and Korean-to-Korean English communication as entities and endeavors of equal merit to those centered on native norms.

Despite making noteworthy advancements in her already potent and arresting critical sensibilities, Diana was unable to develop a specific advocacy agenda for largely practical reasons: as a visiting Fulbright scholar and Korean as Foreign Language instructor rather than a full-time MA TESOL student, she was obligated to return to Korea after one semester. Her future in the profession, therefore, was uncertain even though she expressed an intention to seek out a teaching position in her home country. Furthermore, the only concrete goal she had identified as her time abroad drew to a close was writing and publishing a Korean language textbook for American students; this objective, while laudable in light of her view that widely-used textbooks were overly structured and formal, was of dubious critical significance, as textbook-centric approaches to teaching have themselves been the subject of extensive scrutiny (e.g., Hurlbert, 2012).

Beginning her graduate career in a state of near-total uncertainty regarding the concept of critical teaching, Zahra (Female, Saudi Arabia) would go to demonstrate an increasing capacity to connect her personal educational journey with sociopolitical issues of privilege and marginalization in her home country. In the course of her critical reflections, she overcame her previous unexamined complicity with discourses of native speakerism and

came to identify the supposedly innate superiority of native teachers as a prominent misconception in need of correction. Moreover, course readings prompted her to recontextualize her difficult path to the English teaching profession within broader social mechanisms of misogyny; she simultaneously forged new senses of solidarity with other oppressed women across boundaries of race, ethnicity and nation.

Though Zahra spoke of her investment in particular issues of social justice (i.e., achieving greater career autonomy for Saudi women and redressing public school students' disadvantageous access to opportunities for English learning), she struggled to connect these objectives to viable EFL teaching strategies. One significant obstacle to her development of an action agenda was her implicit conceptualization of social change as an agentless historical phenomenon rather than the result of deliberate activism. Thus, it was uncertain whether her professed interest in concepts such as postmethod (Kumaravadivelu, 2006) would translate to pedagogical decisions sufficient to intervene in the reproduction of the status quo.

As was the case with the other female Saudi participants, Laila's journey to the English teaching profession was not shaped by her own agentive will but rather the dictates of her home country's repressive and paternalistic social order. Forbidden by her father from pursuing her desired career in medicine, Laila entered the gender-segregated field of education and settled upon a specialization in psycholinguistics as a surrogate means of cultivating scientific expertise. She commenced her graduate study in TESOL having already cultivated skeptical dispositions toward prominent, and implicitly politicized, theorizations of the learning phenomenon such as the critical period hypothesis.

As her first semester progressed, she refined her critical sensibilities by adopting a postcolonial orientation to EFL teaching, claiming expertise as a multilingual practitioner, and condemning blind adulation of native speakers. Furthermore, when reappraising English-mediated instruction of science subjects at Saudi universities (a practice with which she was previously involved), she stressed the need to demystify conventions of English-language academic writing and the value-laden cultural assumptions in which they are situated. However, these critical perspectives were counterbalanced by her resolute opposition to classroom discussions of oppression and inequality in Saudi society, a proposition she viewed as impossible due to the culture of surveillance, reproach, and discipline at Saudi universities. (In this respect, she echoed the exact sentiments expressed by Salem (see Appendix I) and Myriam (see the representative case study of category 2).) Thus, grounds for classifying Laila into category 2 were found in her reluctance to plant the seeds of resistance among her female students and resultant complicity, by way of inaction, with the very mechanisms of male hegemony that had ruined her own career ambitions.

Julian (Male, China) was a transfer student who had already completed one semester of TESOL coursework prior to enrolling in Jean's class. Though Julian's pedagogical perspectives were initially influenced by the ideas that had been emphasized in his previous courses, such as Krashen's theories of second language acquisition, many of his views were gradually modified or supplanted by the critical concepts taught in TESOL 500. When working as an EFL teacher in his home country, Julian had been subjected to discriminatory comments from students who subscribed to discourses of native speaker supremacy. This lived experience of marginalization catalyzed the cultivation of a critical mentality that he would later employ to interrogate the ideological underpinnings of the teaching approaches

he was compelled to adopt and the prejudicial attitudes he was forced to confront at his former place of employment.

As the period of data collection progressed, the scope of Julian's criticality slowly expanded to displace his wholly cognitive conception of second language learning in favor of a model that emphasized the concept of meaningful literacy (Hanauer, 2011). Because Julian had a greater wealth of experience with discipline scholarship than the other participants, he was unique in his ability to evaluate the validity of claims made in research articles against the amount and quality of evidence they provided. Despite his impressive capacity for critical reasoning, Julian resisted the notion that tenets of critical scholarship could be applied consistently to practical teaching situations in Chinese university contexts. He perceived the educational culture's deeply entrenched assumption that English proficiency was a neutral technology for career advancement as the greatest impediment to the adoption of critical practices. As such, he felt that both administrators and students would resolutely reject EFL pedagogies that pursued substantive exploration of self, society and power because they had been enculturated to expect perfunctory methods of test-preparation.

Category 3: Limited Transformation of Understanding

Representative Case Study: Mei

Mei's overarching goal for graduate study in TESOL was to return to her home country of China and obtain an English teaching position. Though Mei was undecided as to her intended future teaching context, she speculated that she would like to teach high school students. Mei was soft-spoken and shy during sessions of TESOL 500 and very self-conscious in interviews, often expressing concern about whether she had coherently articulated her views and checking to confirm that I had understood her. Her reserved and

anxious demeanor, however, belied a playful wit that occasionally rose to the surface in the form of an offhand joke or humorous aside.

Mei had previously volunteered as a teacher of various non-traditional and disadvantaged student populations. As her first semester progressed, she occasionally drew critical insights from her reflections on the dynamics of these contexts as well as her efforts to customize her pedagogical approaches to suit students' needs and abilities. Additionally, she referred to her own experiences as a learner of English in China's formal educational contexts in order to identify a dimension of conventional instruction that she found unfair and frequently deleterious to students' motivation.

Mei's budding criticality, however, was offset by embedded perceptions of language and culture as entities that deterministically governed individuals' approaches to communication. As such, her commentary sometimes bore the influence of outmoded or stereotyped beliefs about the modes of thinking and conveying meaning that were supposedly innate to various languages. Overall, the early portions of Mei's graduate career seemed to find her in a state of stasis, as emerging critical standpoints were counterbalanced by the persistence of essentialized views of language users and use.

Displayed below in Figure 5, Mei's first concept map foregrounds the notion of modifying teaching approaches based on students' primary purposes for language learning.
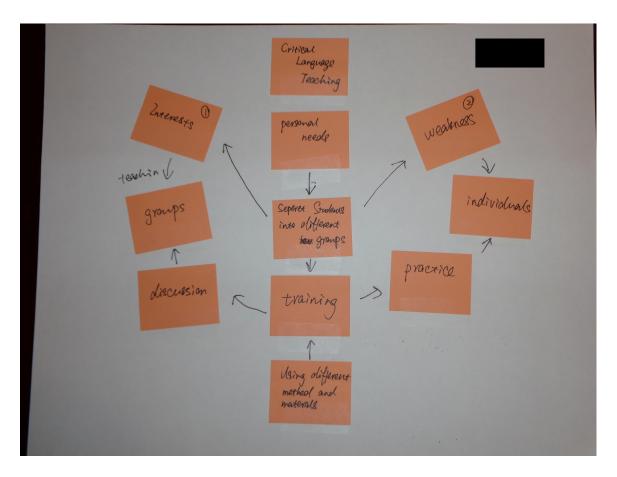
Figure 5. Mei's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

On this map, four items descend vertically from the central concept of "Critical Language Teaching": "Personal needs"; "[Separate] Students into different groups"; "training"; and "Using different method and materials." The left and right portions of the map demonstrate the two groups into which students can be separated and terse descriptions of instructional styles and activities that can be used with each group. The first group, "Interests," refers to those students who study willingly due to personal interest. As Mei wrote on her map explanation:

> If the students just have [an interest] in the language, I highly recommend that they
>
> should be taught in group. Different methods and technology should be used in class
>
> to keep their interest. For example, someone come up with a question, the other

students discuss about it and finally answer the question. (Map 1 explanation, Nov 15, 2012)

The other group, "weakness," refers to students who are required to learn a language for "some certain reason, for example…an [examination]" (Map 1 explanation, Nov 15, 2012). Mei offered comparatively few remarks about this student population in her map explanation, stating only that, "this kind of students should have more practices."

While this initial map exhibits a critical dimension in that it promotes tailoring instructional approaches based on the circumstances of students' learning, Mei has also included numerous items that appear problematic when placed under the heading of "critical language teaching." These include the apparent assumptions that students' motivations for learning can be neatly divided between two binary categories and that engaging, student-centered activities are suitable only for those who have the luxury of studying voluntarily. By contrast, it is suggested that those who are compelled to study for purposes such as an impending examination should engage in more intensive repetition of specific activities aimed at improving weak points.

As Mei described her English learning history during our first interview, it became clear that her decision to distinguish between approaches acceptable for imposed language study and those acceptable for elective study had arisen from greatly different experiences in various teaching and learning environments. As with several other participants, Mei described her formal English study in junior high and high school as a rote process of test preparation that was conducted almost exclusively in her first language and bore no genuine communicative purpose. Mei's engagement in English learning tasks, therefore, was less attributable to genuine interest in the subject matter than her drive to distinguish herself

within China's intensely competitive, exam-based curricula. Once again echoing the narratives of other participants, Mei reported that her own desire for academic success was fueled by the praise she received from her parents and teachers, which entailed both validation and pressures to maintain her level of achievement:

I think most of [my English classes were] interesting, but sometimes I have to be the excellent person … So maybe I just want my mother's happy, like want the teachers admire me, so I have to be the good one … Because like friends of my mother or my father they always say "oh, your daughter is a good girl. She is very excellent in study." So I have to be the excellent one. (Interview 1, Sept 13, 2012)

Hence, Mei's recommendation of concentrated practice for students who are required to learn English may have its origins in her firsthand experience with the burden of social and familial expectations of academic achievement.

Mei's original intention was to major in Finance at university, but her high scores on the Chinese and English portions of the entrance examination led to an offer of admission to the Translation department at the college of her choice. While she found her postsecondary coursework moderately more engaging than her previous studies, she did not discover a truly fulfilling dimension of English learning until she began to volunteer as an English teacher. Mei's first and perhaps most profoundly affecting volunteer experience occurred during her sophomore year, when she began teaching youths who were in the custody of a local children's center. Mei reported that interacting with these students, many of whom were disabled, prompted her to discern values of language teaching beyond those measured by traditional, test-centric modes of assessment: "I feel very very happy when they show me a

157

big smile on their face, so I think … [becoming] a teacher is amazing work" (Interview 1, Sept 13, 2012).

This teaching experience also gave rise to a jarring realization, as coming face to face with the students' widespread disadvantages shattered Mei's previous assumptions of an egalitarian society: "I feel sorry for them because I used to see that everyone is fair in this world, but the actually is no" (Interview 1, Sept 13, 2012). Having gained critical awareness of the hardships endured by socially marginalized populations, Mei set about developing a pedagogical agenda that would enable the students to participate in meaningful and rewarding lessons: "Because … a lot of them are blind or something we just can speak or sing to let them know what we are talking about [and] what … is going on because they could not see the outside world." Observing students' improvement and receiving positive feedback from them kindled Mei's interest in pursuing teaching as a profession: "So at that time, I think, 'Oh, I can teach them, I can tell them to know another language.' It's amazing."

Another volunteer experience that strengthened Mei's resolve to move away from translation and toward teaching involved helping high school students to prepare for the English portion of the national university entrance exam. In accordance with students' requests, Mei used traditional drilling and lecturing techniques to teach vocabulary and grammar points that would be covered on the test. This experience prompted ambivalent feelings, as she realized that she was reenacting the rigid and perfunctory teaching approaches that had failed to generate her own substantive personal interest in language learning, yet she felt that the extremely high stakes nature of the examination necessitated the adoption of a "teaching to the test" approach that would result in the greatest chance of student success. She remarked that during these teaching sessions, "We always [focused] on

the examination. Because without examination we have no chance to enter the college. We have no chance to gain the higher education" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012).

As the outcome of the entrance exam could literally dictate the course of students' futures, Mei found that she needed to perpetuate un-stimulating pedagogies in order to help students navigate the impositions of the dominant educational culture. Her investment in students' success was moreover fueled by her identification of inequitable access to educational opportunities as an issue of social justice in China: "Not everybody can entrance the college. So I … think it is a good thing for China improve their, people's how to say, education" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012). Despite her local efforts to intervene in the stratification of society, she expressed the pessimistic view that ordinary people on the whole "don't have any power" to rectify social inequalities.

In sum, Mei commenced graduate coursework having taught diverse student populations and customized her approaches according to their particular learning needs and interests. In spite of this diversity of experience, she felt unprepared to identify research interests in the TESOL field and perceived herself as lagging behind her fellow cohort members in this regard: "…when I come here, I feel every people know they want to research something but I feel lost about it" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012). During our initial interview, Mei identified pragmatics as a potential area of interest; her comments on this topic, however, revealed an uncritical dimension of her understanding at that time, as numerous statements seemed to exhibit the influence of the outmoded notion that languages and cultures deterministically control the ways people think and behave.

Mei was first introduced to pragmatics by an undergraduate instructor who had graduated from a Japanese university. From this individual's teaching and her own travel

159

experiences in Japan, Mei developed the perspective that Japanese speakers' approaches to first and second language communication were governed by cultural customs that valued politeness and deference: "the Japanese speak English very how to say, pride or kind or something …When they speak English, I feel very nice about it. I don't know how to explain it" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012). I asked Mei to elaborate on this point, and she stated, "You have been to … Japan, yeah? They speak always 'Oh, *hai hai hai.[Yes yes yes] Arigatou arigatou [Thank you thank you].*' I think it's a very good manner so I have the interest in the pragmatics."

Though this claim is intended to be complimentary, it problematically assigns traits to Japanese people as a whole. Mei extended this pattern of overgeneralization to her observations about the contrasting approaches to articulating meaning supposedly employed by first-language speakers of Chinese and English. Invoking claims (e.g., Kaplan, 1966) that have lingered in the popular imagination despite having undergone extensive critical scrutiny in academic literature, Mei characterized Chinese modes of expression as innately indirect, circular, and digressive: "the Chinese person have the way to speak is very … just round round round and just make the point. We tell them a lot about something [even though we] just want to say one little point" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012). In Mei's view, these attributes also applied to written discourse: "the Chinese article maybe write too much sometimes I don't really understand what they want to say. Maybe I read more than ten pages [before] I know, 'Oh, she want to write this.'"

Whereas Mei's comments about spoken Chinese took the form of a neutral declarative statement, her remarks about written Chinese contained an overt criticism (authors tend to write "too much") tied to a negative consequence (their main points are often

difficult to detect). Frustrations with the perceived tangential quality of Chinese discourse led Mei to express a partiality for writing in English, which she held to embody the opposite characteristics of directness and linearity: "However I think … English is the direct language … Because when I [write in English] I always write … the direct things I want to write without too much word like the adjective or something" (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012).

Of course, Mei is entitled to her preference for writing in English, and her characterization of English discourse, though oversimplified, accords with conventions of certain academic and argumentative genres. However, she undeniably adopted a deterministic conception of pragmatics, language, and culture by positing them as the inculcated systems of thought and expression that individual speakers will inevitably enact in a given context; a more critical conception, by contrast, might posit pragmatics as an array of communication *preferences* which individuals agentively obey or defy depending on context-specific communicative intention.

As numerous scholars have argued, models that attribute authorial choices to linguistic and cultural conditioning not only result in the erasure of individual agency but also suggest that learning a second language is a matter of emulating the communicative practices of the essentialized other (Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Leki, 1997; Spack, 1997). Hence, when viewpoints such as those expressed by Mei circulate at the societal level, they can result in dichotomous distinctions between languages and cultures, discriminatory appraisals of linguistic or rhetorical "authenticity," and deficit-oriented depictions of non-native speakers.

Regarding the final item, Mei's thinking seemed at times to echo the devaluation of localized English use that was expressed by Linlin (see Appendix J); Mei remarked in a short

161

autobiography assignment for TESOL 500 that "[In China,] a small number of English teachers are really capable to teach English correctly and effectively" (Field notes, Sept 7, 2012). When I asked for additional elaboration on this claim, Mei referenced her own learning history to contend that English teachers in China often speak with heavy accents, which in her estimation greatly impedes students' abilities to attain "correct" (implicitly defined as native-centric) pronunciation:

> So the people … learn English not very well. Such as the pronunciation was not the correct. Yeah maybe if [such teachers] teach the very young kids, they will influence their whole life. Because I think my oral English is not very well because of the teacher do not teach me the correct way to pronunciation. (Interview 1, Sept 14, 2012)

When coupled with Mei's blanket generalizations about culturally and linguistically dictated modes of expression, this bias toward native speakerism suggests that uncritical perspectives outweighed critical ones at the earliest stages of Mei's graduate education.

At the onset of our second interview, which took place approximately five weeks later, Mei reported an interest in several of the pedagogical approaches discussed in TESOL 500 readings, including postmethod (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) and the pedagogy of shuttling between languages (Canagarajah, 2006). As such, I asked her to speculate on how she might adapt these methods to the Chinese secondary context, where both administrators and students expect teachers to use non-communicative approaches and focus exclusively on preparing students for the college entrance exam. Mei responded by considering how she could incorporate pair work activities into the traditional curriculum of test preparatory grammar instruction:

I think the best way to teaching grammar is to practice. Yeah I think … the one to one

teaching mode will better … if the students really want to improve their grammar …

Because if we just stand in front of the big class I could not focus on everyone's

problem. Maybe the better than them will become better and the medium level will

just stay in the middle level. I think if we … use the one to one teaching mode, the

students just learn by themselves, not from teacher I think. (Interview 2, Oct 23,

2012)

In these comments, Mei not only amended her previous assertion that group work is

appropriate only for voluntary study but also advocated for students to become active and

independent learners. Even more importantly from a critical perspective, she discerned how

the conventional teacher-centric classroom tends to reinforce and reproduce disparities in

achievement (i.e., strong students become stronger while less skilled students do no better

than maintain their present abilities).

Impressed by Mei's response, I continued my line of inquiry and asked her to

critically reflect on her previous perception that common people are powerless to intercede in

issues of social justice such as limited access to higher education in China. Mei contemplated

how an agenda for social change might be developed through a pedagogy centered on the

equal treatment of all students, regardless of their present levels of achievement:

Yeah I think the teacher [should] treat every student the same. So if I am the teacher,

I will try my best to let the lower level or intermediate level students to have the

confidence in the class and their assignment. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

163

Mei explained that an approach centered on encouraging struggling students would amount to a drastic upheaval of the existing order, in which teachers foster a culture of fear and shame by harshly criticizing such pupils:

> I think the Chinese students have a common problem that we are afraid of the teachers very much … And maybe if the teachers encourage the students and tell them they can do well and they can do better because teacher in China will not do that. They just say "Why [couldn't] you do well?" "Why other classmates could do an excellent job but you could not?" They just … make you feel you are not a good student. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

Because this mode of teacher-student interaction can lead students to accept the labels of inferiority placed upon them and resign themselves to the implausibility of entering university, Mei reported an intention to "change the students' attitude to learn English" by providing much-needed encouragement, sympathy, and motivation (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). Despite Mei's stated aim of using her classroom as a site of social intervention, she later appeared to contradict these remarks by expressing willingness to inhabit the traditional, authoritative teacher role.

This inconsistency became apparent as Mei elaborated on her understanding of how cultural communication customs influence conventions of textual organization. Despite some discussion in TESOL 500 of the need to conceive of languages, cultures, and genres as being in flux among unequal dynamics of power rather than discrete and static entities (Canagarajah, 2006; Kubota, 2004), Mei reiterated her belief that English academic discourse was preferable to its Chinese equivalent due to its inherent directness and clarity of organization:

Yeah I think English academic writing is the … five paragraphs style, the first one is

to state what my topic is, and the second, third, and fourth is the three very powerful

supported ideas and the finally is the conclusion. I think it's very obvious for the

readers to learn from your article. But in China … they always write a lot of things

before they are writing their topic. And after maybe I read three or four pages, I have

not read the main topic. I will lose my interest. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

On the basis of her own preference for the "five paragraph theme," itself long derided as an

antiquated and creativity-stifling form in the Composition field, Mei intended to teach her

future students Western modes of composing, including standard citation formats:

First I will tell them how to do the APA citation. I think this citation is very important

because … plagiarism in China is not so strict. And a lot of people just say … what

other authors writing and just copy it paste it in their article. Maybe they do not

regard it as a plagiarism. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

Referencing Pennycook's 1996 article, which had been discussed in TESOL 500 prior to

Mei's second interview, I asked Mei if she felt that plagiarism, as a Western ideological

construct, was relevant to the Chinese secondary context. She replied:

Yeah I think so because one of my … foreign teachers come from the California. And

the first class she taught … APA citation. I think it's very important if you want to be

the language learner … Just learn the language and learn their culture and learn their

writing style. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

This response indicated that Mei continued to view English-language writing as the cultural

and intellectual property of Western native speakers; her use of the phrases "their culture"

and "their writing style" evokes a binary Self-Other distinction that problematically endows

Westerners with the agency to determine what constitutes acceptable textual practices while leaving Chinese learners with no recourse but to emulate those practices, even when they reflect concepts that run contrary to their own authorial intentions.

Perhaps greater cause for concern arises from Mei's comments about her intended means of persuading students to see the value of writing English academic discourse according to Western conventions (as she perceived them). When I asked Mei how she would respond to students who questioned why they had to learn these conventions, she circumvented the issue by stating "Ah, I think it's not a problem in China because … the students do not like to ask 'Why?'" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). In an ironic reversal of her previous assertion that Chinese secondary teachers should become less authoritarian and more sensitive to students' needs and struggles, Mei elected to rely on students' reluctance to question teachers' instructions rather than actually provide a rationale for the wholesale importation of the Western tradition. In doing so, she expressed a readiness to adopt the very same austere teacher persona she had previously decried.

While I have subjected Mei to numerous critiques, it should in fairness be mentioned that her pursuit of criticality was inhibited by intense anxiety about participating in class in front of her American classmates (in this regard, she once again reinforced statements made by Linlin). Mei's apprehension was rooted in her fear of coming across as an unskilled or incoherent English speaker, resulting in her decision to mentally rehearse the comments she intended to make in class before speaking them aloud. However, she often found that by the time she was ready to speak out, the discussion had moved on to another topic:

But I have the problem that in the class when I want to speak something, … I'm afraid of to make some mistakes. Yeah so I just thinking a long time and prepare for

166

answers and when I prepare well, the question is move to the next one. Yeah. So

maybe in class I always be silent person but I really want to talk. (Interview 2, Oct 23,

2012)

Mei remarked that she was particularly concerned about how her utterances would be

received by her American counterparts, again demonstrating her conviction that native

speakers are the sole arbiters of acceptable usage: "I'm afraid the native speakers will be

[thinking], 'Oh, what she is talking about?' I will feel nervous about this situation."

Though Mei pledged to be more vocal in future sessions of TESOL 500, she

remained for the most part silent, excepting class activities that required each student to

speak. More encouraging was Mei's decision to develop her difficult transition to graduate

coursework in the United States into an area of academic inquiry. At the time of our second

interview, she was preparing a poster presentation for a local TESOL conference on the

anxieties experienced by Chinese students as they acclimate to student-centered pedagogies

and instructors' expectations that students will take charge of their own learning.

Thus, Mei's interview comments suggested that she was attempting to reconcile

emerging critical perspectives with the enduring influence of previously cultivated beliefs as

her first semester of graduate study neared its conclusion. Evidence of this conflict on her

second concept map, however, is scare. Displayed below in Figure 6, this map displays a

heavily revised and expanded agenda for customizing teaching approaches but little in the

way of critical concepts or terminology.
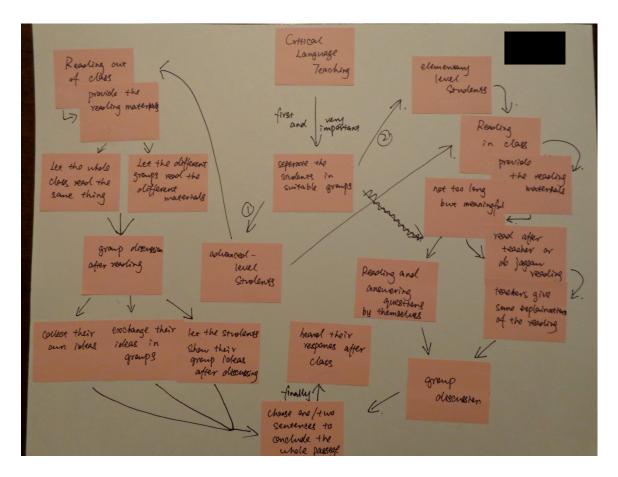
Figure 6. Mei's second concept map (created on Nov 15, 2012).

Similar to the first map, this map lists "separate the students in suitable groups" as "the first

and very important" step of Critical Language Teaching. However, the second map

distinguishes students by level ("elementary" versus "advanced") rather than the mandatory

or voluntary nature of their study. In keeping with comments Mei made during our second

interview, "group discussion" is now displayed as an approach suitable for both student

populations, and the sequence of activities to be employed with each group is articulated in

much greater detail (21 total items as compared to 11 in the first map).

The method outlined for "elementary level students" involves a series of activities

centered on "not too long but meaningful" reading materials; these progress from highly

structured and repetition-based tasks ("read after teacher") to more student-centered and

open-ended ones ("reading and answering questions by themselves"; "group discussion"). "Advanced-level students" are presented with reading assignments to be completed outside of class and then tasked with "[exchanging] their ideas in groups" and "[showing] their group ideas after discussing."

In her map comparison, Mei remarked that "I think the first map is too general, so I make my second map a specific one" (Nov 15, 2012), and she has indeed presented a far more thorough sequence of classroom activities than that displayed in her initial map. However, both maps are limited to the description of teaching techniques themselves with no reference to their underlying rationales and scant mention of their intended outcomes, let alone how they relate to the critical concepts discussed in Jean's course. Though Mei did exhibit signs of a tentative critical consciousness in the course of our conversations, as evidenced by her admirable (albeit soon contradicted) intention to subvert China's intimidation-based and meritocracy-sustaining system of interaction between teachers and students, it appeared that few if any vestiges of criticality were manifested in her explicit depiction of "Critical Language Teaching."

When considered collectively, the viewpoints expressed by Mei suggest that she did not grasp the concept of criticality to nearly the same extent as some of her fellow cohort members. Nonetheless, she reported during a brief follow-up interview that her intended thesis topic was mainland Chinese students' processes of identity reconstruction while studying in the trilingual environment of Hong Kong (April 2, 2013). This subject was not only directly modeled on that of Gao (2010), a TESOL 500 reading, but also demonstrated significant critical dimensions by focusing on an aspect of language learning beyond generated linguistic output and considering how instances of learning are intertwined with

169

social politics of belonging and exclusion. While the level of criticality with which Mei conducts her research remains to be seen, her anticipated topic brings a hopeful coda to Mei's narrative, indicating that critical consciousness may potentially develop even if the initial teaching of critical concepts does not have readily apparent effects.

A Summary of Additional Case Studies in Category 3

In addition to Mei, 2 individuals were placed into category 3 because they only sporadically exhibited the influence of critical course concepts and were generally unable or unwilling to mount a sustained challenge to their preexisting beliefs. Full versions of the case studies summarized in this section can be located in Appendix K.

Linlin's (Female, China) first semester was defined in large part by the anxiety and turmoil she experienced as she painstakingly pursued the ingrained dispositions, actions, and gestures, or *habitus*, through which experienced scholars attain and articulate critical perspectives in recognized forms (Bourdieu, 1991). Her primary source of apprehension was the perceived deficiency of her own speaking ability as compared to the effortless fluency demonstrated by her American classmates. The development of her nascent criticality, therefore, was greatly impeded by classroom experiences that had left her discouraged to the point of internalizing a fatalistic perception of perpetual inferiority.

More specifically, Linlin's limited efforts to validate the unique skills and abilities of non-native English teachers were outweighed by her lingering skepticism about the validity of non-native Englishes. Hence, for the majority of her first year of study Linlin was a proponent of linguistic diversity only insofar as the language varieties in question were defined as discrete, homogenous codes of native populations (e.g., British and American English) or populations that tended to speak English with relatively few alternations to the

phonetic and grammatical systems of prestigious varieties (e.g., Indian English). It was not until our follow-up interview that she began to question why she held other English varieties, including those spoken by her Chinese teacher colleagues, in such dismissive regard.

Fluent in both English and Italian, Katya (Female, United States) exhibited a stasis in critical understanding that was surprising in light of her firsthand experience with the benefits of bilingualism and her highly sympathetic attitudes towards the struggles experienced by English language learners. Owing to a series of tutoring and teaching experiences in which her own linguistic resources had enabled her to anticipate learners' difficulties, Katya centered her emerging pedagogical principles on the importance of possessing linguistic knowledge of both English and students' native tongues. Yet, throughout her first semester of graduate study, she espoused a straightforward conception of ESL/EFL learning as an ideologically neutral process that was predicated on the concept of intrinsically willing learners. Moreover, several of Katya's comments raised the question of whether she was sensitive to only those aspects of the language learning phenomenon that accorded with her own experiences while remaining largely oblivious to those from which she was exempted by her own privilege. For example, her remark that an EFL teaching opportunity in China "just presented itself" indicated that she had yet to detect the myriad forms of discursive prestige (and accompanying practical advantages) with which she was endowed as a native-speaker of English (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012).

A consequence of this tendency was a limited notion of student resistance. When reflecting on her EFL teaching experiences in China, Katya attributed instances of student fatigue, reticence or embarrassment solely to surface-level factors such as overbearing workloads or familial pressures; like Hani, she neglected to ponder the possibility that these

behaviors were motivated by more meaningful resistance to English learning as a social practice through which students were forcibly positioned into existing hierarchies of prestige and power. As such, her recommended tactics for bolstering student motivation were largely limited to basic expressions of encouragement; the ability to cultivate a more critical approach through which students were empowered to discern, explicitly decry, and perhaps even subvert the social circumstances of their alienation remained elusive at that point in her professional development.

Concluding Remarks

In the preceding sections of this chapter, I first established three overarching categories that were recursively developed to identify trends in outcomes of critical teacher training in the research site's MA TESOL program. Next, I presented one representative case study for each category; these case studies were selected on the grounds of their ability to illuminate the changes in conceptual understanding and development of advocacy agendas (or lack thereof) that each category represents.

In the next chapter, I examine factors that collectively structured participants' engagement with critical ideas, discuss the implications of my findings for the design and teaching of graduate TESOL courses, and recommend areas of inquiry in future TESOL and Applied Linguistics research.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The impetus for the research project described in the previous five chapters arose as I realized that, through critical concepts have attained an immensely important or even canonical position in the literature of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics disciplines, there have been very few detailed qualitative investigations of students' engagement with critical ideas in the context of formal graduate education in TESOL. This topic also resonated with me on a personal level, as I had undergone a critical awakening after a series of frustrating teaching experiences at a franchised English conversation school in Japan, a context that was fundamentally shaped by corporate profiteering and problematic discourses of native speaker supremacy. As such, I was often disconcerted when fellow students in my own doctoral courses voiced the perspective that critical approaches to language teaching were admirable in their aim to rectify injustice but hopelessly impractical within their past or intended future teaching contexts.

Turning to TESOL, Applied Linguistics, and Composition literature, I found a wealth of critical theorizations of the language teaching and learning phenomena, but very few detailed investigations into the outcomes of teacher training conducted with a critical orientation. Lin's (2004) reflexive account of her attempts to introduce a critical pedagogical curriculum to an MA TESOL program in Hong Kong was the text that was most directly relevant to my area of inquiry and played the strongest role in the creation of my research project. On the basis of her students' writings, her own teaching journals, and an informal discussion with two students after the course had concluded, Lin contended that teaching critical pedagogical theories is an endeavor rife with potential complications, as the theories

173

"are themselves likely to run the risk of becoming authoritative discourses … in relation to schoolteachers whom they often purport to set out to empower" (p. 276). For Lin's students, the potentially oppressive aspects of critical theory were found in the dense intellectual language of academic texts and the perceived insufficiency of critical consciousness to overcome frustrating and demoralizing aspects of their teaching contexts. Intrigued by the conundrums that Lin discussed, I set out to investigate how the teaching and learning of critical concepts unfolded among a more linguistically and culturally diverse body of students in a different setting (a Master's-level TESOL program in the United States).

Upon sustained systematic inquiry, I found three overarching outcomes of instruction, though for all thirteen participants the pursuit of criticality was a conflicted, nonlinear, and partially contradictory process. Four participants exhibited an ideal outcome, as they not only deconstructed their previous perspectives and assumptions about language teaching but also utilized their newfound critical awareness to discern practical pedagogical possibilities. Six participants understood the tenets of criticality as they were constructed in the course but were largely unable or unwilling to determine concrete applications of critical principles in their intended future teaching contexts. Finally, three participants demonstrated limited transformation of their pre-instruction understandings, as the ingrained beliefs and perceptions they had cultivated in the course of their previous experiences diminished the impact of critical course content.

Chapter Overview

This concluding chapter presents the following content: a) two metaphors of criticality, which concisely reiterate the key characteristics of understanding that distinguished individuals in category 1 from those in categories 2 and 3; b) discussion of the

factors that inhibited participants from developing more substantive and enduring

manifestations of criticality; c) the resultant implications of these factors for the design and

teaching of graduate TESOL courses and curricula (integrated with (b) as appropriate); d)

discussion of the factors that enabled four participants to attain substantive manifestations of

criticality complete with perceived pedagogical applications; e) recommended areas of

inquiry in future TESOL and Applied Linguistics research; and f) a final word on

pedagogical actions for successful critical teacher training

Two Metaphors of Criticality

As previously described, the fundamental distinction between individuals in category

1 and those in category 2 was that the latter were prevented from developing an advocacy

agenda by their perception that *criticality was a pre-existing tool* unsuited to the nature of

their past or future teaching. That is, they viewed critical pedagogies of language teaching as

fixed and finite sets of objectives and tactics (explicitly challenging authoritative social

institutions, frank discussion of political power disparities, etc.). Because core critical tenets

were seen as lacking a dimension of flexibility—the ability to be reconstituted in subtler,

more subversive, or more rhetorically effective forms as situations demanded—context-

specific obstacles such as the opposition of conservative educational cultures and students'

ingrained preferences for rote, test-preparatory modes of teaching were perceived as

insurmountable (see additional commentary below). Thus, in six participants' views, the

concepts and methods of criticality were rendered as superfluous as a hammer for a task that

required a wrench.

By contrast, individuals in category 1 came to perceive that *criticality was the fire in*

which necessary tools are continually forged. For these four participants, criticality was a

175

generative dispositional attribute of disruptive skepticism or what Dean (1994) termed the "restive problematization of the given" (cited in Pennycook, 2001, p. 118). Owing to their understanding of criticality as a construct uniformly anchored in the drive to contest hegemony but protean and regenerative in its pedagogical applications, they were able to reappraise enculturated assumptions about teaching and learning languages as well as unveil the ideological underpinnings of teaching approaches they were required or expected to enact in particular contexts. Accordingly, they were able to discern connections between pedagogical choices and the disruption or perpetuation of larger inequitable power structures.

Most crucially, the four individuals who subscribed to the fire metaphor could diagnose means of defying, subverting, or circumventing institutional restrictions and devise strategies for empowerment of self and students. These strategies were retrospective or hypothetical: the former centered on critical reappraisal of the ramifications of prior teaching decisions, as when Dagney bemoaned her previous reliance on competition-based activities and the larger mentalities they may have reinforced among her students. The latter consisted of critical strategies perceived to be viable and beneficial in individuals' intended future teaching contexts, such as Zhao's stated intention to compel her young women students to resist discourses of female subservience and Salem's willingness to discuss the taboo issue of Saudi women being denied the right to drive in his EFL courses. The concepts and methods of criticality, therefore, were understood to be as powerful and inexhaustibly potent as the flames in which tools were continually crafted.

Factors that Impeded Substantive and Enduring Conceptions of Criticality

Initial Caveats

Before discussing commonalities among the participants, it is important to restate that the outcomes of their engagement with critical concepts cannot be attributed to single causal factors such as English fluency or culturally conditioned approaches to constructing and articulating knowledge in academic settings. Though these factors were indeed relevant to participants' experiences, they did not exert a decisive influence so much as exist within larger shifting confluences of privilege and marginalization stemming from each individual's lived experiences. This complexity was evidenced as individuals sharing broad linguistic and cultural backgrounds exhibited divergent outcomes (for example: among Americans[13], Dagney and Afia were placed into category 1, while Katya was placed into category 3; among Chinese, Zhao was placed into category 1, while Julian was placed into category 2, and Mei and Linlin were placed into category 3). Similarly, the factors described below do not apply uniformly to all participants; rather, those individuals to whom a given factor was relevant are described within the commentaries on each factor and summarized below in Table 6.

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[13] Of course, the very practice of classifying individuals by national origin is ripe for critical reappraisal. However, I have adopted the construct of nationality as a shorthand for a distinction that existed in students' perceptions of their own experiences in the classroom (some international students, for example, made periodic references to their "American" classmates) and identity categories that were imposed on students via governmental and institutional regulations (e.g., American students could work legally whereas international students had greatly restricted employment opportunities).

Table 6

Breakdown of Factors that Impeded Substantive and Enduring Conceptions of Criticality

Factor	Applicable participant(s)
Perceived incompatibility of critical approaches with familiar teaching contexts	Hani, Julian, Katya, Laila, Mei, Myriam
Anxieties about linguistic performance	Linlin, Mei
Devaluation of localized Englishes	Diana, Zahra, Linlin, Mei
Struggles to cultivate the student habitus and capital valued in American universities	Diana, Linlin
Intracurricular contradictions	Myriam, Linlin, Hani, Julian, Zhao
Unacknowledged privilege	Hani, Katya, Myriam, Salem

Lastly, it should be clarified that suggestions made in the *implications for TESOL courses and curricula* sections throughout the remainder of this chapter are not meant to constitute a prescriptive agenda for critical teaching; to even attempt such an endeavor would be a contradictory and self-defeating proposition, as critical approaches are by definition recursively derived from contextual considerations rather than the blanket application of universalized principles. In making suggestions on the basis of my findings, I instead seek to illuminate a range of issues and challenges that may be relevant to teacher trainers as they consider how to craft suitable approaches for particular groups of students in local contexts.

Perceived Incompatibility of Critical Approaches with Familiar Teaching Contexts

As mentioned repeatedly in the previous chapter and Appendices I and J, the factor that most consistently obstructed participants' abilities to develop practical applications of critical ideas was the perceived unsuitability of critical approaches to their past or desired future teaching contexts. Six participants in categories 2 and 3 (Hani, Julian, Katya, Laila, Mei, and Myriam) were precluded from speculating on critical pedagogical possibilities because they could not generate feasible means of overcoming cultural, institutional and/or student resistance.

Regarding institutional opposition, three of the four Saudi participants (Salem in category 1 and Myriam and Laila in category 2) spoke of the highly conservative and repressive educational culture in their home country, which was manifested in policies that strictly prohibited the discussion of political topics or any line of inquiry that could be construed as challenging the status quo. Thus, following the critical imperative to confront social injustices such as the marginalization of women, ethnic minorities, and non-Muslims was a perilous proposition. Because Salem, Myriam, and Laila had previously worked at universities that engaged in the active surveillance, reproach, and discipline of teachers, they were aware of the very real risks associated with defying institutional mandates on acceptable lesson procedure.

Salem also expressed the fear that students, having been indoctrinated to perceive the breaching of taboo topics as offensive, would act as informants to his superiors should he try to introduce critical components to his teaching. Myriam's experience of being rebuked by a supervisor for playing a YouTube video with background music in class (an act that was held to be a violation of Islamic law) had made her hesitant to mount more sustained and overtly ideological challenges to dominant institutions in the existing order. Similarly, Laila dismissed the prospect of discussing instances of oppression or inequality with a succinct finality, stating "we can't mention something related to politics or something related to the government or something related to the policy of the university. We can't mention [any] of these things" (Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012).

According to Julian, power and identity-centric pedagogies of English teaching were not prohibited in China but rather held in low regard by employers, who tended to hire candidates with proven records of facilitating student success on standardized assessment

179

measures. He went on to comment that social assumptions about English as a neutral technology for career advancement had also permeated the mentalities of students, resulting in their common preference for perfunctory methods of test-preparation over substantive explorations of self and society: "The students I had … were less concerned with their identity issues … they need to learn English to climb the corporate ladder or get as a career development so what they were seeking was more practical thing" (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2012). Julian's remark revealed that he viewed students' enculturated expectations or preferences for uncritical modes of teaching as grounds for avoiding the adoption of critical approaches rather than a circumstance that spoke to the need for their implementation. Therefore, his skeptical assessment of students' potential to alter their existing perspectives in favor of critical alternatives ran a high risk of becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy; this distressing possibility was also reflected in Hani's comments that her former students were too immature to participate in critical discussions and Mei's speculation that her Chinese students would be incapable of forming and articulating critical thoughts due to the silent, passive, and compliant student roles into which they had been socialized.

A related concern from the cases of Hani and Kayta was that the perceived irrelevance of critical approaches arose in part because the participants neglected to fully interrogate the factors that may have been motivating observed instances of student resistance. Ignoring the possibility of purposive opposition to the encroachment of Western culture or being forcibly positioned into existing hierarchies of prestige and power, Hani and Kayta instead attributed their students' reluctance to learn English to surface level factors such as boredom, indolence, embarrassment, or the natural obstinacy of teenagers.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. One of Jean's objectives for

TESOL 500 was for students to develop the habit of seeking out reciprocal connections

between theory and practice. Yet, six participants consistently expressed their perception of

an irreconcilable gap between critical principles and the practical demands of specific

teaching contexts. This perceived disparity indicates a need to *incorporate practicum*

components or simulated teaching exercises into TESOL curricula from the earliest stages of

coursework in order to facilitate opportunities for students to experiment with the

actualization of critical pedagogies[14]. Of course, the students with whom novice scholar-

practitioners interact in practicum settings may possess entirely different skills, motivations,

and characteristics than students in their intended future teaching contexts; this concern

applies equally to the contrived approximations of actual teaching situations that occur when

fellow graduate students role-play as learners.

Nonetheless, activities of these types are likely to enable graduate students to practice

deriving concrete applications from newly learned theoretical concepts. Ideally, such

explorations will in turn engender their ability to draw on critical concepts not only when

planning and delivering lessons but also when performing spontaneous aspects of teaching

such as responding to unanticipated student questions or classroom events. Findings of the

present study suggest the possibility that some students will understand critical language

teaching pedagogies as finite sets of procedures and possibilities; repeated teaching practice

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[14] It should be acknowledged that the MA TESOL program at the research site offered an
elective practicum course that was available to second semester or second year students.
However, I am arguing that practicum courses or regular practice teaching activities can be
incorporated into TESOL curricula from the onset of graduate students' scholarly careers and
uniformly required of all enrolled pupils.

may therefore aid them as they work to amend these initial misperceptions and navigate the often-arduous process of crafting viable, context-specific critical approaches.

Indeed, two of the four individuals placed into category 1, Dagney and Afia, had opportunities to attempt the enactment of critical course concepts in their vocations as writing center tutors. This commonality evidences the importance of accessing real-world venues for the operationalization of critical principles (though it must also be conceded that Katya was placed into category 3 despite working as a high school ESL tutor). Because international students often face extensive restrictions to working legally during their graduate studies and therefore may not be privy to the same employment opportunities as their American counterparts, practicum courses or routine simulated teaching activities could prove to be an invaluable aid in fostering their abilities to establish mutually informative relationships between theory and practice.

Anxieties about Linguistic Performance

Mei and Linlin stated that they were extremely reluctant to speak in class because they perceived deficiencies in their English fluency, and they were particularly fearful of being viewed as incompetent or incoherent speakers by their American classmates. These anxieties were fueled by a conflation of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) with cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1999)—in other words, they mistakenly viewed the effortless fluency with which the American students articulated their thoughts as an indication that the thoughts themselves were more perceptive, relevant or valuable than their own. As a result, Mei and Linlin often remained silent even when they wished to speak. Mei even felt a compulsion to mentally rehearse her remarks before uttering them, which often led her to miss chances for contributing to class discussions. As related by

Linlin, Hani privately expressed a similar apprehension by questioning whether the American students were "better" at comprehending and verbally responding to scholarly articles than their international counterparts.

Though Mei, Linlin, and Hani were the only participants to directly reference linguistic anxiety as a relational classroom habitus that restricted their participation, the tendency of international students to vocalize their thoughts and perspectives far less frequently than American students in early sessions of TESOL 500 suggests that they may have been plagued by the same feelings of reluctance and doubt. Regardless of its underlying causes, however, this trend resulted in problematic occurrences such as American students acting as spokespeople for their international counterparts. Consequently, initial class discussions of critical concepts had some consequences that ran contrary to their intended effects, as Afia and Dagney's enthusiastic involvement had beneficial effects for the cultivation of their own criticality but inadvertently reinforced some international students' feelings of inadequacy.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. As observed by Jean, the problem of disproportionate participation in TESOL 500 was naturally rectified because the students were able to build camaraderie and move toward more balanced input from American and international class members. However, the possibility that students in other courses may not be so fortunate as to develop an atmosphere of mutual support and encouragement denotes a prospective need for *deliberate measures to balance input from American and international students in multicultural classrooms*. One option for instructors seeking to achieve balanced participation in their TESOL courses would be to create a schedule through which international students would periodically be responsible for leading discussions about

183

particular course readings. Such an approach would partially counteract any potential for American students to dominate discussions and allow international students to prepare their remarks to whatever extent they felt necessary, thus potentially alleviating anxieties about spontaneous L2 production in front of others.

Furthermore, three participants' reports of being reluctant to speak because they felt their statements could not compare in content or fluency to those of their American classmates indicate a need to *prompt interrogation of how the myth of native speakers as the ultimate exemplars of English use has permeated students' perceptions of self.* Though the phenomenon of native speakerism, its grim legacy with the forces of colonialism and empire, and its continuing discriminatory effects have been consistently criticized in TESOL and Applied Linguistics literature for over twenty years (e.g., Phillipson, 1991; Pennycook, 1994;), the present study echoes and builds upon the body of work that contends discourses of native supremacy still occupy a central position in the ingrained perspectives of novice scholar-practitioners (e.g., Jenkins, 2009; Kahmi-Stein, 2004; Park, 2012).

For some international students, accumulated exposure to such discourses is likely to have induced the self-internalization of Otherness—the accepted imposition of native fluency as an idealized, unattainable standard against which their own multilingual literacy resources are condemned to perpetual inferiority. Among TESOL 500 students, self-stigmatizing views of one's linguistic performance were not limited to those internationals who tended to remain silent; even Diana, one of the most active class participants, stated that her willingness to speak out was not rooted in self-validation but was rather an action that she felt compelled to undertake in spite of her feelings of shame: "I can't understand as much because it's my

second language … and *I should be shameful about that* but I'm still making a lot of questions" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012, emphasis added).

As such, there is a clear need to confront unwitting complicity with ideologies of native speakerism, particularly because three participants' deficit-oriented appraisals of themselves as multilingual scholar-practitioners were deeply entrenched enough to restrict the development of their criticality. Moreover, these findings suggest that students should be encouraged to explicitly and repeatedly link critiques of native speaker bias as articulated in discipline scholarship to their lived experiences for the purposes of personal empowerment. If the marginalization of so-called non-native speakers is characterized solely as a macro-level sociological phenomenon, students may profess to agree with the principle of equality for multilinguals while continuing to harbor self-deprecatory beliefs in private (a risk that is especially great when there is a strong consensus towards critical positions evident among the instructor and the authors of most course readings).

In order to facilitate opportunities for students to conduct frank and deeply personal investigations of how they have been affected by oppressive discourses, instructors would be well advised to pursue a safe and supportive class atmosphere and to assign writing tasks that allow students to convey experiences they may not wish to share publicly. In doing so, they may be able to maximize the liberatory potential of critical self-reflection while minimizing the initial feelings of embarrassment or resistance it may provoke, thus helping students to truly cast off the shackles of imposed inferiority. A series of focused reflective tasks wherein students drew upon their life histories to reaffirm, reconceptualize, or challenge tenets of critical work would be relevant not only to international students but also to Americans who are speakers of marginalized dialects. Speakers of privileged English varieties could

185

conversely explore how the prestige of their linguistic habitus has influenced their journey to the language teaching profession; the tasks would ideally culminate with American students embracing roles as informed allies of multilingual practitioners (see related commentary in the Unacknowledged Privilege section below).

Devaluation of Localized Englishes

Another factor that impeded the attainment of criticality among individuals in categories 2 and 3 was a limited form of advocacy for "non-native" multilinguals due the overt or implicit disparagement of localized English varieties, linguistic hybridization, and code switching. Though Diana, Zahra, Linlin, and Mei endorsed the principle of equitable access to teaching opportunities for qualified multilingual candidates, they also exhibited a problematic penchant for defining qualifications in terms of the ability to emulate the grammatical and phonological features of prestigious native speaker varieties of English. Hence, their expressions of support for multilingual practitioners were contradicted by their concurrent devaluation of those individuals' linguistic practices. Diana evidenced this dissonance between critical and prejudicial positions most clearly in the following remarks:

> I was thinking who teaches English doesn't really matter, I mean if you are fluent enough and if you can imitate the you know I would say original … English maybe if it is a school that teaches American English that would be American English … *if the person can speak fluently that English like a native speaker than he or she is you know I think they should allow them to teach English*. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012, emphasis added)

In perpetuating the discriminatory assumption that accruing language teaching expertise necessarily involves becoming more native-like in one's speech, Diana, Zahra,

Linlin, and Mei were unintentionally engaged in the recirculation of discourses that contributed to their own marginalization. Even more arresting and disturbing was the tendency of these participants to reserve their harshest criticism for second language speakers of English who shared their own cultural and linguistic backgrounds: Zahra articulated her perception that Saudi university professors who had studied in the UK or US possessed a more polished and sophisticated way of speaking than those who had been educated domestically. Her description of the former group as inspirational took on an ironic significance in light of her subsequent comment that taking their classes prompted her to feel that her accent was "not perfect" (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012).

Laboring under the outmoded notion that second language writers are inhibited by first-language interference, Mei adopted the deterministic view that her Chinese students' English prose would inevitably be flawed by the indirect, vague, and circuitous qualities that she held to be innate to written discourse in their native tongue. Similarly, Linlin disparaged the speaking abilities of Chinese English teachers at the university where she was formerly employed as an office worker because their usage diverged from the supposedly normative practices of native speakers. In making this negative appraisal, she appeared to disregard the degree to which the teachers' utterances were intelligible to fellow Chinese speakers of English, thus characterizing the concept of proficiency in entirely native-centric terms. Lastly, Diana's reluctance to reconsider her perception of Korean English as "funny and not appropriate" was especially curious when considered against her prior reports of relying on it to ensure the smooth progression of lessons with young Korean learners (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012).

Bourdieu's (1991) concept of *symbolic violence*, which posits that social dominance is perpetuated via the indoctrination of the oppressed to consent to the terms of their own subjugation, can be invoked to interpret Diana, Zahra, Linlin, and Mei's contradictory and ultimately self-defeating viewpoint that multilingual teachers are entitled to equal opportunity only insofar as they can approximate native standards. Because these participants had been systematically exposed to discourses of native speakerism at the social, institutional, and familial levels, they came to subordinate themselves to the symbolic power of nativeness. Accordingly, they espoused the principle of nativeness as the primary determinant of linguistic authenticity and worth even at the expense of their own continued disadvantage in job markets and hierarchies of social prestige.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. The present study indicates that dismissive attitudes towards localized English varieties are likely to be deeply embedded among novice scholar-practitioners even when they themselves make extensive use of hybridized codes in their personal and professional lives. Thus, instructors *may wish to confront such attitudes directly in order to jolt students from their embedded beliefs and reified realities*. Unambiguous writing or discussion prompts such as "Is it acceptable to teach local Englishes in the classroom?" and "What qualities or abilities should an English teacher have?" may catalyze the reappraisal of outlooks that impede students' own advocacy efforts and restrict the scope of social change that is thought possible. By striving to strike a deft balance between provocation and support, teacher trainers could provide chances for students to achieve critical moments, during which new understandings become possible as implicit value judgments come to the fore and existing schema of relations are open to

change (Pennycook, 2004). Linlin experienced one such moment during our follow-up interview, as she finally came to question the origins of her disdain for Chinese Englishes:

> Right now I'm thinking … I'm kind of discriminating my own people … [when] someone speaks English with a strong Chinese accent I just cannot listen to it ... I just figured [that] out right now … Why [do] I do that? (April 4, 2013)

This epiphany was achieved in part because the instructor of one of her second semester courses explicitly challenged the validity of the concept of correct pronunciation, thereby reinforcing a critical concept introduced in Jean's course; Linlin experienced her sudden insight during our discussion of the instructor's remarks. Such forthright classroom dialogues could also benefit American students, as those who plan to teach domestically are increasingly likely to encounter students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Matsuda, 2010), while those who wish to teach abroad might obtain a more nuanced and respectful understanding of their future students' linguistic resources.

Struggles to Cultivate the Student Habitus and Capital Valued in American Universities

As discussed in previous chapters, scholars such as Curry (2007) and De Costa (2010) have applied Bourdieu's (1990, 1991) concepts of *habitus* and *capital* to interpret the experiences of English language learners studying in contexts removed from their home countries and cultures. Habitus, a theoretical construct that posits a generative relationship between "particular [classes] of conditions of existence" and "systems of durable, transposable dispositions … which generate and organize practices and representations (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53)," is well suited to complicating the attribution of student success or failure to single causal factors like linguistic proficiency. Indeed, Curry's (2007) case study

189

of a basic writing course populated by English language learners contended that outcomes of participants' formal language study depended upon their abilities to exercise their preexisting cultural capital, or acquire relevant forms of cultural capital, in order to fulfill institutional expectations. These forms of capital were manifested as a series of competences, which included perceiving the often-implicit connections between classroom activities and the broader educational endeavor (*curricular competence*) and drawing on available resources to navigate restrictions (*institutional competence*).

In terms of the present study, all participants possessed high levels of English proficiency and an academic savvy that had been cultivated through their previous successes in higher education. Nonetheless, some participants were more predisposed than others to attain and enact the student habitus that was preferred, if not required, in TESOL 500. Most of Jean's objectives for the course (e.g., prompting students to diversify their perceptions of language teaching, become advocates for themselves and their future students, and be "critically-conscious about this ever sort of evolving work that we do as English teachers") were predicated on students' adoption of active, vocal, skeptical and assertive personas as they questioned authoritative texts and challenged their prior assumptions (Interview 1, Aug 12, 2012).

In the remainder of this section, I turn first to the case of Linlin to demonstrate how certain aspects of her student habitus combined with her limited institutional competence to impede her acquisition of criticality. Subsequently, I discuss the case of Diana, who was placed into category 2 but overcame both an enculturated predilection toward silence and a history of being marginalized in formal educational settings to achieve a habitus of active participation. (Pertinent portions of the cases of Dagney and Afia, who were advantaged in

their pursuit of the critical scholar-practitioner role that Jean aimed for her students to inhabit, are presented later in the chapter).

When reflecting on her aforementioned tendency to stay silent in her graduate courses even when she wanted to speak, Linlin referenced the continued inhibitive effects of discouraging comments her mother made throughout her childhood in response to her reports of academic success:

> I was thinking … [about] why I didn't talk. But I think I got some kind of answer cuz back in my home, when I was a student my mom was always said, "I don't think you can do that." Even I got the number one in my class I got home I was so happy to tell her she's like "Next time you will fall to ten." (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Linlin went on to report that her mother intended for such remarks to instill an ideology of humility in her, as she often justified them by explaining that she did not want Linlin to "be too proud" of herself. From a Bourdieusian perspective, Linlin's mother clearly sought to reproduce in her daughter the culturally inscribed belief that anything resembling boastful behavior is to be held in opprobrium. As such, she steadfastly avoided praising Linlin's accomplishments, which resulted in a habitus of silence and passivity that eventually extended beyond Linlin's willingness to report achievements and began to limit her classroom participation, as affirmed by Linlin herself: "So it's like when I got something in my mind I want to speak it out I will think 'Is that too stupid to say that out?' Maybe other people don't think it like how I think it. Then maybe I sound more stupid. So I'm getting quiet." Upon commencing graduate study in the United States, this reticence was only exacerbated by her anxieties about her spoken English (see commentary above), thus placing

her at a great disadvantage compared to those students whose habitus enabled them to speak freely even when expressing tentative or speculative understandings.

These difficulties were compounded by Linlin's limited institutional competence for locating and utilizing available resources, as evidenced by her accounts of using online search engines rather than library databases to search for additional information about core concepts such as postmethod. Unsurprisingly, she encountered a great deal of irrelevant information from disciplines such as fine art in her search results, which intensified her frustrations with the inadequate explanations she felt she had sometimes received from her course instructors.

Finally, Linlin was further discouraged from becoming an active class participant by her lack of familiarity with assumed cultural knowledge. She commented that she was baffled by Jean's reference to the American educational reform initiative No Child Left Behind during an early course session; in her view, this incident neatly illustrated the myriad linguistic and cultural advantages enjoyed by American students:

It's like when the teacher is saying something I was like "What does that word mean?" but [the American students] already response to that question. I think it's in … Dr. Jean's class, she said something like President Bush say something No Child Left Behind … Americans know it. We don't. We are like, "What is it? Who said that?" It needs more time to process that in the brain. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Though Jean made this reference in order to critique a real world instance of linguistic discrimination—namely, that No Child Left Behind provides a veneer of objective assessment while concealing the systematic disadvantaging of students whose home language is not English (Field notes, Sept 13, 2012)—her comment ironically reinforced Linlin's belief

192

that she lacked sufficient cultural awareness to participate as readily as American students and, by extension, her withdrawn and acquiescent habitus.

Though Linlin's preexisting habitus and capital exerted a strongly negative influence on the development of her criticality, it is important to avoid the deterministic outlook that those who initially lack the appropriate resources will be forever prevented from acclimating themselves to the active and assertive practices of critical inquiry that are often valued in contexts of higher education (Curry, 2007). In this regard, a significant counterexample is found in the case of Diana, who transcended a history of being silenced through her routine subjection to hostility, censure, and neglect by her classmates and even some of her teachers in order to become one of the most active participants in TESOL 500. Hence, her case supported contentions that scholarly investigations of habitus should not characterize the concept exclusively in terms of the influence of structuring social forces but rather consider it as an entity that can be reshaped as individuals enact their agentive will (Curry, 2007; De Costa, 2010; Lin, 1999).

Diana made overt mention of the shift in her own student habitus by stating that she found herself speaking out more readily in her American coursework that she did at any point in her Korean schooling, during which she "wouldn't make any question even if [she had] one" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012). Diana's quietness stemmed from her perception that Korea's educational culture was centered on the detection and rebuke of errors rather than the meaningful exchange of ideas. She remarked that this was particularly evident in English classes, where numerous instances of being castigated by both teachers and classmates had led to a habitual discomfort with speaking English in front of Korean people: "I get very like sweaty because I know that Korean people are very judgmental and they judge you and …

193

your pronunciation" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). In assigning negative traits to Koreans as a whole, this comment unquestionably had a derogatory bent, though it also evoked the wounds underlying Diana's defiant exterior (see Appendix I for a full account of her negative experiences in school).

Through my observations of each TESOL 500 session, I witnessed how Diana came to embrace the role of a vocal and self-assured student with verve; she was unafraid to interrupt Jean—even in mid-sentence—to ask for further clarification of concepts that she had not fully understood (Field notes, Oct 4, 2012), thereby developing the ability to shape course proceedings in such a way as to ensure personally beneficial outcomes (Curry, 2007). One significant factor in Diana's newfound willingness to articulate her questions and opinions was the mentoring she received from Jean, who often stressed the importance of actively cultivating disciplinary expertise via the extensive reading, writing and discussion of academic discourse. As Diana put it, "[Jean] talks a lot about publishing and academic writing and … professional mentality, and you know like the academic society things. And I feel like I really want to get into it. *I want to be … like her*" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012, emphasis added). Thus, Diana was able to conquer her ingrained fear of being judged in classroom settings in part because Jean functioned as a role model of the engaged and committed scholar-practitioner she wanted her students to strive to become.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. The contrasting cases of Linlin and Diana raise numerous considerations for critical teacher training in graduate TESOL programs. The most straightforward recommendation is to *ensure that sufficient background knowledge is provided for international students during discussions of cultural issues*. Linlin's reported feelings of confusion and aggravation during a class discussion of No Child

194

Left Behind demonstrate that even topics raised for the purpose of bolstering students'
critical sensibilities may have the opposite of their intended effect if internationals lack the
requisite information needed to discuss culture-specific issues on equal footing with their
American counterparts, or if they are not invited to compare those topics to related issues in
their home contexts.

A larger and more challenging problem is that certain students' preexisting habitus
and reserves of capital render them amenable to acquiring and enacting the critical habitus
valued in some domains of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics disciplines, while others
must pursue the critical habitus from a position of considerable disadvantage. Moreover, the
question of whether teachers can truly supply forms of capital that students lack, or facilitate
opportunities for them to obtain said capital, is a controversial one (e.g., Bourdieu &
Passeron, 1990; Carrington & Luke 1997; Curry, 2007; Lin, 1999). Insofar as novice scholar-
practitioners' development of criticality is concerned, graduate instructors may wish to
deconstruct the very concepts and methods of criticality, in effect following Pennycook's
(2001) call for critical work to self-reflexively apply its principle of vigilant and perpetual
skepticism to its own established tenets. By guiding students through the systematic
exploration of critical texts, teachers may be able to elicit the fundamental characteristics of
criticality as it is constructed in the literature of the field. In this way, they will not allow
criticality to constitute an invisible norm that students are assumed to gravitate toward by
sheer virtue of being exposed to critical theories.

In facilitating these explorations of criticality, teachers might aim to lay bare the
politicized intellectualism that informs its overriding objectives (e.g., contesting the
reproduction of hegemony by problematizing practices of authoritative social institutions), its

195

dominant textual forms (e.g., the scholarly treatise) and the complex register of its conceptual and linguistic repertoire (e.g., unabashedly attempting to rectify social injustices while remaining elevated and detached in tone). Throughout this process, graduate instructors would be wise to encourage students to consider how conventions of critical work, such as adopting a disputative disposition toward tradition or arguing in a direct and linear fashion, may possess limited currency in cultural contexts that value alternative, subtlety and implication-based modes of communication (Kubota, 2010). Most crucially, novice-scholar practitioners could interrogate these perceived disparities and speculate on how criticality might be reconstituted in more appropriate and effective forms within such contexts.

Upon demystifying the notion of criticality, teachers can ask students to *experiment with performing and circulating critical perspectives in various textual genres*, which would ideally be selected on the grounds of their capacity to accommodate diverse linguistic and literacy resources. By assigning poetic, narrative, and autoethnographic texts along with traditional academic texts such as literature reviews, graduate instructors could attempt to counteract the privilege of those students whose habitus enables the smooth acquisition of the ideological, intellectual, and linguistic traits that typify critical scholarship; they could furthermore discourage the perception that being critical is necessarily predicated upon the emulation of powerful discursive codes. A varied curriculum of this type would be especially advisable in light of recent research that convincingly argues poetic and autoethnographic texts are suited to the attainment and articulation of critical insights, such as when authors cease to interpret their lived histories as a sequence of naturally occurring events with self-evident significance and instead come to detect the larger contested dynamics of power that are localized in their individual experiences (e.g., Hanauer, 2012; Park, 2013).

Intracurricular Contradictions

Myriam, Linlin, Hani, Julian and Zhao experienced disruptions in the development of their criticality because concepts from TESOL 500 were contradicted to varying degrees by the predominantly uncritical orientation of certain other first and second semester courses. These courses emphasized decontextualized teaching methods and wholly cognitive theorizations of the language-learning phenomenon, thereby diminishing the impact of critical ideas or, at minimum, denying students opportunities to reinforce and expand upon those they learned previously. The points at which the effects of this intracurricular contradiction were felt most keenly and their exact consequences differed for each participant—Myriam, Linlin and Hani vented their frustrations but felt they had no recourse to alter irrelevant course content, while Julian and Zhao reconciled the conflict in favor of critical conceptualizations of teaching and learning languages but were more pessimistic or tentative when speculating on concrete possibilities for critical pedagogies.

During Myriam's follow-up interview, she expressed her view that many of the major topics in her second semester classes were profoundly disconnected from the foundation of disciplinary expertise she had accrued through her first semester coursework, and more specifically Jean's class. As described in the previous chapter, she cited language use among animals as an illustrative example of course content that was not only unrelated to her emerging areas of scholarly interest but also utterly lacking any potential application for the pursuit of social justice.

Linlin and Hani articulated similar critiques about an elective second semester course on intercultural communication. Linlin observed that, though the body of students enrolled in the course was culturally and linguistically diverse, the instructor had failed to capitalize on

ample opportunities for meaningful discussions of cultural difference. She reported that students were assigned to make ten-minute presentations on their cultural backgrounds and lamented that these time restraints predictably resulted in incomplete and often superficial depictions of cultural groups. Thus, the class ultimately perpetuated the very same regressive characterizations of sociolinguistic populations as static and monolithic entities that were problematized in TESOL 500 readings and activities (e.g., Kubota, 2004).

When asked to describe her impressions of the same course, Hani commented that, far from building upon ideas and issues raised in her previous coursework, the class merely reiterated generalities and platitudes that had long been familiar to her:

> Can I say honestly? … It's boring. Because every time I finish the class, so I always ask my friend "What did you learn from the class today?" and she said "Nothing. What about you?" [and I answer] "Me, nothing as well." So we talk about general thing actually. That's the common thing like I don't know maybe from academia perspective that's something new but … that's something common [for] me. Like for example you teach language as well as you teach culture so how to teach language and culture together. [We already know that] we cannot separate that, right?"
>
> (Follow-up interview, April 2, 2013)

Considered collectively, Myriam, Linlin, and Hani's reports of frustration with certain second semester courses indicate that instances of intracurricular contradiction can lead to periods of stasis in novice scholar-practitioners' professional development or even encourage a reversion to uncritical perspectives on language and culture.

Julian, the only participant who had taken graduate TESOL courses prior to start of data collection, demonstrated that intracurricular contradictions could predispose individuals

198

to resist the act of critically reappraising the perceptions of the language learning that they had consciously and unconsciously cultivated throughout their lives. A course that Julian had taken prior to TESOL 500 had placed strong emphasis on Krashen's theories of second language acquisition, which give tangential consideration to individualized factors such as anxiety and resistance but essentially frame language learning as the cognitive processing of abstract syntactic codes. Accordingly, it was only after great hesitation that he shifted away from these theories towards a more humanized conception of the learning phenomenon centered on Hanauer's (2011) notion of meaningful literacy, a change that was partially negated by his lingering doubts about the viability of critical teaching approaches. The ambivalent attitudes that Julian displayed as he moved toward a critical position supported Pajares' (1993) contention that individuals' established beliefs possess immense power to filter or cancel out new ideas.

Though Zhao was placed into category 1 on the basis of her stated intention to disrupt the mechanisms of misogynist and classist oppression that were embedded in normative practices of Chinese education, she exhibited the cognitive dissonance and accompanying theory/practice schisms that can arise from intracurricular contradictions to a more striking degree than any other participant. As conveyed in the previous chapter, Zhao unhesitatingly condemned the culture of male supremacy in China, as reflected in her own teachers' patronizing remarks that female students did not need to exert themselves academically because their socially prescribed purpose was to get married and raise children. Yet, when prompted to reflect on practical teaching techniques she could employ in the Chinese context at a future date, she immediately mentioned a decontextualized vocabulary acquisition activity that she had learned in another of her first-semester courses. While not inherently

199

invalid, this activity was clearly detached from the feminist views she adopted on general principle.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. In making the above critiques, I do not mean to advance the dogmatic position that every graduate TESOL course must adopt an exclusively critical orientation or deny that content areas such as formal linguistics, cognitive theories of language acquisition, and generalized teaching methodologies can occupy a meaningful position in TESOL curricula. In fact, I believe that it is important for students to understand the traditional knowledge bases that continue to exert a powerful influence on disciplinary thought, though from my own critical perspective, explorations of traditional theories should of necessity be complemented by their subsequent questioning and problematization. Nevertheless, I argue on the basis of the present study that critical concepts taught in particular courses may be neutralized or erased by uncritical ones if the latter are taught more frequently within an overall curriculum. Furthermore, universalized methods may be appealing to novice scholar-practitioners because they require no laborious contextual filtering, whereas the design and implementation of critical pedagogies often demand painstaking efforts to overcome resistance and circumvent various restrictions, as described throughout the previous chapters.

Because the development of students' criticality may be impaired if lingering intracurricular contradictions go unacknowledged, instructors of graduate courses *might choose to direct students' attention to inconsistencies and competing claims arising in their coursework as a whole.* This manner of overtly comparative analysis could be accomplished through *a series of regular reflective journaling tasks plus a summative end of semester report.* Ideally, completing such assignments would acclimate students to critically

scrutinizing course readings by evaluating the validity of their claims against the amount and quality of evidence they provided. More broadly, these tasks would prompt students to ruminate on which theories, ideologies, and positions resonated most strongly with their own developing identities and agendas as scholar-practitioners.

Unacknowledged Privilege

Luke (2004) speculated that the attainment of criticality might be easier for "those who have been the objects of symbolic and physical violence, for those who have been materially Othered" (p. 27). In other words, feelings of anger and alienation are catalyzed through individuals' lived ordeals of marginalization, and these may fuel their desire and ability to indict the systematic technologies of oppression that are naturalized and concealed in the practices of dominant social institutions. This contention was supported by the cases of Diana, Hani, Zhao, Julian, Myriam, Laila, and Salem, all of whom discerned implicitly discriminatory aspects of language teaching in familiar contexts on the basis of their personal subjugation at the hands of racist, misogynist, or native-speakerist discourses and policies.

Indeed, these participants' critical sensibilities can be defined chiefly in terms of their drive to vicariously rectify the injustices they personally endured by returning to their home countries and altering the objectionable characteristics of the teaching enterprise therein. From a teacher training perspective, then, it would be highly advisable for novice scholar-practitioners to discuss experiences of being Othered in order to cast off any associated feelings of shame or self-disparagement and embrace roles as committed and defiant advocates for the marginalized.

However, an important corollary to this principle arises from the present study: though contrasting concepts such as dominance/oppression and privilege/marginalization are

sometimes depicted as rigid dualities, participant commentaries suggest that these notions manifest themselves in individuals' lived experiences in fluid, overlapping, and partially contradictory ways. Moreover, the cases of Katya, Hani, Myriam, and Salem reveal the importance of prompting graduate students to consider how they have been privileged as well as oppressed. Because these participants neglected to fully interrogate their own privilege, they remained partially or wholly unaware of the plights of those who did not enjoy the advantages that they had been afforded; they even lapsed on a few occasions into uncritical mentalities of blanket victimhood or self-justification. If scholar-practitioners maintain such selectively critical perspectives, their abilities to broaden and complicate their future students' worldviews will likewise be limited. In order to illustrate the specific ways in which unacknowledged privilege restricted participants' engagement with criticality, relevant aspects of the cases of Katya, Hani, Myriam, and Salem are concisely reiterated below:

Katya did not appear to have considered how her own privilege as a native speaker of English may have influenced the ease with which she obtained a teaching job in China, an oversight that raised related questions about whether she may have been blind to the possibility of ethical or political concerns underlying student resistance to English learning. Hani condemned one of her high school teachers, a speaker of a powerful dialect who had exhibited insensitivity to the linguistic diversity of his students, but she phrased her critique in terms indicative of a Self/Other binary and in doing so subjected the individual in question to a rhetoric of exclusion not distinctly different from that which she sought to decry. This selective criticality seemed to reappear as she reflected on the principles she would seek to adopt upon a return to the Indonesian EFL context: she invoked pluralistic tolerance of diversity as far as grammatical and phonological features of students' home languages were

concerned, but made scant mention of more substantive and ideological matters such as the values and perspectives of minority populations. This omission was significant in light of Indonesia's long history of subordinating minorities to the traditionally dominant Java people.

Myriam spoke profoundly to the social restrictions that had been placed on her autonomy to choose a career and then to enact her desired pedagogical practices in the classroom. Though prescribed for her for by Saudi Arabia's repressive and paternalistic social order, her development of English proficiency and subsequent cultivation of teaching experience were in some senses acts of resistance, as she attained expertise and commanded forms of respect that were otherwise mostly denied to women in her home country. However, in recounting her experiences of using English to castigate an immigrant Filipina nurse who had reportedly neglected to provide sufficient care for her ailing mother, she revealed a contradiction between her conceptions of her own English usage and that of the nurse. Whereas the former functioned as a vehicle of empowerment and an assertion of status, the latter was used to implicitly justify the economic exploitation of the nurse as a non-Arabic speaking, and therefore illegitimate, presence in Saudi society.

Finally, Salem was classified into category 1 due to his endorsement of discussing contentious social topics such as women being denied the right to drive, but it must be repeated that he made the peculiar suggestion of debating the issue in primarily economic terms. This comment suggested that his own male privilege had rendered him oblivious to the misogynist oppression at the heart of the dispute.

Implications for TESOL courses and curricula. As argued above, novice scholar-practitioners' experiences of marginalization are crucial and singularly potent catalysts of

their development of criticality. By connecting these experiences to larger power disparities, graduate students may develop the willingness to pursue more equitable social structures through their future teaching decisions, however slight the immediate effects of their efforts may seem. However, as they undergo this process, it would be advisable for graduate instructors *to simultaneously direct their attention to the forms of social privilege they have enjoyed*. If this latter step is not taken, they may be attuned to only those forms of discrimination that they have personally endured while remaining unaware of the types of struggles experienced by those whose privilege and marginalization has taken shape in different forms.

Naturally, a delicate touch is preferable when asking individuals to consider the concept that their present position in society has been shaped by systems of discrimination from which they have benefitted regardless of their intention or will. If graduate students feel that the instructor's inquiries have an accusatory tone or they are being compelled to diminish the role played by their own merits and hard work in their previous successes, they may retrench themselves in their current (and often self-justificatory) worldviews. Thus, instructors would be well advised to *design a sequence of activities through which graduate students gradually unpack the highly complex notions of privilege and marginalization and examine the myriad ways that these notions can shape the journeys of teachers and learners*. In order to reduce the likelihood of student resistance to acknowledging one's own privilege, this sequence might commence with readings like Vandrick's (2011) examination of "students of the new global elite" or a series of hypothetical cases[15] before proceeding to

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[15] Here I mean that students could reflect on the various advantages and disadvantages afforded to hypothetical EFL/ESL teachers or graduate students with divergent reserves of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (For example, one who speaks with a

students' own life histories. The optimal outcome would be for graduate students to transcend the selective sensitivities to oppression that may have been inculcated through the particularities of their lived experiences. It is furthermore hoped that they would recognize their own privilege, not for the sake of self-condemnation, but rather in service of forging new senses of solidarity with other teachers and learners across boundaries of race, ethnicity, gender, language and nation.

To conclude this section, the factors the impeded participants' attainment of substantive and enduring manifestations of criticality are reiterated below in Table 7 along with their resultant implications for TESOL courses and curricula.

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prestigious accent versus one who speaks with a so-called "heavy accent" and is thus subjected to prejudicial and discourteous treatment in her daily life; one who is wealthy enough to afford journal subscriptions, books and other resources recommended by the instructor versus one who is reliant upon resources such as interlibrary loan to obtain necessary materials; and so on.)

Table 7

Reiteration of factors and implications

Factor impeding attainment of criticality	Implications for TESOL courses and curricula
Perceived incompatibility of critical approaches with familiar teaching contexts	• incorporate practicum components or simulated teaching exercises into TESOL curricula from the earliest stages of coursework
Anxieties about linguistic performance	• take deliberate measures to balance input from American and international students in multicultural classrooms • prompt interrogation of how native speaker myths have permeated students' perceptions of self
Devaluation of localized Englishes	• confront dismissive or self-disparaging attitudes directly in order to jolt students from their embedded beliefs
Struggles to cultivate the student habitus and capital valued in American universities	• ensure that sufficient background knowledge is provided for international students during discussions of local cultural issue • deconstruct the very concepts and methods of criticality • facilitate opportunities for students to perform and circulate critical perspectives in various textual genres
Intracurricular contradictions	• direct students' attention to inconsistencies and competing claims arising in their coursework as a whole
Unacknowledged privilege	• help students to make productive inquiries into the forms of social privilege they have enjoyed • design a sequence of activities through which students gradually unpack the highly complex notions of privilege and marginalization

Factors that Enabled Substantive Manifestations of Criticality with Perceived

Pedagogical Applications

I now turn my attention to factors that aided four participants (Afia, Dagney, Salem, and Zhao) in their development of critical faculties sufficient to reinterpret the significance of their past teaching decisions and determine concrete applications in their intended future teaching contexts. Overall, these factors are discussed with greater brevity than those in the previous section. I made this decision for two reasons: first, optimal attainment of criticality occurred for only 4 out of 13 participants (31 percent), while the remaining 9 participants (69 percent) exhibited either partial development of criticality or limited transformation of their pre-instruction understandings; the disproportionate balance towards the latter two outcomes indicated that factors which inhibit substantive manifestations of criticality were in need of more thorough exploration. Second, many of the factors to be discussed in this section have already been touched upon in the previous sections by way of comparison with those affecting participants who experienced less ideal outcomes.

The initial and most important factor to be examined is the ability to discern connections between pedagogical choices and the disruption or perpetuation of larger inequitable power structures. In contrast to individuals who perceived critical pedagogies as discrete bodies of concepts and objectives not directly relevant to familiar teaching contexts, all four participants in category 1 conceived of criticality as a malleable interpretive construct through which new perspectives on their past and intended future teaching could be continuously generated. Crucially, their ruminations on pedagogical possibilities possessed a deconstructive character, as they appraised the value of teaching approaches not primarily in terms of their immediate effectiveness or how well they accorded with principles of

universalized methods, but rather in terms of their implications for the contestation or perpetuation of social power hierarchies. Their critical shift in perception was expressed most clearly by Dagney's remark, "I can already see the difference [in] how I would have planned a university course before I took [my first-semester MA] courses and the things that I would change greatly about those" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012).

As mentioned previously, Dagney lamented her past reliance on competition-based activities to engage students, as critical concepts from TESOL 500 had prompted her to realize that such approaches entailed a risk of reinforcing "survival of the fittest" mentalities, thereby inculcating students to passively accept social inequalities as inevitable realities (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). Accordingly, she stated an intention to pursue a more difficult but ultimately more rewarding and critically sound path to student motivation by challenging learners to move beyond concepts that they are "interested in on a whim" and make substantive explorations of "the way they construct the world." These objectives would be pursued in service of her overarching aim of making students critical consumers of their own education, or, in Dagney's words, to "[have] the students zoom out with me and say 'Let's question this whole system.'"

Afia displayed a similar degree of critical rigor in speculating on how she might craft an EFL pedagogy that would allow her to work toward social change in the Ghanaian context without inhabiting the role of a "white American liberator." From her Ghanaian husband's tales of his own education and her previous undergraduate coursework in African Studies, she was aware that her future students were likely to possess a high degree of interest in anything related to the United States and moreover carry the cultural expectation that teachers should act as absolute authority figures; an incautiously designed pedagogy,

therefore, could easily result in the establishment of a traditional, teacher-centric classroom that only served to reinforce discourses of native supremacy and characterizations of historically marginalized populations as helpless and wholly dependant on the benevolent intervention of Westerners.

Fortunately, readings and discussions in Jean's course inspired Afia to generate potential solutions to this dilemma, including making subversive use of students' interest in American popular culture artifacts, such as magazines, to jolt them from their submissive obedience and foster independent class participation. She also hypothesized that she could employ a pedagogy of shuttling (Canagarajah, 2006) by prompting students to compare conventions of relevant text types in their native language and those typical of English-language academic and narrative texts: "I would kind of show them like, 'Okay, you write yours, now this is mine, now and I'm gonna make you think about [the similarities and differences], I'm not gonna give you the answer'" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013). Thus, Afia had begun to pursue a critical praxis that would ideally facilitate Ghanaians' self-motivated efforts to raise awareness of their cultural traditions and rebuff stereotypes.

The critical pedagogical possibilities raised by Zhao and Salem, though less fully developed, were perhaps more remarkable because these individuals demonstrated a willingness to defy or subvert institutional restrictions even in the face of potentially severe retribution. Zhao declared her intent to establish her future English language classes as sites of feminist resistance against the rooted "ideology … in Chinese culture that female is inferior to male and certain occupations female cannot do" (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012). Because she had taken strong exception to being subjected to derogatory comments by male

teachers, Zhao had already determined that she would compel her future female students to reject discourses of female subservience by pursuing autonomy:

> I don't want to send negative messages to [my students] because I'm a feminist…I want girls to gain independence, especially financial [independence for] themselves. So I wouldn't send negative messages like some of my teachers do. I would tell them to work hard and do everything by yourself. Don't rely on others. That's my message, I think. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

Additionally, Zhao expressed a desire to counteract Chinese educational institutions' deliberate policies of neglecting students who had performed poorly on high school entrance exams. She observed that, by placing low-scoring students into perfunctory remedial curricula and providing them with inexperienced teachers, these policies prompted their eventual internalization of the inferior roles into which they had been positioned. In vowing to make special efforts to motivate such marginalized learner populations, Zhao also intimated a willingness to resist China's prevailing educational paradigm, which she described as being centered on the ruthless and relentless ranking of students via standardized assessment measures.

The long-term goals held by Salem—entering the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Education and setting curricular policies for the nation—were among the most ambitious of any participant, and he moreover sought to effect changes within one of the world's most conservative educational cultures. For these reasons, his relatively terse endorsement of using EFL courses as venues for discussions of misogynist oppression in Saudi society took on great significance, particularly in light of the other three Saudi participants' resolute conviction that critical gestures of this type were impossible. It should, however, be

emphasized that Salem's male privilege exerted a foundational influence on his readiness and perceived ability to broach taboo topics.

Several strata of American privilege were similarly involved in Afia and Dagney's abilities to acquire the critical scholar-practitioner habitus valued in TESOL 500 and certain domains of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields. The most straightforward of these was the ability to work legally while in graduate school; by tutoring at the university writing center, they were able to access vital opportunities for putting critical theories into practice. On a less immediately apparent level, their pre-existing habitus rendered them eager to voice their thoughts and opinions in classroom settings. Afia and Dagney also benefitted from their previous exposure to critical theory: Afia's undergraduate coursework in African studies had made her well aware of the traditionally inequitable and exploitative system of sociopolitical relations between Western and African nations, while Dagney's study of Philosophy had nurtured many of the intellectual dispositions that she would need to conduct critical inquiry in TESOL 500.

Finally, Afia was already accustomed to seeking out arenas for advocacy, as demonstrated in her reports of challenging a demeaning remark about Ghanaian English that an acquaintance posted on her Facebook page. Choosing neither to ignore the comment nor to respond with indignant moralizing, she instead wrote "I guess my appreciation for different Englishes just makes this really special for me" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013). It was her hope that anyone reading the exchange might come to appreciate that the dispute was "about different Englishes and … [not] about stupidity or not being able to use English grammar or spelling." As such, her decision to reply in this manner was in keeping with her critical conviction that "stereotypes need to be overcome through conversation."

Recommendations for Future Research

Prior to the conclusion of the chapter, several recommendations for future research in the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields are presented on the basis of the findings and limitations of the present study. First, the troublingly consistent devaluation of localized English varieties by Diana, Linlin, Mei, and Zahra indicates a *need for additional qualitative case study research on language attitudes in the World Englishes (WE) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) fields*. These disciplines are typified by their pluralistic, inclusive, and empowering ethos, which includes support for linguistic and racial diversity as well as endangered languages and cultures (Bolton, 2005). Work in WE and ELF often seeks to dispute the prevalent assumption that there is only one codified and unitary variety of English and encourage multilingual English users to pursue communicative habits reflective of their own sociolinguistic reality rather than mimic those of native speakers (Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2004). However, such emancipatory aims are counterbalanced by a tendency to focus on cataloged features of localized English varieties as represented in linguistic corpora and other schemes of data organization divorced from the embodied perceptions and attitudes of the individuals using those varieties (e.g., Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2010). As a result, there is a risk that scholars' own intention to validate marginalized codes will result in the assumption that WE and ELF speakers themselves are reliably motivated by an intention to defy prescriptive dictates and a genuine conviction in the legitimacy of their own linguistic resources.

As seen in the participant testimonies above, however, multilinguals' willingness to engage in code-switching and code-mixing practices for the purpose of meeting exigent communicative needs may not reflect a belief in their inherent equality with prestigious

varieties; to the contrary, the use of localized English varieties by themselves and those around them may actually reinforce the self-disparaging views they have been inculcated to adopt by institutions with a vested interest in the perpetuation of monolingualist discourses for repressive, racist, or colonialist ends. If multilingual scholar-practitioners continue hold such perceptions, it is highly likely the targets and methods of ESL/EFL instruction in various international contexts will continue to be shaped by the valorization of native speakers. Thus, there is a need for additional investigations of how condemnatory attitudes toward local Englishes are internalized, resisted, and overcome (or not overcome) by individual scholar-practitioners, particularly at formative stages of their professional development.

Another significant finding of the present study was that intracurricular contradictions exerted a restrictive effect on Hani, Linlin, Julian, Myriam, and Zhao's development of criticality. These contradictions were manifested as some of participants' other first and second semester courses stressed the very same decontextualized teaching methods and reductive characterizations of sociolinguistic populations that were critiqued in TESOL 500, while other courses focused on topics that were perceived as irrelevant to critical imperatives such as the pursuit of social justice. However, the scope of inquiry in the present study was limited to participants' first year of a two-year MA program, with the bulk of data collection occurring within their first semester. *Hence, there is a need for more longitudinal investigations of how curricular content in graduate TESOL programs influences students' evolving perceptions of criticality throughout their entire period of study, with a particular emphasis on the implications of curricular cohesion or contradiction.*

213

Research in this vein could investigate how novice scholar-practitioners' coursework collectively facilitates or frustrates the development of nuanced and durable critical pedagogies. Additionally, comparative analyses could be conducted on the varying conceptualizations of language teaching and learning that are constructed and emphasized most consistently in the overall curriculum. Interviews with enrolled students and analysis of the positions they espouse in course papers or projects could furthermore be employed throughout their graduate careers to trace the critical or uncritical concepts that make the strongest impressions on them. By attempting to determine the factors that account for the impact or lack of impact made by critical ideas, future research would reaffirm or challenge the contention of the present study that uncritical, decontextualized teaching methods are more immediately appealing because they require no mentally strenuous contextual filtering.

Next, the main limitation of the present study is that participants' attempts to discern pedagogical applications of critical principles were restricted to retrospective reflection on their past teaching or hypothetical conceptions of their future teaching; at no point were they able to attempt the enactment of critical pedagogies in actual teaching situations. This limitation was beyond my control as the researcher, as the participants simply did not have access to teaching opportunities during the period of data collection. *Nonetheless, there is a clear need for future research to extend beyond graduate classrooms, which are often venues of rehearsal and speculation, to examine the extent to which previously learned critical ideas shape practitioners' pedagogical choices once they actually enter teaching contexts.*

While it would certainly be challenging to sustain a research project that encompassed the entirety of individuals' graduate studies and a significant portion of their in-service teaching, such an approach would be the optimal method of determining whether

214

those individuals had truly achieved meaningful connections between critical theory and practice. A less ideal but more practicable alternative would be to observe classes taught by in-service practitioners who identify as critical pedagogues while concurrently conducting a series of interviews with them. The purpose of the interviews would be to focus their reflections on the critical concepts they had learned during their graduate study, whether they felt these were relevant to their current teaching, and how critical principles did or did not inform particular teaching decisions.

Additionally, the present study found that the perceived incompatibility of critical pedagogies with familiar teaching contexts constituted the greatest impediment to participants' willingness and ability to speculate on possibilities for critical teaching. *Thus, further scholarly investigations of how criticality is reconstituted in contexts where cultural and institutional resistance is strongest, such as Saudi Arabia, would be immensely valuable aids to future graduate students as they wrestle with the design of viable, context-specific approaches and the circumvention or subversion of apparent obstacles.*

Finally, it would behoove researchers to investigate not only how and to what extent critical ideas introduced to scholar-practitioners in their graduate coursework were later reflected in their pedagogical choices but also *how critical gestures were received by their students*. To this end, student interviews could be added to qualitative case studies involving the abovementioned combination of classroom observation and practitioner interviews. This methodology would ideally culminate in the most nuanced and systematic possible depiction of how critical ideas circulate and what degree of currency they attain among those who are exposed to them.

Moreover, research of this sort could elicit otherwise imperceptible developments in the criticality of both teachers and students; such findings could be crucial to the maintenance of instructors' motivation for advocacy, especially in light of contentions that the development of critical consciousness alone can actually engender feelings of pessimism and helplessness due to a seeming lack of available action strategies (Lin, 2004; McComiskey, 2000). Just as Jean strove to characterize social justice as a goal achieved through the painstaking accumulation of minor advancements rather than sudden dramatic shifts (Field notes, Oct 4, 2012), research combining teacher and student perspectives could further emphasize the gradual and cumulative effects of activism.

A Final Word on Pedagogical Actions for Successful Critical Teacher Training

As a final summation of the points that have been raised in the Results and Discussion chapters, I suggest a series of pedagogical actions that graduate instructors can perform to successfully facilitate critical teacher training. If novice scholar-practitioners are to attain lasting and potent manifestations of criticality, they must be prompted to problematize the given (Dean, 1994). By presenting a series of reflective problem-posing activities, teacher trainers can help students to cease interpreting their lived histories as a series of naturally occurring events with self-evident significance and instead critically locate themselves within the complex dynamics of privilege and marginalization that arise from social, political, and institutional factors in particular contexts. In doing so, graduate instructors can turn novices' attention to the fundamental underlying perspectives, predispositions and biases that they have gradually shaped and reified in the course of their experiences. Only by exploring the nature and extent of these assumptions can novice scholar-practitioners begin to decenter them (Smolcic, 2011) through skeptical reappraisal.

216

Another fundamental principle to guide critical teacher training is that the development of criticality is catalyzed by an individual's desire to vicariously amend personally endured injustices, thereby shifting the classroom from a site of cultural reproduction to one of contestation and defiance. Upon considering the social mechanisms of race, gender, and language-based discrimination that alienated them in the course of their own learning, novice scholar-practitioners can explore means of compelling their future students to resist those very mechanisms. However, novice scholar-practitioners should also be urged to consider the influence of privilege in their journeys to the language teaching profession, lest they remain unaware of forms of discrimination from which they have been exempt. Lastly, there is a need for focused, overt and routine comparison of critical pedagogical concepts with those emphasized in graduate curricula as a whole. Identifying points of coherence and contradiction will help graduate students to develop consistent pedagogical philosophies and to conceive of criticality as a generative dispositional attribute rather than a discrete, preexisting tool that is or is not relevant to a given context.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this text, I have openly divulged how my personal experiences have led me to become an enthusiastic proponent of critical language teaching. As I navigated the long journey from the conception of my research project to its completion—a path that was alternately compelling, humbling, inspiring, and agonizing—I came to understand the phenomenon of criticality on many levels. First, I surveyed relevant literature of the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields to reach a definition of criticality as the synthesis of deconstruction and advocacy. I thereupon established how criticality was constructed in a

217

Master of Arts TESOL class via the instructor's course objectives, selection and sequencing of readings, assignments, and pedagogical strategies.

Subsequently turning my attention to MA TESOL students, I strove to illuminate the factors at work in their engagement with critical ideas. Through sustained qualitative inquiry, I eventually unpacked the immensely complex confluences of privilege, marginalization, lived histories, and future ambitions that influenced their understandings of the concepts and methods of criticality. Upon distinguishing those participants who came to perceive that criticality was a pre-existing and often superfluous tool from those who perceived criticality as the fire in which necessary tools are continually forged, I raised numerous implications for TESOL courses and curricula as well as future research. All the while, my overriding goal was to advance scholarly discussions on how teacher educators might facilitate graduate students' acclimation to role of informed and committed critical pedagogues. Though criticality is inherently contextual, I have striven to make useful suggestions as to how graduate TESOL programs might prepare novice scholar-practitioners to discern connections between normative practices of language teaching in particular locales and the perpetuation of larger systemic hierarchies of dominance and marginalization, and then to contest these mechanisms of oppression via the crafting and implementation of critical pedagogies suitable to the needs of unique learner populations. It is my sincere hope that the results of my efforts will be of use to researchers and teacher-trainers in our mutual efforts to further the cause of critical work in ESL/EFL contexts across the world.

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Appendix A

Faculty interview protocol

Introductory remarks: The purpose of our meeting today is to talk about your perceptions of criticality as it applies to the TESOL field and how these perceptions are reflected in your course objectives. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview.

1. In your view, what does it mean to be a critical practitioner in the TESOL field?

2. What are some of the critical works that have influenced your own career as a teacher, scholar, and teacher-educator?

3. What are the critical objectives of your TESOL course?

4. How are these objectives reflected in your course design and pedagogical approaches?

5. What do you hope students take away from your teaching of critical concepts?

Appendix B

Pre-instruction student interview protocol

Introductory remarks: You are about to begin a graduate program in TESOL. Today, I would like to talk about some of the significant experiences in your life that have led you to enroll in this program. I would also like to talk about your goals for graduate study and your future teaching. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview.

1. When did you first become interested in learning English in your native country? When did you first become interested in teaching English?

2. What features of learning and teaching English most appealed to you? Which features least appealed to you?

3. Why are you in a Master of Arts TESOL program?

4. What are some of the significant English learning and teaching experiences that have led you to this program?

5. Where do you plan to teach English in the future? Why are you interested in this particular context?

Adapted from Park, 2012

Appendix C

Pre-instruction concept mapping / written explanation protocol

Introductory remarks: One of the concepts that we will discuss in Dr. Jean's course is teaching English in critical ways. During today's class, I will ask you to participate in two activities that explore your impressions of this concept.

1. The first activity is called concept mapping. *[I will show participants a sample concept map, taken from Borg (2006), about mammals. This topic is deliberately unrelated to language teaching or criticality in order to avoid influencing what participants write in their own maps.]* Please take a look at this sample map—as you can see, the author has divided the concept of mammals into several categories, including herbivores and carnivores, and listed some of their common biological characteristics, such as a nervous system, backbone, and brain. The author also drew lines and made some extra notes to clarify how the items on the map are related.

2. I would like you to make a map of the concept of critical language teaching. The first step of this process is to brainstorm a list of topics, issues, and themes that are related to critical language teaching. *[I will provide participants with index cards and a marker.]* Please write all of the relevant concepts you can think of on these cards.

3. *[I will provide participants with poster-sized sheets of paper.]* Now, please arrange your cards on the poster. You can also draw lines and make notes or any other kinds of markings that will clarify the relationships among the items on your map.

4. *[I will provide participants with sheets of notebook paper.]* Now that you have finished your maps, I would like you to write explanations of how you created them.

On the notebook paper, please explain why you chose the items on your map and arranged them in the manner that you did.

5. With your permission, I would like to photograph your maps and collect your written explanations. *[This step applies only to those students who have consented to participate in the study]*.

Based on Borg, 2006; Calderhead, 1996

Appendix D

Classroom observation protocol

During classroom observation, I will take fieldnotes on the categories listed below. While I will endeavor to capture the nature of all classroom events in the most detailed manner possible, I will focus on events and activities that involve critical concepts.

Date:

Activity: (e.g., lecture, small group work, class discussions, presentations)

Materials used: (e.g., worksheets, handouts, assigned readings)

Physical setting: (description of the classroom, where students sit in the classroom)

Student grouping: (how students are paired or grouped during the activity)

Instructor/student interaction: (e.g., who speaks and how often, who remains silent, comments made, general length and structure of conversation, non-verbal communication such as facial expressions and body language)

Student/student interaction: (same categories as listed above)

Researcher behavior: (my own statements and actions in the classroom)

[Repeat for each activity conducted during a class session]

Based on Bogdan & Bilken, 2003

Appendix E

Mid-semester student interview protocol

Introductory remarks: We are about halfway through the semester. During our meeting today, I would like to talk about your experiences in the course so far and your perspectives on the critical concepts that we have discussed in class. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview.

1. Please think about the concepts you have learned in the course to this point. Which concepts have made the strongest impressions on you, and why?

2. Do you feel that the critical concepts you have learned in the course are relevant to your future teaching? Please explain your answer.

3. When we met before the course began, you mentioned that some of the significant experiences that led you to graduate study in a TESOL program were [....]. Have the concepts that you have been studying in Dr. Jean's course changed your perspectives on any of these experiences? Please explain your answer.

4. When we met before the course began, you described your goals for graduate study as [....]. Have these goals changed as a result of the concepts that you have been studying in Dr. Jean's course? Please explain your answer.

5. [*I will also ask more specific questions based on significant events I observed in the classroom.*] For example: "Two weeks ago, we discussed the native speaker fallacy in class. During group work, I remember that you were talking about how native-centric norms are dominant in your home country. Can you tell me more about how this might affect your future teaching? Has discussing the native

speaker fallacy in class helped you to consider how you might address the issue of

pro-native bias in your future teaching environments?

Appendix F

Post-instruction concept mapping / explanatory interview protocol

The post-instruction concept-mapping task will be conducted according to the same protocol as that described in Appendix C save for the following modifications:

1. Participants will be provided with a brief reminder of what concept mapping entails rather than a detailed explanation

2. After participants have completed their post-instruction maps and written explanations, I will show participants photographs of their pre-instruction maps. Participants will then be directed to return to their written explanations and address the following questions: "How is your most recent map different from your previous map?"; "Why do you think your map changed in these ways?"

Appendix G

Post-instruction faculty interview protocol

Introductory remarks: The purpose of our meeting today is to discuss your

perspectives on how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolded in the course. With

your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview.

1. Before the course began, we determined the following critical course objectives: […].

   Generally speaking, how successful was the class in achieving these objectives?

2. As regards the teaching of critical ideas, what are some activities or assignments that

   you feel went well, and why?

3. What are some activities or assignments that did not unfold in the way you had

   hoped? Why do you think this was the case?

4. What do your experiences this semester suggest about future possibilities for teaching

   critical ideas in TESOL courses?

Appendix H

Follow-up student interview protocol

Introductory remarks: The purpose of our meeting today is to follow-up on some of the concepts you studied in Dr. Jean's class and talk about how they compare to what you are studying in your current courses. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview.

1. *[I will ask students what courses they are taking during the Spring 2013 semester]*. Have you discussed the critical concepts that you studied in Dr. Jean's class in any of your current courses? If so, what are some similarities and differences in how Dr. Jean's class and your current courses have addressed these concepts?

2. Have you been able to apply the critical concepts that you studied in Dr. Jean's class to your current coursework? If so, how specifically have you applied them? If not, what has made you unable or reluctant to apply them?

3. During our previous interview, I asked if you felt critical ideas were relevant to your future teaching, and you commented that […]. Has your perspective changed? If so, what has prompted these changes?

Appendix I

Additional participant case studies in Category 1:

Deconstructive transformation of understanding leading to advocacy agenda

Afia

Though Afia (Female, United States) had accrued relatively little experience with language instruction other than teaching one summer course at a language institute and tutoring international students at the research site's writing center, she began graduate school with a clearer agenda for her scholarly and professional development than most of the other participants. She wanted to teach, and conduct research on the experiences of, EFL learners in a South African context (ideally Ghana) or Ghanaian undergraduates studying in the United States. This agenda stemmed from the abiding passion for African culture that was rooted in the core of her intellectual and personal identities (and also reflected in her chosen pseudonym, which she referred to as her "Ghanaian name"). As a Pan-African Studies minor during her undergraduate studies and the wife of a Ghanaian, Afia believed strongly in the need to confront the stereotypical and derogatory representations of African societies that circulated in mainstream American discourse.

Because Afia was keen to perceive areas of overlap between her previous African studies coursework and the new ideas she encountered in TESOL 500, she was soon able to build upon her critical objective of disputing these persistent misrepresentations. Throughout her first semester, Afia considered how she might cultivate an EFL pedagogy that was ethically responsive to the educational culture of Ghana and served, on a local level, to subvert rather than perpetuate the traditionally inequitable and exploitative system of sociopolitical relations between Western and African nations. Furthermore, as a Caucasian,

she speculated on how she might make pedagogical pursuit of social change without inhabiting the role of the "white American liberator," thereby reinforcing the discursive construction of historically marginalized populations as helpless and wholly dependant on the benevolent intervention of Westerners.

Afia was careful, contemplative, and curious during interviews, often pausing to determine the precise word or phrase necessary to complete her thoughts and demonstrating both uncertainty and excitement as she pondered the implications of course readings. Though Afia sharpened an already potent critical sensibility over the course of the semester, her tendency to dominate class discussions in early sessions of TESOL 500 raised the issue of whether her enthusiastic espousal of critical viewpoints had the ironic effect of silencing or intimidating her international classmates (see subsequent discussion below).

Despite Afia's extensive interest in Ghana as an intended future teaching context, her first concept map, displayed below in Figure 7, presents a generalized depiction of critical practice more reflective of her language learning history.
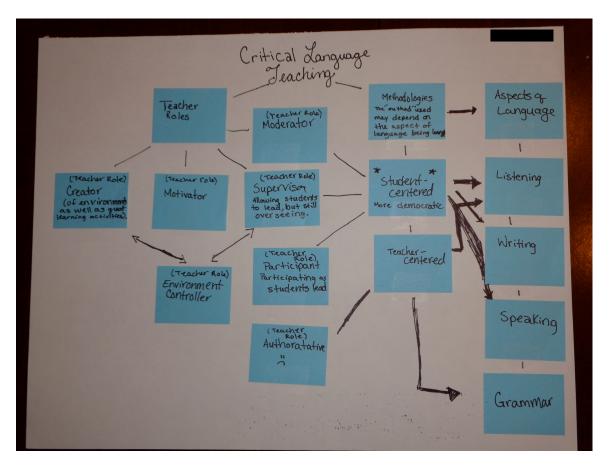
Figure 7. Afia's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

On this map, "Critical Language Teaching" descends into "Teacher Roles" and

"Methodologies," the two aspects which Afia felt "work together to create a good (or bad)

class" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). Listed under the category of "Teacher Roles" are:

"Creator (of environments as well as great learning activities)"; "Motivator"; "Environment

Controller"; "Moderator"; "Supervisor Allowing students to lead, but still overseeing";

"Participant Participating as students lead"; and "Authoratative [sic] ☹." The

"Methodologies" category is divided into just two subcomponents: "*student-centered* more

democratic" and "Teacher-centered."

     Lines are used to indicate logical connections between certain roles that teachers

might inhabit and the methodologies that they might employ (e.g., "Moderator,"

"Supervisor," and "Participant" are linked to "Student-centered," while "Authoratative" is linked to "Teacher-centered") as well as the "Aspects of Language" that Afia felt were likely to be emphasized in various approaches (Map explanation, Aug 20, 2012). Among these aspects, "Listening" is connected to both student and teacher-centered methodologies, "Writing" and "Speaking" are connected to "Student-centered" alone, and "Grammar" is connected to "Teacher-centered" alone. As Afia explained, some of the relations shown on the map reflect practices of language teaching as they typically *are* rather than as they *should be*:

> I put "teacher-centered" with grammar because I believe it is most often used when teaching grammar, not because I feel it is the best method to use when teaching grammar … I put ** by student-centered because I think it is ideal. I put ☹ by authoratative because I don't think that authoratative classrooms are ideal for learning + motivation to take place.

As was the case with Dagney, Linlin, Mei, and Diana, Afia's desire to pursue a student-centered pedagogy had its origins in unfulfilling experiences with teacher-dominated language classes. When commenting further on problematic aspects of teacher-centered classrooms during our first interview, she remarked:

> When I was learning Spanish, I really dreaded my grammar class, because … it was the teacher standing there and she had PowerPoints, and she went through them very fast and they were just a bunch of grammar rules and at the end, I still didn't know what she was talking about. And it was very teacher-centered because she was doing most of the talking. I wasn't really engaged in the learning … I'm … the type of person, I have to do it, so I was kind of like waiting for that opportunity and even

when the opportunity came I didn't know how to do it because she didn't show us how to do it, she just talked to us about how to do it. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

In keeping with Afia's conviction that student-centered methodologies amount to a "more democratic" ideal, she defined a student-centered approach not merely in terms of replacing lecture with communicative activities but also granting learners a voice in determining course procedure. More importantly, she realized that superficial gestures toward student empowerment such as soliciting feedback in front of the entire class were unlikely to effect significant changes due to students' reluctance to speak candidly in front of their peers, thus necessitating the adoption of methods more conducive to honest responses:

> For me, democratic is like, allowing students to [speak out], in a way that they they're going to do it because you know teachers ask, "Do you have any complaints, do you have any questions?" But a student's not gonna raise their hand in front of twenty other students and say, "I'm upset about this." But having some way, whether it be through surveys throughout the semester or something, but just a way for students to say like, "Okay, I don't think this is working out, can we change this?" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

Afia also commented that creation of an egalitarian atmosphere in which students can request alterations to the teacher's methods without fear of reproach could be achieved in part through efforts to:

> [show] them that whatever they're saying is valuable, maybe adding a comment or asking someone else, "What do you think about that?" kind of engaging them, so that you're creating an environment where, through your words where they feel like …"It's okay for me to talk here, what I say is valued here."

253

I was impressed that Afia could articulate such a coherent and specific plan for altering the customarily lopsided power dynamics of the classroom on the sole basis of her learning history and a limited body of teaching and tutoring experience. Considering her apparent knack for critical reflection on teaching approaches and her reports of becoming familiar with the research site's MA TESOL program through her work with enrolled students at the writing center, I began to assume that joining the program was an easy decision for her. Accordingly, I was surprised to learn that she was at one point strongly opposed to the idea due to lingering concerns about the risk for English teaching to function as a means through which historically subjugated populations are subjected to ideological indoctrination:

> I became interested in Pan-African studies, and there was a time where I really didn't want to go into TESOL even though I had connected … with a lot of other TESOL students … And they were all like, "You should go into this, you seem like you're really interested in it, you would do really well" and … I emphatically told [them] that's not what I want to do … I thought that if I taught someone English I would be forcing my language on them and I was like really emphatic about not wanting to do it. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

As mentioned above, Afia's critical consciousness emerged from her coursework in Pan-African studies, though which she "began to realize that the West had forced so much on that continent" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). Her studies increased her awareness of not only historical injustices but also the pervasive stereotypes that have been perpetuated in Western societies up to the present; the most significant of these to her nascent identity as a critical

254

TESOL practitioner was the prejudicial belief, born of a monolingual mindset, that bilingual societies were prone to disunity and strife:

> the first things I noticed were just the stereotypes that we apply [to Africa]. And then through those stereotypes the idea that people speaking different languages in one country can't get along or that it's going to cause conflict … like in Ghana for example, there are so many different languages there, and people think well, it makes it so there is no unity in the country but the truth is that most of the people speak one common language like the lingua franca of that region, so they do have something that unifies them.

Because Ghanaians had already cultivated a linguistic ecology that sustained diversity while simultaneously enabling inter-group communication, Afia felt that imposing English for the supposed purpose of communicative efficiency was equivalent to "just forcing your cultural beliefs on them." This statement demonstrates cognizance that the objects of English instruction are not limited to abstract lexical and syntactic codes but rather are invariably bound with the values of the institutions and individuals responsible for teaching it; in the Ghanaian EFL context as described by Afia, the high probability of ideological compulsion that arises from teacher-student power disparities is increased further because the target language is discursively imbued with great prestige and thus made desirable in learners' minds.

As a practicing Christian, Afia also expressed concern that English teaching conducted for missionary purposes in the Pan-African region sometimes amounted to an ignoble colonizing exercise through which adherents of minority faiths such as Islam or traditional religions were compelled to adopt the belief systems of their instructors in order to

access what they perceived as a valuable linguistic resource. Hence, she felt that inspiring others through words and deeds was more in keeping with Christian ideals:

> But yeah, if I was gonna be a missionary presence I would rather be about me and the way I live my life and someone being attracted to that more than being like, "She has a tool that I need and I have to be what she wants me to be in order to have that tool."
>
> (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

To reiterate, Afia had extensive reservations about entering the TESOL field because she doubted whether the purported benefits of English as a lingua franca accorded with the actual communicative needs of Pan-African populations, and she moreover perceived that any limited benefits potentially arising from her teaching would be tainted by the "white man savior" role she would be forced to inhabit. Furthermore, she struggled to see how English teaching could contribute to substantive social change in nations such as Liberia, which had been devastated by sectarian violence and had far more immediate needs for humanitarian aid.

However, Afia's viewpoint underwent a sudden turnaround in the wake of a "huge revelation" that Ghanaian students could agentively utilize English as an additive literacy for the purpose of sharing their thoughts and experiences with international audiences:

> I realized that if I teach English, especially English writing, students will be able to tell their stories to a broader audience and they'll be able to on their own tell about what's going on in their countries, so it wouldn't be me trying to get the word out as a Westerner, but it would be them showing their perspectives on their own problems …
> for example in Ghana, if you speak Twi, that's good and there's nothing wrong with that language, but is there a broader audience there that you can speak to, can you

256

speak to the international community about what's going on in your country in Twi and have them understand? Probably not. So if you write … in your own words in English, that can help them bring the change in a way that they're doing it but I was just like a small step on the way. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

Though Afia clarified that the privileged position of English proficiency as a prerequisite for reaching certain powerful audiences was "in itself … a problem," she felt that she had discerned a practical action strategy and thus enrolled in graduate school with a fresh sense of purpose (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). During her time in TESOL 500, she actively explored pedagogical possibilities that would enable her to function as a facilitator of Ghanaians' self-motivated efforts to raise awareness of their cultural traditions and rebuff stereotypes. When we met approximately six weeks later for our second interview, I found that her vocal participation in class was matched by extensive reflection on how she might navigate the delicate balance between implementing her critical objectives and respecting Ghana's educational traditions.

Considering Afia's goal of cultural accommodation, it was fitting that she identified Pennycook's (1996) piece on the ideological undertones of plagiarism as a text that held particular significance for her. One class activity in TESOL 500 required Afia to write a plagiarism policy that would be suitable for her anticipated future teaching venue. She reported that, in crafting her policy, she took care to not merely transpose "a culturally Western idea of plagiarism" to the Ghanaian secondary context; instead, she drew upon her knowledge of alternate attitudes toward authorial responsibilities to anticipate potential difficulties:

I wanted to be clear that students need to work on their own papers and I think that

that's really important … because I know from just from being in the Ghanaian

community that some students can think that it's totally fine to ask your friend to

write your paper for you or to help you write a section of your paper or to use a paper

you written before so I thought that being explicit about that was important.

(Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012)

In requiring that texts consist entirely of students' own original writing, Afia intended to

compel students to adhere to the conception of academic integrity that was standard in

American universities. Her rationale for this decision, however, did not originate in an

uncritical belief in American cultural supremacy but rather her conviction that such an

approach would entail benefits that may not result from more lax policies (i.e., she felt her

policy would encourage students to challenge themselves to become better writers).

Furthermore, she was careful to avoid positioning students as schemers or criminals by

acknowledging the possibility of honest misunderstanding:

I'm not going to be that harsh on them because it's kind of a new idea I just want

them to grasp the idea of whose words am I using, whose ideas. And even if they

don't completely get that right, as long as the intention was there to try, I'm going to

totally accept that.

More generally, Afia stressed the importance of consulting with local teachers to

determine how the methods that are often lauded in Western contexts, such as

communicative language teaching, may have to be modified to accommodate local learners'

needs: "when you go into a context you're not familiar with … you have to talk to other

teachers and see what they do in that context in order to understand … why maybe [a given

approach] is not working" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012). From conversations with her husband

and other Ghanaians, Afia realized that she would perhaps need to integrate into her own

teaching certain instructive traditions that were not typically valued in contemporary

American education, such as the extensive memorization of texts. Her husband's narratives

about his school experiences in particular gave her the impression that students will expect

teachers to be strict disciplinarians and may mistrust or lose respect for a teacher who

attempts to engage them on more friendly and mutualistic terms.

By synthesizing course content with her preexisting knowledge of the Ghanaian

context, Afia had determined two possible means of escaping teachers' prescribed roles as

absolute authority figures: the first was to make subversive use of students' tendencies to

show interest in all things American by using popular culture artifacts such as magazines as

"a distraction mechanism;" she hoped that students' enthusiasm for the source texts would

jolt them from their passive obedience and foster active and independent class participation.

The second was to employ the pedagogy of shuttling (Canagarajah, 2006) by first asking

students to reflect on conventions of relevant text types in their native language, then

modeling approaches typical of English-language academic and narrative discourse, and

finally prompting students to discern the similarities and differences between the two:

> if … you cannot move because they just will not let you … get out from that authority
>
> position, I would probably do … the shuttling, where I would kind of show them like,
>
> "Okay, you write yours," now this is mine, now and I'm gonna make you think about
>
> it, I'm not gonna give you the answer.

Though Afia was steadily gaining confidence as to how she might approach her

intended future teaching context, she continued to question the influence that white privilege,

a phenomenon that had permeated nearly every aspect of contemporary society, would play in her career. More specifically, she wrestled with nagging apprehensions about whether even those white individuals who entered the field as well-informed and intentioned critical practitioners were hopelessly complicit with mechanisms of institutionalized racism that denied opportunities to capable non-white teachers:

> I know I think about this a lot and Dagney and I talk a lot about this … in terms of
> social justice, … young white women [like Dagney and I], going out into, she wants
> to go maybe Korea I want to go to Ghana and it's like … maybe we are taking
> someone's job who's just as qualified as us. And thinking back … I don't know if it
> was Salem or someone else in the class[16] who mentioned that in Saudi Arabia like
> you have all these teachers and then you have the administrator who's this young
> white guy who doesn't have the experience that the teachers have and it's a kind of a
> question of are we participating in perpetuating that? (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013)

In this case, the critical convictions that Afia had bolstered through interaction with her fellow cohort members came into conflict with the practical need to find work as a language teacher upon the conclusion of her graduate studies. While she continued to have reservations about white privilege, she felt the most pragmatic possible solution involved resolving to act as a critical ally of nonnative English teachers and seek out local knowledge:

> But then the other thing that comes into question is well we also need jobs. You
> know? And if you just want to go [abroad], in my case for family reasons then you
> don't really have an option. So I think the way I have to think about it is I'm not
> going there to undermine a culture, I'm going there to work and be a part of a culture

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[16] It was indeed Salem who shared this experience with the class; see additional details in his case study.

to kind of bring new ideas … and find new ideas from people who live there and who can tell me more about the context than I know. (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013)

Another commendable aspect of Afia's criticality was that, whereas many of her colleagues were still laying the foundation for the attitudes and aptitudes that would inform future advocacy, she had already begun to challenge the circulation of discriminatory attitudes on social media websites. Afia related an experience in which an acquaintance had reposted a text message that she had received from a Ghanaian student on her Facebook wall[17] and made the derogatory comment: "This was written by a graduate student … and I couldn't even understand it" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013). Guided by her principle that "stereotypes need to be overcome through conversation," she chose neither to ignore the judgmental remark nor to respond with indignant moralizing, as she knew the latter would only prompt the offending party to retrench herself in antagonistic opposition to linguistic diversity. Instead, she responded by writing:

"Well why didn't you like it?" and … "sometimes I write like this" … and at the end we kind of came to probably a mutual disagreement but I think that … at least anyone who saw that wouldn't think that "graduate students shouldn't be writing like this. They must be … really unprofessional and stupid."

Afia reported that she concluded the online encounter by commenting "I guess my appreciation for different Englishes just makes this really special for me" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2013). Though she did not win the consent of her adversary, she was satisfied that anyone reading the exchange might come to appreciate that the dispute was "about different Englishes and … [not] about stupidity or not being able to use English grammar or spelling."

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[17] A Facebook user's "wall" is a public portion of her profile page that is usually visible to everyone in her social network.

Notably, Afia drew a direct connection between her perspective on the matter and a conversation in TESOL 500 during which Jean made the point that social changes toward acceptance of linguistic plurality occurred through the painstaking accumulation of minor advancements rather than sudden dramatic shifts (Field notes, Oct 4, 2012). Fusing the implications of these experiences, Afia made the measured but optimistic prediction that teaching students to resist stereotypes "would perpetuate through the generations … hopefully it would be a ripple effect" (Interview 2, Oct 23, 2012).

As detailed above, Afia possessed nuanced critical sensibilities that were all the more remarkable in light of her relative lack of teaching experience. However, it should be noted that her fervent exploration of critical ideas, as reflected in the frequency with which she volunteered her thoughts and opinions in TESOL 500, also resulted in a tendency to dominate class proceedings. This proclivity became problematic when considered in tandem with international students' reports of feeling inferior and being reluctant to speak because their statements could not compare in content or fluency to those of their American classmates. As should be obvious from the nature of her previous comments, Afia certainly did not intend to silence or intimidate her international counterparts through her own eager participation. Nonetheless, she was greatly privileged in her ability to enact her desired classroom persona through her fluency in English and the habitus that enabled her to unhesitatingly question or complicate authoritative discourse (e.g., concepts in course readings and statements made by Jean).

When reflecting on how the course had unfolded, Jean noted a related concern: the tendency for Afia and other American students to adopt roles as spokespeople for their

international classmates, especially during group work and discussion activities in the first few class sessions:

> … in the beginning I was like "Oh my god what are we getting into?" you know always having that group where one person in the group is a native speaker and then she would talk for everybody else and then you know just I didn't want that to continue to happen. (Interview 2, Dec 4, 2012)

In the particular case of TESOL 500, there was a positive resolution to the dilemma as the class fostered a communal atmosphere of support and encouragement, with the result that most international students began to participate more frequently and on their own volition (or, as Jean put it, "it just kind of worked itself out … it speaks volumes about them as students and their transformation"). On a more general level, however, Afia's continual involvement in class proceedings suggests a potential need for deliberate measures to balance input from American and international students in TESOL courses, lest the teaching of critical concepts inadvertently reinforce international students' feelings of inadequacy or have other consequences that run contrary to their intended effects.

Afia's second concept map, displayed below in Figure 8, enhances the understanding reflected in her previous map by integrating numerous course concepts and situating critical language teaching amid a range of social and political factors beyond the roles and methodologies to be employed by teachers.
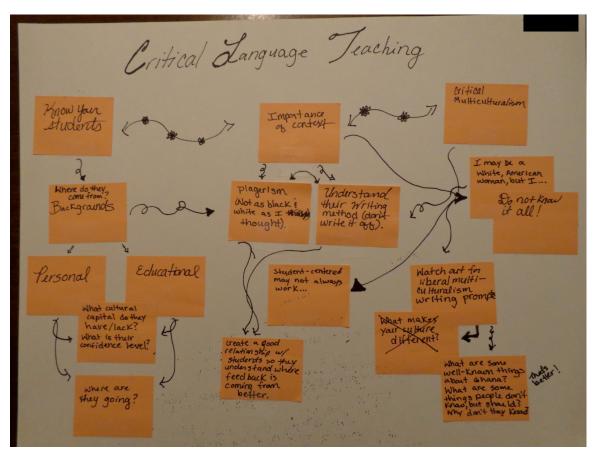
Figure 8. Afia's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Despite including only one more item than the first map (17 as opposed to 16), the second

map covers a much broader range of components involved in the act of teaching. "Critical

Language Teaching" is divided firstly into the interconnected items "Know your students";

"Importance of context"; and "Critical Multiculturalism"; Each of these items descends

vertically into a column of numerous subcomponents, three of which are connected to items

in other columns, thus indicating a system of reciprocal interrelation among the concepts on

the map. "Know your students" is partitioned into "Where did they come from?

Backgrounds"; "Personal"; "Educational"; "What cultural capital do they have / lack? What

is their confidence level?"; and "Where are they going?"; "Importance of context" is

subdivided into "Plagerism [sic] (Not as black & white as I thought)."; "Understand their

writing method (don't write it off)."; "Student-centered may not always work…"; and

264

"Create a good relationship w/students so they understand where feedback is coming from better."; Finally, "Critical Multiculturalism" is split into "I may be a White, American woman, but I … Do not know it all!"; "Watch out for liberal multi-culturalism writing prompts"; "~~What makes your culture different~~"; "What are some well-known things about Ghana? What are some things people don't know, but should? Why don't they know? That's better!"

Drawing upon the notions of critical multiculturalism (Kubota, 2004), plagiarism as a Western ideological construct (Pennycook, 1996), and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991), Afia had refocused her agenda for culturally responsive teaching in the Ghanaian context. She reported in her map explanation that the most profound shift in her perspectives arose as she skeptically reappraised "beliefs instilled in me through my American education (i.e. that plagerism is considered terrible everywhere & the student-centered approach liberates students)" (Nov 15, 2012). As such, her conception of critical language teaching was no longer represented in terms of unidirectional progress towards an idealized teaching method; it was now depicted as a heuristic through which viable approaches are developed recursively in response to ever more detailed understandings of the social and individual elements that give rise to the demands of particular teaching situations:

> I've gone from trying to create some recipe for the perfect language learning
> classroom to refocusing on the students. Instead of going in with MY "better" way of
> doing things (i.e. always using the student method), I now believe considering the
> STUDENTS and what is best to THEM is the only good "no recipe, recipe." (Map
> comparison, Nov 15, 2012)

265

During a follow-up interview conducted about five months later, I found that Afia had intensified her scholarly development by undertaking several challenges: she was taking four classes in her second semester rather than the standard three in order to expedite progress toward her degree, and she had already begun writing the literature review and methodology sections of her thesis. I was surprised to discover that her thesis topic did not deal directly with the Ghanaian context; she had instead elected to investigate the adversities faced by financially strained students (both individuals from lower socioeconomic classes and international students who do not have access to certain funding options) and how these affected their journeys through higher education.

This new topic also demonstrated a strong critical orientation in that it was informed by Afia's engagement with theories about feminism and social class, some of which she endorsed and some of which she disputed. Moreover, she sought to raise awareness of a commonly overlooked dimension of marginalized students' educational experiences. Afia's investment in the topic was based in her personal experiences, as she herself was struggling to meet the myriad demands of graduate school without the aid of student loans: "I now know how it feels to be like that and … that was an eye-opening experience and just going through that kind of stress, I didn't realize how much it really could impact every moment of your day" (Follow-up interview, April 14, 2013).

In summation, Afia exhibited potent criticality in considering how her future teaching could facilitate the self-empowerment of disadvantaged students while concurrently interrogating the discourses of white privilege that may enable her to obtain a teaching position. I concluded our final interview with the impression that she was well equipped to

become a formidable critical presence in the TESOL field regardless of the particular area of expertise that she chose to pursue.

Salem

Salem (Male, Saudi Arabia) viewed his graduate study in TESOL as the first step of a long-term plan to effect widespread changes in his home country's government-mandated EFL curriculum. After completing his Master's degree, he intended to gain teaching experience, return to graduate school for his doctorate, and ultimately join the Saudi Ministry of Education in order to become involved in setting policy for the nation. As befitted the scope of his ambitions, Salem had determined a multipoint agenda for reforming the pedagogical approaches, available resources, and restrictive educational cultures that currently informed English teaching in Saudi Arabia. However, it was only toward the end of his first semester that Salem came to look beyond the surface-level implications of particular teaching methods and gain a consistent critical awareness of the classroom as a site of ideological reproduction. At the same time, he began to perceive the stakes involved in prompting students to contest the existing order's demands for conformity to conservative traditions.

Through Salem was not always forthcoming with his thoughts in TESOL 500, he was warm and inviting during interviews. Speaking softly and often exuding a gentleness and introspective wisdom beyond his years, Salem conveyed his heartfelt desire to render English learning as fulfilling to the majority of Saudi students as it was to him. His comments about how such a feat could be achieved, however, evoked both a sophisticated critical understanding of the Saudi context and the disconcerting influence of Western triumphalism in his suggestions that progress and emulation of Western methods were synonymous.

Salem's first concept map, displayed below in Figure 9, exhibits an understanding that is tentative—he even wrote "Sorry, I may misunderstand the topic" in his map explanation—and ties the concept of criticality to that of scientific neutrality (Aug 30, 2012).
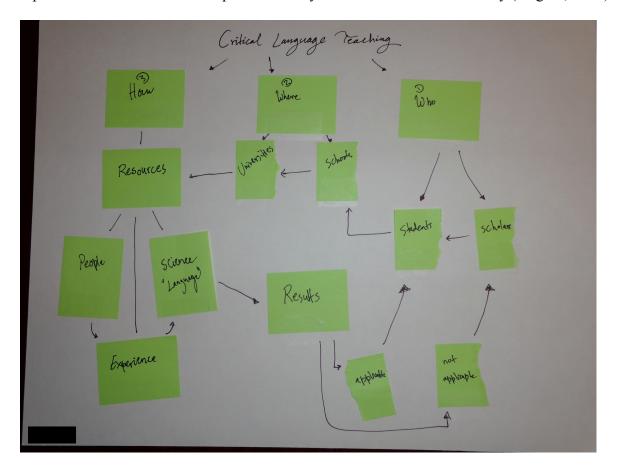
Figure 9. Salem's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

This map divides the central concept of "Critical Language Teaching" into three primary subcomponents: "1) Who"; "2) Where"; and "3) How." Though the items on the map are very terse, with 12 of the 14 total items consisting of a single word, there is a systematic and recursive pattern of interrelation demonstrated among them. "Students" and "Scholars," the items under the first heading, "Who," flow into "Schools" and "Universities" under the heading of "Where" and then continue in the direction of "Resources" under "How." "Resources" is in turn partitioned into three items appearing in a circular cluster: "People";

"Experience"; and "Science 'Language.'" A single line proceeds outward from the circular cluster into "Results," which is subsequently split into "Applicable" and "Not applicable," both of which return to the starting point under "Who."

Salem clarified on his map explanation that he was "thinking about the ways to improve and build academic institutions" and had attempted to represent the process "critical language teaching should always undergo" in order to establish "strong … educational institutes" (Aug 30, 2012). It became clear from further comments such as "people, experiences, and science always give us the results" that the recursive structure of the map was meant to reflect a traditional, scientific method-based process of trial and error through which some unspecified method of satisfactory teaching was to be gradually achieved.

Other than the overall vagueness of the map and its accompanying explanation, which is most likely attributable to Salem's self-professed uncertainty about the topic, the most noteworthy impression that emerges is the emphasis on scientific experimentation, complete with implications of trans-contextual applications that are capable of being discerned though detached and clinical observation (as reflected in Salem's statements about the processes and results that critical language teaching will "always" undergo and produce). Thus, Salem appeared to subscribe to a conventional definition of criticality as a logical reasoning process divorced from subjectivity or bias; the definition which had come to the forefront of TESOL and Applied Linguistics scholarship, by contrast, contested the very principle that meaning could exist in isolation from the ideological systems that had governed the circumstances of its production (Luke, 2004).

During our first interview, Salem clarified another aspect of his understanding that is not readily apparent on the map but is more in line with the focus on student empowerment

269

central to much contemporary critical work; this was his conviction that a primary concern of critical teaching is to encourage students to critically appraise the effectiveness of their current instruction:

> I think students are the first ones to criticize their learning. And it's their right, I mean. They should do that to develop the learning of English … Yeah, they should … criticize the curricula, the lessons, the use of the materials, everything. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

Salem further explained that teachers could foster students' willingness to become actively involved in their own learning by soliciting input on aspects of course design such as assignments and assessment criteria. This perspective emanated from his personal preference for those instructors who granted students a measure of autonomy in this regard over those who simply decreed class policies and demanded compliance:

> Some of my previous professors back home the first day of class they just come and ask us what's … the way we like for grading. Like do you want quizzes … do you want one midterm or two midterms? …But while others did not. They had this rules and the rules are the rules. Don't be late and just do the work on time. It's their right, but they still need to be flexible in this new era of teaching English.

This comment revealed the central importance of instructor demeanor in Salem's conception of critical language teaching at that time. Though he repeatedly stressed that English teachers needed to be knowledgeable, he placed equal if not greater importance on their ability to conduct engaging lessons and demonstrate sympathetic awareness of adolescent or teenage students' struggles with language learning and life in general. This position was again based in negative experiences with traditionally minded teachers in Saudi

Arabia, whom he characterized as projecting an unapproachable air and expressing lofty indifference to students' difficulties during a formative time in their development:

> Well, some teachers … did not really respect the idea of the student identity. So we were like kids in front of them … So they dealt with us like a relation between an adult and a child. So, and you know, we were teenagers, we needed to find our identities, we needed to, for someone to feel us, to know that we are there. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

Salem finished high school firm in his conviction that conservative teaching approaches based in stern paternalism must be supplanted with pedagogies of caring and respect. The next stage of his educational journey was to travel to the United States for one year of study at a language institute. While this experience was originally intended as a prerequisite for enrollment in a degree program in industrial engineering, it ultimately transformed his belief in the need for compassionate language teaching into a profoundly personal agenda; Salem's year abroad was so rewarding that he decided to become an English teacher even though members of this profession, while generally respected, earned far less than engineers in Saudi Arabia: "So after finishing the first year, which I call the shifting year in my life, the year that changed everything, I decided to change my study field" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2013).

Building upon his previous comments, Salem stated that a major component of what made his time abroad so fulfilling was the opportunity to take courses with teachers who were both skilled and amicable. Significantly, the teacher whom he praised most extensively was a fellow non-native speaker and could thus draw on her previous problems with learning English and cultural adjustment to relate to students:

271

She knew the difficulties an international student would go through, and she was like a mother with us, she was dealing with us like, "How was your class, how was your assignment?" … [And] she … told us stories about her when she first came to the States. You know, her homesickness and how to learn language, stuff like that that any usual international student would go through. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2013)

Hence, Salem's reflections indicated that he had developed a partial and inconsistent criticality in the early stages of his graduate education: he could speak powerfully to the alienation that arose from uncaring instruction, but he had yet to connect the passive and subservient roles into which students were being positioned via traditional teaching approaches to larger social issues such as unquestioning acceptance of status quo realities controlled by the dictates of ruling elites. Additionally, Salem's comments about the instruction he received abroad served in one sense to validate the abilities of non-native teachers but in another sense to position progressive pedagogies as the near-exclusive intellectual property of Western institutions[18], thus rendering his advocated process of pedagogical refinement reducible to one of assimilating Western norms.

The degree to which Salem had become enamored of the teaching approaches that he had encountered in the United States intensified the disappointment he experienced when, upon returning to Saudi Arabia and serving as an apprentice instructor during his undergraduate teacher training program, he saw that little had changed since his time as a secondary student. In a personal narrative composed for the second session of TESOL 500,

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[18] I use the phrase "near-exclusive" because Salem did reference several Saudi teachers who were willing to negotiate syllabi with students. He was, however, far more enthusiastic and consistent in his praise for Western teachers.

he stated: "I noticed the horrible continuous failures of developing the centralized, prescriptive English curriculum in Saudi Arabia" (Sept 7, 2012).

I asked Salem what had prompted such a strongly worded condemnation, and he responded by describing what he perceived as a series of systemic faults that he intended to focus on in his personal efforts toward educational reform in his home country. The first of these faults was that "public schools back home are not equipped with sufficient materials" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012); he stated that teachers' lack of access to audiovisual materials in particular greatly inhibited their efforts to move beyond the still-predominant grammar-translation method. Salem related that during his own teaching he had very restricted access to technological resources such as computers and projectors because facilities at his school were insufficient to meet existing demand:

> We had a lab in the school with the computer actually and a projector but the problem is that every teacher was using it, so I didn't have time to schedule [it]. I think we [could use it] like once a week.

In Salem's estimation, this dearth of resources was not attributable to a lack of available funds but rather to the relatively low importance placed on technology by the Ministry of Education. He lamented that current Ministry officials "don't … pay for the good things" and tend to "assign a lot of money on … for example building a school, and bringing chairs and desks and lot of things, but they don't assign a good portion on technology." Embedded in Salem's critique were the implications that the ministry was laboring under an outmoded understanding of technology's potential to enrich language teaching and that this understanding was in need of reinvigoration according to contemporary scholarship. In making this contention, Salem had once again evinced both a well-reasoned, context-specific

273

rationale for change and a certain complicity with discourses of Western supremacy, as it has been contended that the "state of the art" knowledge bases and practices which academic discourse is held to embody are disproportionately dominated by Western and, more specifically, American ideologies and cultural values (Millward, 2010).

The next perceived fault in Saudi Arabia's EFL curriculum that Salem would seek to redress was the propensity of some Saudi language teachers to demonstrate a lack of geniality and compassion. As this perspective has already been described extensively, it is sufficient to add that Salem identified teachers' insecurities about their own English proficiency as a suspected source of their antagonistic or indifferent attitudes. He conjectured that these insecurities in turn arose from a system of teacher certification which hinged upon a single high stakes multiple-choice exam, with the result that test-taking skills were rewarded to a far greater extent than teaching ability or any domain of English proficiency besides reading. Expressing skepticism about the capability of this exam to identify qualified teachers, Salem remarked:

> I don't think you can test the teacher on everything in a matter of only one hour. Yeah because … the whole exam is questions and you choose … the suitable answer. There is no you know written, there is no questions in which you should write … One of the depressing things is that this exam, well some of my friends they are good. They're very good. And they did not pass while some others who are not as good as them passed. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

Through Salem's reasoning was speculative and based solely in the experiences of his immediate acquaintances, he had fashioned a plausible connection between the standoffish behavior exhibited by some Saudi English teachers and the Ministry of Education's

problematic dependence on standardized tests that enabled individuals with dubious

credentials to access teaching opportunities.

The final and most important fault that Salem addressed was the Ministry of

Education's decision to mandate English textbooks for use throughout the country. He felt

that these prescribed materials were ineffective largely because they sequenced content in a

counterintuitive manner: "when I first opened the textbook for … the ninth grade, it was like

they had the past tense taught before the present tense … Which is really, really strange"

(Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Salem observed that these materials instilled in students highly

pessimistic attitudes towards English learning; these were exacerbated by the domineering

teaching approaches specified above:

> They were really like disappointed and they had so many negative views on English
>
> … they had this idea that English is so difficult, and no one can [explain] English to
>
> [them], and I guess like previous teachers for those students affected them negatively.

Salem began to move toward a coherent critical perspective as he questioned the

Ministry's official rationale for implementing a standardized curriculum, which was based in

the usual pretense of equal opportunity, and examined possible ulterior motives for denying

teachers the autonomy to select their own course materials. He stated, "[the Ministry's]

problem is that they are afraid that some teachers would not choose good books" (Interview

1, Sept 11, 2012). In the comments that immediately followed, Salem explained that, from

the Ministry's point of view, "good" was not defined in terms of educational effectiveness

but rather the willful omission and erasure of minority voices or indeed any manifestation of

dissent from the intertwined hegemonies of the monarchial government and institutionalized

Islam, the only legally sanctioned religion in Saudi Arabia:

You know, in Saudi Arabia, we had this issue, [traditional] religion and so [to] solve all of these things they assign the book. A textbook in which we don't talk about well let's say negatively about tradition or about someone who is from this place or that place and or the color of the person or the religion or the even the within one religion the specific the different I don't know what they call it

Interviewer: Oh, like denominations …?

Salem: Yeah … even the ideologies, opinions, so they had this standard textbook.

Upon identifying the Ministry as an apparatus of the dominant culture, Salem made a trenchant critical point: policymakers were staunchly opposed to, and would go to great lengths to prevent, classroom discussion of topics that had been deemed taboo because they undermined the discourses of political and religious unity that sustained the ruling autocratic regime. As such, they imposed textbooks that were supposedly apolitical in their avoidance of tense social issues, particularly those related to racial and religious minorities (e.g., Shia Muslims, Hindus, and Filipinos), but in actuality fostered an oppressive atmosphere in which the frank discussion of inequality and the broader process of engaging in critical inquiry were considered transgressive acts.

As discussed below, the notion of utilizing EFL classrooms as venues of critical thinking and civic engagement would come to occupy the focus of Salem's attention as his first semester progressed. However, he also began to question his previous implicit belief that crafting innovative pedagogies and setting language teaching policies were properly the exclusive provinces of native or Western populations. During a class discussion of native privilege during the fourth session of TESOL 500, Salem seemed to be forging a critical perspective in real time as he both described and interrogated the hierarchical positioning of

English native speaker faculty members above their non-native counterparts at his undergraduate university (Field notes, Sept 21, 2012). The situation that he described was an extreme if not absurd example of native privilege, as the English department administrator was a young white American male with no qualifications beyond a Bachelor's degree, while the Saudi faculty members who were subordinate to him possessed their doctorates. This example resonated with the class, prompting much subsequent discussion and astounding Afia to that extent that she referenced it in her second interview (see above).

When I met with Salem about eight weeks later to conduct our second interview, I discovered that his skeptical reappraisal of pedagogies centered on native emulation had been further developed through insights gained from critical scholarship. While he continued to express great admiration for the informed and dynamic teaching he had encountered in the United States, he had gained awareness of a wider range of issues associated with native speakerism as an international sociopolitical phenomenon. As a result, he now attributed the social prestige enjoyed by native Englishes and English teachers to the influence of powerful discourses that served to establish access to native instruction as a desirable commodity:

> Because as in an article [Park, 2012] I read today … international students want to sound like native speakers because it's a prestigious thing and if you go back home, your home country, and you got a degree from the US, this is something prestigious and something good. Cuz it's standard English country or they call it I think Inner Circle country. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

A corollary to this shift in perspective was a more measured endorsement of American styles of classroom interaction predicated on lively discussion, free expression of one's opinions, and informal relationships with instructors. Though he still felt that such approaches entailed

277

great potential benefits, he now elucidated that efforts to utilize them with international students should take into account the struggles they may experience as they modify their habitus to suit their new educational environment. Stressing that, in his experience, "international students are quite shy cuz you know [it's a] new life and you don't wanna sound awkward," he warned against methods based in the expectation that they will be immediately willing to engage in the manner of forthright participation that lies within the habitus of many American students.

Our discussion then proceeded to the changes that had emerged in Salem's intended reforms for the Saudi EFL context as the semester had progressed. He had become more resolute in his opposition to the prescribed curriculum and his eagerness for students to independently seek out materials that suited their own interests:

I think we should know the needs of the students and don't force them to go through things or … materials that they don't wanna go through … So … [my ideal] curriculum is mainly based on students' thoughts and interaction with teachers to develop a very well built syllabus. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

In bolstering his commitment to increased autonomy for teachers and students, Salem reacknowledged the obstacles posed by the Ministry of Education's desire to stifle dissent by holding in opprobrium any inquiry into the hegemonic forces underpinning the mores of the status quo. Furthermore, Salem explicitly endorsed the pedagogical value of discussing contested social issues, such as the movement to overturn laws against women driving cars, though he included the caveat that this approach was only feasible when students had developed sufficient English proficiency. As often occurred during participant interviews, Salem's ensuing commentary connoted both critical and uncritical dimensions:

278

"[In] very simple English beginning level English so we cannot talk about for example having you know permitting women to drive cars or you know … such issues … [But in] advanced classes why not? … cuz women are not permitted to drive back home … they can have drivers but they cannot drive. For example, let's say discussing some economic issues.

In these remarks, Salem espoused a belief in a lexical threshold to the expression of critical thoughts while neglecting to consider how such barriers could perhaps be surmounted through the strategic use of students' L1, thereby extending the benefits of critical analysis to lower-proficiency students. Moreover, his curious suggestion that the subject of women winning the right to drive be discussed in terms of economic ramifications raised the question of whether his own male privilege had rendered him oblivious to the misogynist oppression at the heart of the dispute. Indeed, further concerns can be raised in light of the practice of gender segregation in Saudi education: because Salem would be teaching an exclusively male student population, there would be a risk that discussions or debates about women driving could function as merely linguistic or sophistic exercises. In other words, students' remarks might be detached from any genuine intention to pursue equality or relinquish a facet of their pervasive dominance in Saudi society. These concerns notwithstanding, Salem demonstrated criticality by expressing a willingness to defy the moratorium imposed on topics that could threaten the existing social order (and, whether intentionally or not, undermine the pervasive gender-based hierarchies of dominance and subjugation entrenched therein).

I next asked Salem to elaborate on the specific benefits that could be derived from addressing controversial topics in the classroom. He replied, "Well some people you know are with … women driving and some others are … against that. And … promoting such an

environment in which we can discuss and talk freely is one of my goals" (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012). By emphasizing the importance of open discussion without preemptive censure of any point of view, Salem sought to avoid a pseudo-progressive pedagogy through which students were simply exposed to, and compelled to express agreement with, the opinions or values of the instructor. Instead, he wanted students to actively question the worldviews that were inscribed by the dominant culture in the course of carefully and critically cultivating their own perspectives:

> You should not I mean force them … to believe in something, but you at least create an environment in which they can construct their identities …and have their opinions and have their words. They can say "Well I believe in this and I don't believe in that."

Salem viewed this objective as vitally important because he had often found himself dispirited by encounters with young people whose outlooks seemed to be shaped by an ossified apathy towards social concerns:

> Well believe me I haven't heard the students' saying "I believe in this. I'm with this I'm against this." … many of them would say, "I don't know. It's not my issue it's not my responsibility." And this is depressing. (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

Though Salem had developed an enthusiastic appreciation for critical language teaching, his views on the plausibility of actually implementing a critical approach in the Saudi context were tempered by well-justified apprehension about retribution from superiors. On the basis of his teaching experience, he referenced the possibility that students, having been indoctrinated to perceive the breaching of taboo topics as offensive, would act as informants to the critical pedagogue's supervisor, who would then issue a stern warning that such conduct was not to be repeated:

If I was talking about for example let's say women driving and one of my students went to …the head of the department or … whoever is in charge and said that, he'll come to me and he'll talk to me and say "Don't do that." (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012)

Notably, the same fear of reprisal from above was expressed by Salem's fellow Saudi classmates Zahra and Myriam during a class discussion of Kubota's (2004) piece on Critical Multiculturalism, in which the author stressed the need for frank conversations about racism and other forms of prejudice that lurked beneath polite veneers of public discourse. Zahra and Myriam rejected outright the notion that they could raise the topics of race or gender-based discrimination in an English class; both described teaching in an environment even more severe than that referenced by Salem and testified that they could be fired for a single (so-called) offense of this type (Field notes, Sept 21, 2012).

Salem commented that this conservative educational culture, in which teachers were closely monitored and disciplined for taking unsanctioned actions, reduced the concept of learning to the facile acquisition of discrete facts or skills, leaving the belief systems through which students filtered their experiences of the social world unchanged. In his view, this mode of schooling was not merely ineffectual but entailed a serious risk of damaging students' moral and intellectual faculties: "And this is not learning, I mean if you don't change your students or at least try to change something within them. It's just not learning. I mean for the better, not for the worse" (Interview 2, Nov 8, 2012).

The significant shift in Salem's critical awareness that had taken place in the span of one semester was summarized on his second concept map, which appears below.
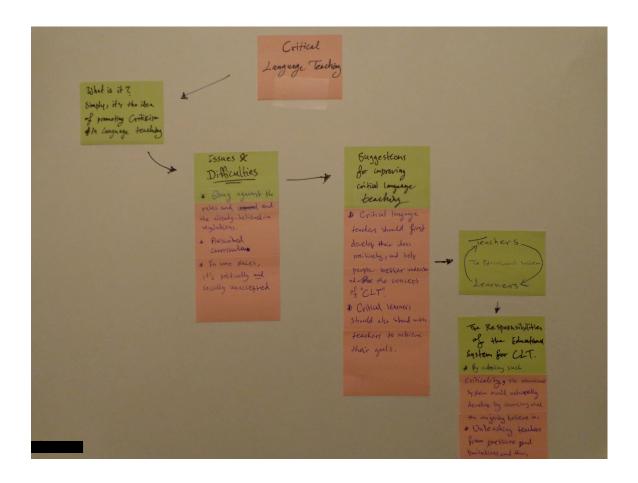
Figure 10. Salem's second concept map (created November 26, 2012).

Abandoning the circular structure and the positivist model of scientific experimentation

displayed in its predecessor, this map presents a linear progression through various aspects

and tenets of Critical Language Teaching. Whereas every item on the first map consisted of

one or two words, on the second map Salem employed the novel tactic of writing complete

sentences to distill his understanding of the concept into a short series of fundamental

insights. The result is a depiction of criticality much more in keeping with the concept that

Jean strove to construct through her course readings, assignments, and pedagogical

approaches. The overall progression towards a more sophisticated critical understanding

reflected in the second map, however, is contradicted in part by the inclusion of certain items

that are difficult to reconcile with major precepts of critical work in TESOL and Applied Linguistics.

On the second map, "Critical Language Teaching" descends into a definition: "What is it? Simply, it's the idea of promoting Criticism in language teaching." Subsequently, it proceeds to "Issues & Difficulties *Going against the rules and the already-believed-in regulations *Prescribed curricula *In some places, it's politically and socially unaccepted" and then to "Suggestions for improving critical language teaching *Critical language teaching should first develop their ideas positively, and help people better understand the concept of 'CLT' *Critical learners should also stand with teachers to achieve their goals." The importance of cooperation between instructors and students in light of their mutual dependence on each other to sustain critical teaching is visually reiterated in the next item, The Educational System "Teachers ←→ Learners." This item leads to the final aspect of the central concept, "The Responsibilities of the Educational system for CLT. *by adopting such criticality, the educational system would naturally develop by choosing what the majority believe in. * Unleashing teachers from pressure and limitations and thus, providing them with a perfect educational environment."

Salem's map explanation presented an eloquent synopsis of the ceaseless struggle between socio-ideological mechanisms of conservatism and tradition, which repress, silence, intimidate and degrade the downtrodden, and the critical drive toward empowerment and democracy through disruption and defiance:

In many places around the world, "thinking differently" would cause you problems. Settlements, most often, are not reached … through agreement. Values, beliefs, traditions and more are governing almost everything in our life, including learning.

Going against the rules such as teaching without the use of prescribed curricula is one of the major issues in critical language teaching. (Nov 26, 2012)

Upon illuminating these ideals, Salem struck a pragmatic note in observing that adopting critical approaches was highly commendable in theory but fraught with many dangers in practice: "Being critical doesn't always keep you safe from losing a job or being discriminated [against]" (Map comparison, Nov 26, 2012).

Because of the high stakes involved for instructors who dare to challenge dominant educational paradigms, Salem felt that teachers and students must be united in their commitment to sustaining critical approaches. He believed that once students had come to truly appreciate the benefits of progressive instruction, they would stand unified with teachers, making possible an outreach campaign aimed at effecting a broader shift in public opinion: "Teachers and learners should stand together and explain what they believe in to the public as others did throughout the past years" (Map comparison, Nov 26, 2012).

This optimism of this perspective, which could be viewed as bordering on naïveté, is counterweighted by Salem's repeated references to the immense opposition critical pedagogues are likely encounter from authoritative institutions. The understanding of criticality that Salem possessed as his first semester of graduate education drew to a close, therefore, was at once hopeful about the potential for advocacy to achieve meaningful social change and mindful of the enormity of the tasks set before those who would intercede in the reproduction of the status quo. Within this general understanding, however, exist several viewpoints in apparent need of reconsideration: the map item labeled "by adopting such criticality, the educational system would naturally develop by choosing what the majority believe in," for example, appears to conflate criticality with executing the will of the majority

(rather than making deliberate efforts to validate and protect minority voices), and Salem's assertion that a responsibility of critical language teaching is to provide instructors with "a perfect educational environment" signifies the questionable position that educational and social reforms can be depicted as finite pursuits with attainable endpoints (rather than objectives that demand perpetual vigilant skepticism).

In spite of these particular concerns, Salem had on the whole made remarkable critical gains by questioning his prior faith in the inherent supremacy of native or Western-centric methods of language teaching. Furthermore, he had given much critical thought to how he might reform the Saudi EFL context in terms of teacher demeanor, available resources, and, most importantly, fostering students' abilities and desires to question the consequences of passively accepting social tradition.

Zhao

The primary reason that Zhao, a Chinese woman, enrolled in a graduate TESOL program was to obtain the expertise and qualifications necessary to teach EFL classes at a high school in her rural hometown. While Zhao was often demure and deferential during early sessions of TESOL 500, she adopted a lively, genial, and confident persona in our interviews. Reexamining the ramifications of her personal experiences with learning English in China was a process that Zhao seemed to embrace with relish, as she often sustained our conversations by introducing numerous vivid and compelling details related to her life history. Considered as a whole, Zhao's evolving disciplinary identity was defined by a prolonged and fluctuating tension between critical consciousness of the issues of dominance and marginalization underlying her lived history and her entrenched perception of language learning as an essentially cognitive and apolitical process.
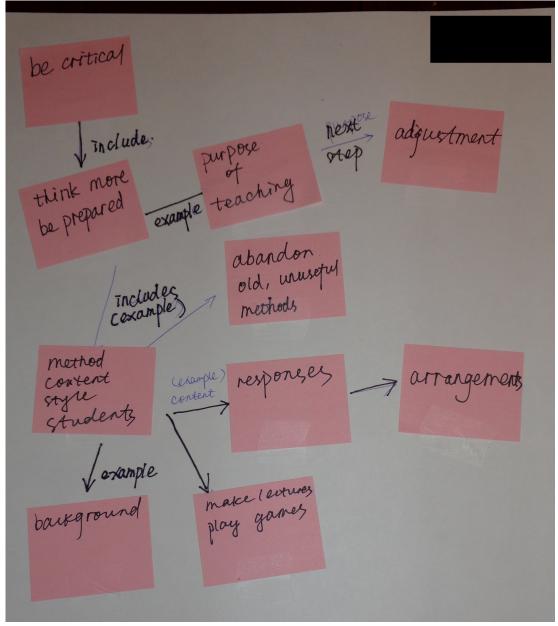
Figure 11. Zhao's first concept map (created on Aug 30, 2012).

Zhao's first concept map, displayed in Figure 11, demonstrates a pre-instruction

understanding of criticality that is defined principally in terms of reflective practice and

consideration of contextual elements.

On this map, the primary concept "be critical" appears in the upper left corner and

descends into "think more be prepared," which is further divided several strata of examples.

These are "purpose of teaching", "→ "next step","adjustment"; "method content style

students" → "abandon old, unuseful methods"; "background"; "make lectures play games"; and "responses" → "arrangements." The dominant impressions that emerge from this map are Zhao's perspectives that appropriate teaching methods should be derived from characteristics of particular classrooms and continually revised based on the feedback received from students. Zhao elaborated on the importance of these elements in her map explanation:

> In order to be successful in critical language teaching, first of all a teacher should be well prepared before class. She should … consider who her student is, then she is clear about her purposes of teaching. Therefore she can design the content, teaching style, methods, etc. After each class a teacher should listen to the responses and make arrangements according to the different situations. The content, teaching style and also the teaching methods can vary accordingly. (Map 1 explanation, Aug 30, 2012)

In these remarks, Zhao's perceptive commentary on the importance of reflective practice is juxtaposed with her curious use of the female pronoun "she" to refer to the abstract concept of "a teacher"; this is perhaps attributable to the feminization of the teaching profession common to numerous cultures (Lin, 2004), though comments Zhao would make at a later date suggest that her use of "she" was indicative of a more purposive effort to utilize classroom instruction as a venue of gender representation and advocacy (as is described in greater detail below). A more straightforward depiction of Zhao's progressive teaching philosophy was reflected in the inclusion of the item labeled "abandon old unuseful methods;" this item foreshadows Zhao's penchant for challenging those educational traditions that she felt impeded student learning or reinforced inequitable social structures in China.

During our first interview, Zhao explained that her learning of English was initiated

and fostered by important figures in her life, including her father and two particularly

memorable teachers at the junior high and high school levels. All of these individuals

emphasized communicative approaches to language learning in contrast to the grammar

translation approach predominant in China during Zhao's formative years. Though Zhao

derived great personal enjoyment from speaking and listening activities, she was careful to

clarify that a large-scale shift away from customary reading, writing, and memorization-

centric approaches toward communicative methods remained unfeasible in China due to the

lack of audio-visual resources in rural locations. Notably, this standpoint was rooted in

Zhao's ethical commitment to the equitable assessment of students in such environments, as

she felt they would be disadvantaged by the inclusion of speaking and listening tasks on high

stakes tests such as national university entrance exams:

> … in China a lot of areas are not so modern, they don't have so many equipment like
>
> computers or DVDs or good English teachers, so you know college entrance
>
> examination is supposed to be equal opportunity for everyone so no listening or
>
> speaking is required in this entrance examination. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Though Zhao's implicit suggestion that standardized English exams in China presently

provide some reliable measure of objective evaluation is doubtlessly at odds with critical

work in the field of assessment (e.g., Shohamy, 2001), she has nonetheless critically

reappraised prevalent assumptions concerning the superiority of communicative methods by

considering their potential effects on marginalized student populations. Zhao further clarified

that, while there was a need to address concerns about fairness in assessment and class size

(according to her, a typical high school class contains 60-70 students), she advocated for the

gradual implementation of communicative tasks and the replacement of contrived textbook

exercises with "authentic information" related to students' interests in order to encourage

them to perceive English learning as a meaningful endeavor (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012).

To this point in the interview, Zhao had expressed several potent, if not fully realized,

critical perspectives. Therefore, her response to my question about her main goals for

graduate study in TESOL was quite surprising. Zhao reported interests that spoke to her

belief in a universally optimal method of language teaching; the tenets of this idealized

approach seemed in turn to be governed by principles of formal linguistics and structuralist

models of second language acquisition. As Zhao put it:

> I'm not sure [about my main goals]… but I want to learn how to teach English
>
> effectively …Yeah, how the language is learned by a learner. I want to learn the
>
> process. Maybe … after learning the process better, I can teach better. You know,
>
> there is certain process. I also learned linguistics in my undergraduate studies, I
>
> learned a little bit about it. I know there … is a certain stage, certain ages can learn
>
> language faster than other ages … Yeah, after certain ages, people are unable to
>
> acquire language skills according to what I have learned in my undergraduate studies.
>
> (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Zhao's conviction that the learning of languages occurs according to a set of unitary

cognitive principles is reflected in her repeated modifications of the noun "process" with

definitive articles—"the process"—and adjectives connoting singularity—"a certain

process." She moreover invokes the critical period hypothesis[19] to make the deterministic

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[19] Essentially, the critical period hypothesis holds that language learning commenced after a
specific stage of cognitive development will fail to culminate in the attainment of total

pronouncement that learners beyond a certain age are incapable of linguistic development. Thus, Zhao's prior formal study of linguistics had cultivated impressions of language learning as a decontextualized and dehistoricized phenomenon, and these impressions continued to exert a strong influence on her in the early portions of her graduate career. Furthermore, these universalized perspectives contradicted the context-centric items that appeared in Zhao's first concept map and its accompanying explanation, suggesting that Zhao was unsure of how to orient herself to work in the TESOL discipline in light of the divergent notions she had previously encountered.

Tracing the changes in Zhao's understanding of criticality as TESOL 500 progressed was somewhat difficult because she tended to vocalize her perspectives less frequently than other students during class sessions. When we met for our second interview, however, she was even more profuse and precise in her critical commentary on topics such as the limited relevance of the Western notion of plagiarism to Chinese contexts, the excessive power of high stakes testing in determining the course of students' futures, and issues of class and gender based discrimination in Chinese education. On the other hand, most of Zhao's overt ruminations on possibilities for future teaching approaches remained limited to discrete activities lacking clear connections to critical pedagogical objectives (though some notable exceptions are discussed below).

Regarding the development of Zhao's criticality, reading Pennycook's (1996) piece on plagiarism as a construct bound with particular tenets of Western ideologies prompted her to reconsider the relevance of the concept to English classrooms in China. Though the notion that using another's words without acknowledgement is a deliberately dishonest or

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fluency, the notion of which is typically defined in native-centric and monolingual normative terms. See for example Bialystok and Hakuta (1994).

transgressive act has become an academic truism due largely to the widespread imposition of Western traditions, Zhao described how Chinese students are usually encouraged to incorporate well-known sayings from classical scholars in their writing but unaccustomed to the practice of overt citation:

> Because Chinese has a long history we memorize a lot of ancient characters and … poems and articles written by ancient writers, which is quite different from modern style. And … our teachers encourage us to use that kind of … four characters word in our articles to enrich our articles, to make it look like more profound or something and so we don't think it's kind of plagiarism you only use them and we don't really do much quotations, even in Chinese. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

Zhao additionally remarked that she had written her own English compositions in high school by making minor modifications to memorized templates, or, as she put it, "just [following] the samples and [changing] some words and to make it our own" (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012).

Significantly, when Zhao reflected on how her future teaching might address the discord between the dominant Western ideology of plagiarism as misconduct and Chinese students' acculturated unfamiliarity with citation, she noted that she would emphasize the concept of contextual appropriateness. Rather than insisting on the reproduction of Western standards with questionable relevance to Chinese secondary contexts, Zhao reported that she would explain the concept of plagiarism and how it might merit consideration depending on the students' intended audiences:

> I will raise … their awareness of plagiarism and let them know that if you do the same thing in America, it's not proper. If you want to publish your article in the

foreign website or some foreign journals, it's not acceptable. But if you are doing

practices in class, I think it's okay. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

In addition to this extension and refinement of her emphasis on contextual

considerations in language teaching, Zhao articulated a thorough critique of the supremacy of

high stakes standardized tests in determining students' access to educational opportunities,

which in turn exerts a profound influence on the scope of their social mobility after

graduating high school. She described an assessment practice employed by her high school as

well as many other schools throughout China in which incoming students were placed into

college-preparatory or remedial tracks on the basis of one entrance exam:

> Their one test decide … which class [they are] going to be in the entire high school
>
> and unfortunately some students don't do well in this test and they are characterized
>
> as very not smart students and [sent] to a [lower] level class. (Interview 2, Oct 22,
>
> 2012)

Zhao immediately identified this an unreasonable and unjust practice, stating "I don't think

that's really fair for every students because only one test cannot judge the students overall

level" (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012). She additionally related that students who had been

placed into remedial courses were socially stigmatized to the extent that gaining admission to

universities was rendered a near-impossibility; this frequently resulted in the students' severe

loss of motivation, halfhearted efforts leading to poor academic performance, and the

eventual internalization of the inferior or deficient roles into which they had been positioned.

In Zhao's high school, the tendency for remedial placement to become a self-fulfilling

prophecy was worsened by school administrators' policy of assigning remedial courses to

292

inexperienced teachers. To Zhao, this strategy amounted to a counterintuitive method of addressing the students' predicament:

> … according to my understanding if the students are lower leveled, you should give them more excellent teacher to teach them but actually it's the contrary. Usually … new teachers are teaching the lower level students, they don't have much experiences and that makes the students' situation even worse. And excellent teachers who possess a lot of experiences, they teach higher level students. And their smart students will be smarter and smarter where lower level students just be worse and worse. So it's two extremes. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

According to Zhao, the designation of remedial classes to novice teachers implicitly conveyed lowered expectations to students; these discouraging messages were even further compounded by the curricula for such courses, which tended to employ more mundane and perfunctory classroom activities than their college-preparatory equivalents. Crucially, Zhao identified the placement practices at her alma mater identify as a means of *systematic* gatekeeping through which the hierarchical segregation of society is perpetuated and legitimated via the stratification of access to resources.

Struck by Zhao's depiction of these marginalized students' plight, I asked her if there was any way for them to overcome their adversities. She responded that her high school offered another placement exam halfway through their three-year curriculum, but in her estimation this gesture constituted little more than a hollow artifice of opportunity because the exam failed to take into account the discrepancies between content covered in the college-preparatory and remedial tracks:

…[at] one and a half years [after initial placement], … everything has already been determined. It cannot change because the syllabus of teachers' teaching are different and the higher level students learn faster, the lower level students learn much slower. And if after one and a half years later you have one standard test for every student that's not fair at all because students don't learn the same stuff don't have the same teacher don't acquire the same knowledge and you have the same test … probably the lower level students in the lower level classes … will fail the exam. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

Far from constituting a chance for advancement, then, the second placement exam amounts to an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991) in that it falsely validates the initial placement results by holding remedial track students accountable for what they have not been taught. Zhao stated that the fate dictated by these tests could be averted only when parents possessed sufficient reserves of social capital, as manifested in forms such as political clout, to intervene on their children's behalf:

There are possibilities for [students] to change [their placement], but it's very difficult. It depends on your family background. If your parents are really powerful, have the really powerful background are high ranking in government or some institutions in local and very influential, you know the principal of the school, you know some very influential characters in that city, probably you change it to another classes, but it's very difficult. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

Though not explicitly anchored in the terms of critical pedagogical literature, Zhao's analysis of her high school's placement procedures brings substantial critical scrutiny to the discursively constructed inferiority of students who perform poorly on the initial exam as

294

well as the cyclical and methodical means through which they are drained of motivation and compelled to resign themselves to the ultimate futility of the educational endeavor.

The final and perhaps most striking critical perspective that Zhao expressed during our second interview was her intention to establish her future English language classes as sites of feminist resistance to the rooted "ideology … in Chinese culture that female is inferior to male and certain occupations female cannot do" (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012). Zhao described how her own high school teachers would regularly subject female students to demeaning comments intended to discourage them from exerting themselves in their studies and prompt acceptance of their socially inscribed roles as mothers and domestic caretakers:

> … some teachers I remember when I'm in high school they just tell us, "Girls, you don't need to work too hard, because … when you graduate [and go job hunting] you will know that girls are very inferior to boys because most companies don't like to hire girls they can't do tough job and they have to get married, they have to give birth to children and the company will have to give you a holiday for that ... however hard you try no matter how much effort you make, [you will encounter] this kind of situation you after you graduate from college." Our teacher just [said] this kind of [thing]. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

Clearly, such remarks not only reflect but also reproduce discriminatory hiring practices in China by inculcating female students' passive acquiescence to their own marginalization. Because she had taken strong exception to being the object of such derogatory sentiments, Zhao had already determined that, should she achieve her goal of gaining employment as a high school English teacher in China, she would compel her female

295

students to reject discourses of female subservience by pursuing autonomy in spite of cultural obstacles:

> I don't want to send negative messages to [my students] because I'm a feminist…I want girls to gain independence, especially financial [independence for] themselves. So I wouldn't send negative messages like some of my teachers do. I would tell them to work hard and do everything by yourself. Don't rely on others. That's my message, I think. (Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

> Once again, Zhao has communicated an arresting observation about the role of

educational institutions in sustaining social inequalities and her overt intention to disrupt

hegemony as a feminist instructor. Yet, for all of the moral and intellectual conviction

evinced in her critical comments, Zhao reverted to the invocation of decontextualized and

prescriptive methods when asked to reflect on the potential relevance of her first semester

coursework as a whole to her intended future teaching approaches. More specifically, she

referred to two vocabulary-learning games she had learned in a Teaching Methodologies

course:

> … in the course of Teaching Methodologies, which is taught by Dr. Roberts we learn … a lot of activities that we can use in our teaching context. Many games such as one student have a card, and there are some word on it, and she or he explain the card and the other students guess it. I think this kind of game … I can apply it into classes to make them compete each other and that will arise their competitive desire to get more scores or points for their own team. And in this way they will learn more and yesterday I read the chapter in a book which is required by Dr. Roberts. It's called "learning vocabulary." … if you want to enlarge the vocabulary of the students, you

give them a theme. For example, "kitchen." And you divide the students into several

groups, and you ask them to write the names of the utensils in a kitchen to remember

the words remember as many as possible and put them on the paper. And the group

which has the most words on the paper win. I think it's a good idea they can explore

the word in the dictionary by themselves and they learn at the same time. Yeah, I

think it's very useful activity. Yeah, I learn a lot of method in Dr. Roberts's class.

(Interview 2, Oct 22, 2012)

While the nature of Zhao's response may be attributable to the wording of my question (i.e., I

asked about intended teaching *approaches*), there is an unmistakable dissonance between the

abstract, non-ideological representation of language teaching constructed in her Teaching

Methodologies course and the critical, contextual, and advocacy-centered representation

prominent in TESOL 500. The former depiction shaped Zhao's comments in this instance, as

she described activities that had no discernable purpose other than the generation or

acquisition of discrete vocabulary words and depended on team competition to motivate

student engagement rather than establishing the relevance of the lesson targets to students'

lives.

  While I do not mean to suggest the dogmatic position that discussions of particular

teaching activities have no place in a graduate TESOL program, it is remarkable that Zhao

could speak so eloquently to the oppression inflicted upon Chinese students in earlier

portions of the interview only to reference teaching practices wholly divorced from these

social concerns when commenting on impressions gleaned from her collective coursework.

This apparent contradiction in Zhao's emerging pedagogical philosophy indicates that critical

concepts learned in particular courses may be neutralized or erased by uncritical ones if the

latter are taught more frequently within the overall curriculum; moreover, prescriptive methods may be appealing to novice scholars and practitioners because they require no contextual filtering whereas critical approaches often demand sustained cognitive effort in order to discern practical applications in particular contexts.

Though Zhao's musings on language teaching continued to exhibit conflicting critical and uncritical dimensions, her second concept map (displayed below in Figure 12) signals a shift towards a more sophisticated understanding of criticality in that it builds upon the emphasis on contextual elements shown in her first map and exhibits a more detailed, extensive and relevant range of critical terminology.
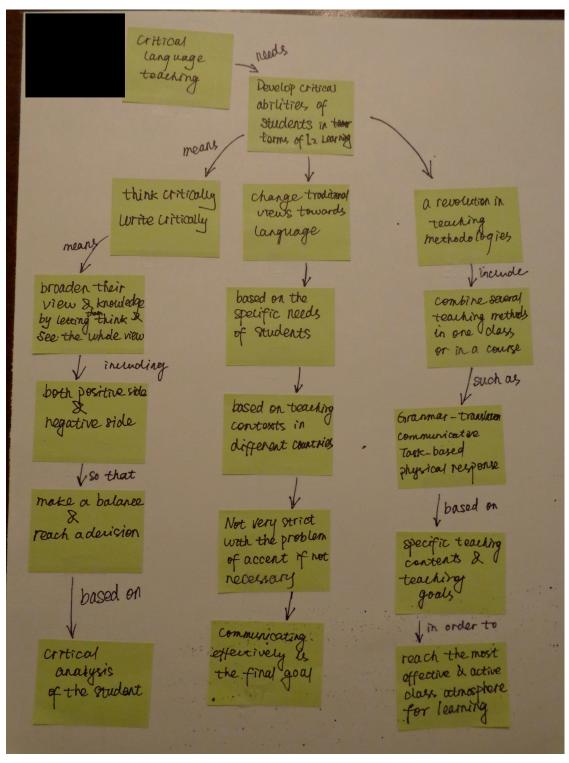
Figure 12. Zhao's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

On this map, the central topic "critical language teaching" is connected to an overarching

definition "Develop critical abilities of students in terms of L2 learning," which is divided

into three subcategories: "think critically write critically"; "change traditional views towards language"; and "a revolution in teaching methodologies." Each of these subcategories is further divided into four component items that move down the map in vertical columns, bringing to the total number of items to 17 as compared to 10 on the first map.

Proceeding from right to left as Zhao did in her map explanation, the first subcategory to be addressed is "a revolution in teaching methodologies." Whereas her first map included a single item labeled "abandon old, unuseful methods," she has expanded and intensified this principle on her latter map via the presentation of an integrative pedagogical agenda:

First of all we need to revolutionize our teaching methods in terms of language teaching. To be more specific, instead of adopting only one method, as a teacher we should combine several teaching methods together in one class like using Grammar-translation method at the introduction stage, communicative method in the second stage, task-based teaching in the 3rd stage and finally use the whole-language teaching method to integrate all the skills of the students and enhance their abilities. The purpose is to [boost] the classroom atmosphere, catch the attention of students and therefore increase their learning efficiency. (Map explanation 2, Nov 15, 2012)

With these comments, Zhao referenced a more elaborate and precise array of teaching methods than that reflected in the "make lectures play games" item on her first map. Though there is once again a prescriptive component to the sequence of approaches she described, numerous items that appear in the center and left columns, including "broaden their view & knowledge by letting them think & see the whole view" and "make a balance & reach a decision → based on critical analysis of the student," indicate Zhao's intention to instill among students an appreciation of language learning as a vehicle of meaningful

communication and a means of attaining more globally minded perspectives on contested topics:

> Also another crucial task of teaching language critically is to revolutionize the traditional view of language of students. Specifically teaching them that learning language for the sake of communicating instead of exams, for your broadening view of the world ... Finally we need to develop the ability of thinking critically by letting them analyzing social issues, controversial issues and debate each other. They can not only practice their language but exercise their thinking & analyzing ability. (Map explanation 2, Nov 15, 2012)

Zhao's perspective that language teaching should be predicated on tasks pertinent to students' evolving understandings of their social world rather than the emulation of native norms is further reflected in items labeled "Not very strict with the problem of accent if not necessary" → "communicating effectively is the final goal." While questions could be raised about her categorization of accent as a "problem," she has ultimately exercised critical judgment by emphasizing successful interaction over the native-centric standardization of pronunciation.

> Remarking on the differences between her first and second maps, Zhao stated:
>
> My old map focuses on being more prepared for teaching and different methods that can be used when teaching a new language. However my new map focuses [on] revolution of ideas and teaching methodologies … I make a little shift in my focus because after almost 3 months training of language training, I realize old methods are useless and uneffective no matter how much you prepare. [Therefore] a revolutionized view is stressed here, especially for teachers. Because without

revolution, no changes will be made in the particular teaching context. The final goal

is to cultivate the critical analyzing abilities through language learning. (Map

comparison, Nov 15, 2012)

Zhao's repeated references to revolution evoke her forceful critical sensibilities, which had

been fostered through her firsthand experiences of gender discrimination in educational

domains and observations of peers condemned to lasting marginalization on the basis of one

standardized exam. Her nascent notion that she as a critical practitioner could intervene in the

reproduction of social inequality was magnified through focused reflection in Jean's course

but simultaneously hindered by her enduring perceptions of language learning as an

essentially cognitive and apolitical process; these perceptions had begun in her undergraduate

studies and were reinforced by another of her first-semester graduate courses. Despite the

seemingly perpetual nature of this conflict, Zhao reported during a brief follow-up interview

that she had decided to write a thesis about international students' culturally situated

perceptions of plagiarism (Follow-up interview, April 8, 2013). As such, there is a possibility

that the incongruity between Zhao's critical and uncritical perspectives will be gradually

reconciled in favor of the former as her graduate studies progress.

Appendix J

Additional participant case studies in Category 2:

Deconstructive transformation of understanding counteracted by inability or unwillingness to

discern advocacy agenda

Diana

Diana (Female, South Korea) was unique among the participants in that she was not a

student in the MA TESOL program but rather a Fulbright scholar who took Jean's course

while teaching Korean to undergraduate students. Though Diana was uncertain about

whether her future would involve entering the community of TESOL professionals, her

experiences with learning and teaching English illustrated core concerns of critical

scholarship in vivid and profound ways. Luke (2004) questioned whether one's capacity to

fully grasp criticality as "a form of embodied political anger, alienation, and alterity" was

predicated on being Othered (p. 26); though Diana's lived experiences do not provide a

definitive answer, they draw a firm link between the ostracized outsider roles into which she

was positioned and the fierce, skeptical and disputative disposition with which she appraised

the politics of English learning as a social phenomenon in Korea. Despite her critical bent

and the gravity of some of the occurrences under discussion, Diana was typically cheerful in

interviews and highly active in TESOL 500 sessions, with her disposition even becoming

mischievous or giddy at times.

As the semester progressed, Diana reaffirmed her preexisting critical convictions that

instructors must seek out lesson targets with meaningful applications in their present contexts

and root their approaches in first-hand awareness of the issues surrounding second language

acquisition. Simultaneously, she wrestled with the complex and interrelated feelings of

alienation and empowerment evoked by her history with English. Amid this process, Diana

became more resolute in her advocacy for non-native teachers but remained hesitant to

accept localized English varieties and Korean-to-Korean English communication as entities

and endeavors of equal merit to those centered on native norms. Furthermore, her

indictments of the elitist and exclusionary attitudes exhibited by her peers sometimes lapsed

into blanket generalizations that imbued Korean people with negative characteristics while

valorizing their native equivalents.

Diana's first concept map, displayed below in Figure 13, emphasized the teaching

objectives mentioned above and listed several activities and resources that can be used
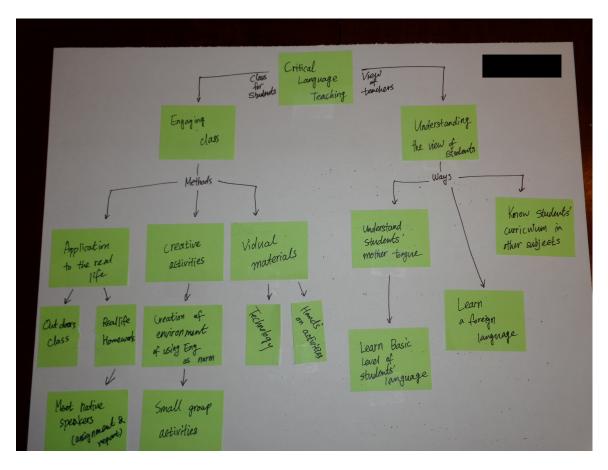
towards achieving them.

Figure 13. Diana's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

On this map, the central concept of critical language teaching is divided into two subcomponents: "Class for students → Engaging class"; and "View of teachers → Understanding the view of students." Three methods are listed under the category of "Engaging class": "Application to the real life," which is further split into "Outdoors class", "Real life homework", and "Meet native speakers (assignment & report)"; "Creative activities"; which is subdivided into "Creation of environment of using Eng as norm" and "Small group activities"; and "[Visual] materials," which is partitioned into "Technology" and "Hands on activities."

Diana emphasized in her map explanation that "class should be rather active and require students to move and achieve by themselves, in the real life" in order for students to "remember and apply the lesson" in academic and non-academic domains (Aug 30, 2012). To this end, she advocated the creation of an environment in which English language communication is expected and embraced; as explained by Diana, this objective was of crucial importance in the Korean context, where students were often indifferent to learning a language that they had few opportunities to use outside of the classroom.

It was partially for this reason that Diana included "Meet native speakers (assignment & report)" as an example of an activity that could prompt students to appreciate real world applications of language learning. Though the notion of placing greater value on communication with native speakers than interaction with fellow language learners appears overtly problematic when listed under the heading of "Critical language teaching," Diana's subsequent interview comments revealed a more complicated perspective: she felt that communication with natives enabled learners to escape the evaluative gaze of their fellow

305

Koreans, which, according to her, was often judgmental and dismissive (see additional remarks below).

The privileging of nativeness reflected in this teaching activity is counterbalanced in the "Understanding the view of students" portion of the map, which repeatedly stresses that instructors must have direct experience with learning a second or foreign language in order to anticipate and accommodate students' difficulties. As displayed on the map, the specific ways in which teachers can attain this awareness are: "Understand students' mother tongue → Learn Basic level of students' language"; "Learn a foreign language"; and "Know students' curriculum in other subjects." Diana stated that learning students' mother tongue or, failing that, another language might help teachers to "have a broader view on what a language acquisition is like" and understand "what is causing [students] to make a mistake or consider English difficult" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012).

As Diana expounded on the life events that had informed her impressions of critical language teaching during our first interview, I was taken aback by how frequently the social phenomenon of English use in Korea had functioned as a medium through which she was made the object of symbolic violence. As the interview progressed, I grew increasingly awed by her unrelenting determination to claim legitimacy in the field of English teaching in spite of the repeated instances of discrimination, frustration and disappointment that had dominated her career to that point.

At the beginning of the interview, Diana explained that she was among the first generation to be required to learn English in elementary school, a policy change indicative of the increasingly high value placed on English learning by the South Korean government. However, her earliest attitudes toward the language were inextricably intertwined with her

deep-seated loathing of her first English teacher. The contempt Diana felt for this individual was prompted by his lazy and irresponsible behavior: "The teacher didn't do anything in English class, he would just show us the video that comes with the book and talk about Christianity and … he's the one who doesn't even fix the problem [of] people bullying me" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012).

In response to this teacher, who neglected his responsibility to intervene in the persecution Diana experienced at the hands of her classmates and abused the teacher-student relationship by using the classroom as a platform for his own religious beliefs, Diana developed a hatred for English that lasted for three years and motivated furtive acts of resistance: "in the English textbook I would always [write] *koogeo sahrang* which means Korean love, like Korean is the best, like I hate English" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012).The anti-English attitudes that had germinated in Diana's psyche as a result of these distressing events were reinforced and intensified as she entered successive stages of her education and encountered systematic, class-based barriers to English study. More specifically, Diana was disadvantaged by her family's inability to afford tuition fees at *haguan*—private academic institutions that provided additional instruction and practice after school. Diana stated that *haguan* were populated by the children of people who were "rich enough to send their kids [there]" and "the fancy kids who are daughters and sons of teachers who know … that it's now the world of English" (i.e., the youths who benefitted from their parents' wherewithal to foresee the importance of English proficiency as a symbolic resource crucial to university admission, future employment, and other means of attaining favorable positions in societal hierarchies).

Diana felt that the extra English practice offered at *haguan* was essential for middle and high school students to improve their speaking skills; as a result of her lack of access to this educational venue, she often couldn't understand the English utterances of her peers, which reinforced her feelings of discouragement and isolation. As she reached high school, she essentially gave up on English learning: "I started thinking [in] high school that English is not my field, cuz I [was] not … privileged … I [was] not even equal with everybody" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). At this point, Diana had come to critically view the social principle of merit-based advancement as a largely fictitious construct that served to obscure the role of social institutions in reproducing unequal relations of capital. The cynical acquiescence that stemmed from this recognition, however, underwent a dramatic reversal when insufficient exam scores led Diana to abandon her initial goal of joining the College of Education at university and instead enroll in the English Literature program. After being advised by a trusted teacher that English was "needed in any field," she rededicated herself to learning the language, though she planned to transfer into the Education department later in her college career.

Diana remarked that she "fell in love with English" during her time at university because she finally encountered opportunities to speak English with natives and non-Koreans, some of whom were employed as teachers and some of whom simply offered to engage in casual conversation (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Though this statement undoubtedly reflected a bias against Diana's fellow Korean learners, it did not seem to be based in the internalization of discourses that posit native speakers as the ultimate teachers and exemplars of English so much as Diana's perception that communication with natives enabled her to escape an educational culture centered on the detection and rebuke of errors

rather than the meaningful exchange of ideas. Indeed, when commenting on what made

interacting with native and non-Korean individuals so fulfilling, Diana highlighted their

warm and non-judgmental dispositions as well as their welcoming appearances while making

no mention of their approaches to formal or informal language teaching:

> I found a Filipina, like in town and I started approaching her and started practicing
>
> with her. And she was so sorry that I didn't get enough chance to like English. So she
>
> would buy meals and make friends with me … and my English conversation required
>
> course professor was from Canada [and] named Cindy and she's a nice grandma with
>
> cute sunglasses, so funny, like dangly earrings. And she said I would get higher grade
>
> if I come across … her in the street and just say "Hi, Cindy, hi!" (Interview 1, Sept
>
> 11, 2012)

Though intended to be complimentary, Diana's remarks about Cindy are trivializing in the

sense that Cindy is praised solely for possessing an amusing fashion sense and exemplifying

the boisterous congeniality that is often stereotypically attributed to North Americans.

Similarly disquieting are Diana's generalized depictions of Koreans as hypercritical

of the slightest deviations from standard English varieties (as mentioned above). She stated

that instances of being castigated by both teachers and classmates for using phonetic features

of Korean when reading passages in English class had led to a habitual discomfort with

speaking English in front of Korean people: "I get very like sweaty because I know that

Korean people are very judgmental and they judge you and … your pronunciation"

(Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). Diana further reflected that she was not simply a victim of this

condemnatory mentality but also an unwitting practitioner of it: "I mean that's what I do too

like, we hear the weirdness of the accent, intonation, that comes first, the meaning comes

later. So I know that that's what is going on in my listeners' heads" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012). Diana's use of the noun "weirdness" to describe the characteristics of Korean people's spoken English gave some credence to her larger assertion that English instruction in Korean schools is ideologically centered on emulation of natives, resulting in intolerance and censure of any discernable Korean phonology in second language speech acts.

The implications of these complex and somewhat contradictory statements for Diana's evolving criticality are anything but straightforward: on the one hand, she had identified formal language instruction as an ideological apparatus through which the subjugation of non-native Englishes is reproduced in the thoughts and actions of the learners themselves; on the other hand, she had perhaps overextended the implications of her personal experiences with discrimination at the hands of her classmates, thus reaffirming the superiority of natives not by espousing the innate preferability of their linguistic performance but rather by them as more caring, open-minded and amiable than Koreans.

However, Diana would come to question her previous perceptions of native benevolence after a series of objectionable and unfulfilling professional relationships with native colleagues in a team teaching program. Her path towards the program began once more with a disappointing turn of events, as her application to transfer to the Education department was not accepted. Diana suspected that behind-the-scenes political maneuvering was involved in the admissions process, as one of the accepted students was the daughter of a professor at the university. Again perceiving that she had been marginalized due to her lack of capital (manifested in this case as clout stemming from familial relation to one with "insider" connections in higher education), Diana sought out practical teaching experience as a means of leveling the playing field: "I started [teaching at] this elementary and middle

310

school. Because I thought maybe what I need is experience to beat those privileged English College of Education kids" (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012).

Diana's employer was Teach and Learn in Korea (TALK), a government sponsored program that recruits "native speakers from English-speaking countries like Canada, England, [the] US, [and] Australia" and pairs them with local teachers in primary and secondary English classrooms (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012). As reported by Diana, these teachers, who were sometimes recent college graduates and sometimes had yet to complete their undergraduate degrees, were hired on the grounds of their nativeness alone and typically possessed little to no teaching experience. The previously described biases toward native speakerism in Korean education resulted in native teachers being granted greater salary, prestige, and authority than their local counterparts in spite of their novice statuses.

Though Diana was also a beginner teacher, she was intimately familiar with the students' ingrained expectations for classroom procedure and preferred modes of interacting with teachers. As such, she resented having to compensate for the difficulties that often arose from her native coworkers' ignorance of such factors, particularly as she was earning one-fifth of their salaries and they continually excluded her from their personal and professional interactions:

> The native speakers they are always critical, they always do [things] by themselves … they don't try to make Korean friends. Like this is really hasty generalization, but that's how I got to [know] the tendency of the native speakers in Korea. Like they always get together with each other share the information that's good. But then it kind of … not really fitting the [cooperative] spirit of the program. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

311

During her tenure at TALK, Diana was paired with three different native teachers, two of whom utterly dismissed the notion that Diana might have anything meaningful to contribute to the design or implementation of lessons. Incidents such as being told that it was not necessary for her to arrive at the school early to participate in lesson planning sessions, being tasked with only those teaching duties that her colleagues wished to shirk (e.g., disciplining students), and observing the frequently ineffective nature of their lessons left Diana disillusioned with native-centric paradigms of English teaching.

The cynicism resulting from these negative experiences notwithstanding, a positive corollary did emerge in the form of critical awareness of the strengths unique to non-native teachers. Diana noted that she had one native coworker, Kristen, who was willing to engage in meaningful collaboration and grant her a substantive role in the classroom; it was through this partnership that she learned to use Korean and Korean-English (or "Konglish," as Diana termed it) as scaffolding tools to build upon students' existing literacies and enable the smooth progression of lessons:

> [Kristen] taught kids before in LA but she was struggling with Korean kids and it's because her English was too difficult for Korean kids. And I know Korean and I know English and I could make her English [understandable] for the students. That's what happens when you know both languages. (Interview 1, Sept 11, 2012)

In validating her strengths as a Korean-English bilingual, Diana also began to develop a pedagogical philosophy rooted in the rejection of the prevailing belief that students' mother tongue should be avoided in the foreign language classroom:

> I think some contents you need to use their mother tongue to get them understand … And you know like that [when] I spoke Konglish to my kids [it] helped them, there

312

are some structure that works better in the mother tongue. What their head is dealing with, it can be explained easier in their mother tongue too.

As her time in TESOL 500 unfolded, Diana actively involved herself in class sessions, questioned course readings, and did not hesitate to request additional elaboration or clarification of course content from Jean. As such, it came as no surprise to discover over the course of our second interview that she had refined and expanded upon her critical perspectives. Among the significant developments in her understanding were the association of educational trends in Korea with larger shifts in political power, the establishment of a clear agenda for developing disciplinary expertise in response to Jean's mentoring, and continued rumination on her complicated and conflicting impressions of localized English varieties and the individuals who speak them.

When asked which of the TESOL 500 readings had made the strongest impression on her, Diana stated:

> "I'm thinking about this article [He and Zhang, 2010] that I was the questioning the most while reading and discussing in the class. And that was about … the World English sort of thing. And it is talking about how in China it is okay to teach China English." (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Though Diana may have oversimplified the authors' argument that "well codified and successfully promoted features of China English" could be used as supplementary components of a curriculum centered on native norms and models (p.769), her commentary on the article neatly encapsulated the fundamental tension between her championing of non-native teachers and her enduring reluctance to accept local modifications of native codes:

Yeah I had no concept before this class about lingua franca or the nativized English and things like that. So that was my first time encountering and so far I was thinking who teaches English doesn't really matter, I mean if you are fluent enough and if you can imitate the you know I would say original … English maybe if it is a school that teaches American English that would be American English … but I thought like even if the teacher hasn't studied English in America or in England, or in Australia or Phillipines, if the person can speak fluently that English like a native speaker than he or she is you know I think they should allow them to teach English. But in this [article] it was even broader. They were saying it is okay to speak Chinese English, Korean English when I know that this kind of things are considered something that has to be changed in Korea, something that is funny and not appropriate. So I still don't know because I studied English and I was grown up in that kind of society that I have to fix my pronunciation, it is better for me to speak as close to the standard … so I still don't know if I fully understand the idea or agree about it, agree with it that you can teach … the varieties of English [in school]. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

This limited form of advocacy for non-natives, wherein non-natives are entitled to equal opportunity only insofar as they can approximate native standards, reinforces Pajares' (1993) contention that culturally inculcated belief systems exert a profound influence on students' engagement with new ideas learned in coursework. Diana remained hesitant to abandon her enculturated perception of localized English usage as "funny and not appropriate" even though she demonstrated self-awareness of how her skeptical response to He and Zhang's (2010) article was conditioned by her upbringing. The persistence of Diana's beliefs is all the more curious when one considers that she herself had been subjected to

314

derision for her use of "Konglish" and moreover had taught successful lessons at TALK only when she utilized localized varieties of English that were intelligible to her students. Taken together, Diana's remarks about He and Zhang (2010) indicate that she had attained a quasi-critical perspective on native privilege: she could readily identify its manifestation in concrete forms such as disparities in salary or prestige, but she had yet to bring equal scrutiny to the hegemonic supremacy of native standards as objects of instruction in language classrooms. Thus, she remained partially complicit with the recirculation of discourses that perpetuated her own marginalization.

Diana demonstrated more consistent criticality when speculating about the future of English language teaching in Korea and describing the changes she would like to see implemented. Whereas several other participants invoked progress narratives by depicting shifting attitudes toward, and methods of, English instruction in their home countries as naturally occurring phenomena rather than politically motivated efforts by various stakeholders, Diana drew explicit connections between the ideologies of political parties in power and individuals' abilities to access English learning and teaching opportunities. Referencing the then-upcoming 2012 presidential election in South Korea, Diana expressed her hope that candidate Geun-hye Park, a highly conservative member of the social elite, would be defeated by a moderate or liberal candidate with a more progressive agenda for educational reform: "I think the lower income people, like the disprivileged people will have more opportunities hopefully … if Korea can go toward the more democratic way, more for-people way" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012).

Though Diana made the optimistic prediction that efforts toward equality such as government-sponsored afterschool English classes would increase, she was careful to include

the caveat that privileged populations will find new ways of symbolically asserting their elite status should access to a previously exclusive form of social capital become more democratized:

> … there are students who can't pay [to study English] … so there are going to be more open doors, but I don't think it is going to be fair like if the society comes up with more cheaper ways for them to … approach the English, then the rich people will do something you know more expensive and more, I don't know if it's necessarily better but they will definitely have the opportunity. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Diana demonstrated similar critical vigilance when appraising reports that academic and professional domains of Korean society had begun to place increasing importance on communicative competence by requiring students and prospective employees to take a version of the Test Of English for International Communication (TOEIC) that focused on speaking and listening abilities. While she endorsed any assessment measure that required learners to produce utterances rather than merely answer multiple-choice questions, she recognized that the critical implications of this particular change were limited because it had occurred solely within the dominant paradigm of high-stakes, standardized assessment. Diana commented that, as such, it served primarily to sustain a lucrative test-preparation industry and privilege those who could afford to access preparatory materials and courses: "they are patternizing the speaking test so if you have a lot of money you can buy the expensive books, you can go to the *haguan* that teach you the patterns" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012).

Two final dimensions of Diana's developing criticality that were discussed during our second interview were her acclimation to an active and assertive student habitus and her

316

emerging goal of entering the community of academic professionals. Regarding the former, Diana stated that she found herself asking questions more readily in her American coursework that she did at her Korean university, where she "wouldn't make any question even if [she had] one" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012). In a heartening reversal of the sentiments expressed by Linlin and Mei, Diana claimed that being in the presence of native speaker classmates, though a source of some embarrassment, did not inhibit her from interjecting in class discussions: "I can't understand as much because it's my second language … and I should be shameful about that but I'm still making a lot of questions."

One significant factor in Diana's newfound willingness to vocalize her questions and opinions was the mentoring she received from Jean, who often stressed the importance of actively cultivating disciplinary expertise via the extensive reading and writing of academic discourse. As Diana put it, "[Jean] talks a lot about publishing and academic writing and … professional mentality, and you know like the academic society things. And I feel like I really want to get into it. I want to be … like her" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012). Based on her dissatisfaction with the formal lexicon and overly structured activities in the Korean as a Foreign Language textbook she had been using in her own teaching, Diana had identified an ambitious goal for her scholarly development: writing and publishing a textbook more suitable for American students. Though textbook-centric approaches to teaching have been the subject of critical scrutiny (e.g., Hurlbert, 2012), there was a critical component to Diana's objective in the sense that she sought to apply one of the fundamental precepts of Jean's class—the paramount importance of context—by crafting a textbook that accommodated American students' ingrained preference for communicative approaches to language learning.

317

The concept of utilizing scholarly knowledge to inform one's practice is the most noteworthy addition to Diana's second concept map, which is displayed below in Figure 14.
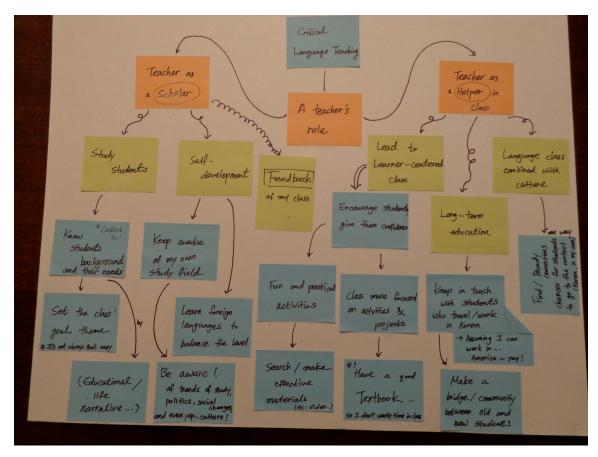
Figure 14. Diana's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Diana's second map retains the essential structure of her initial map but increases the total number of items displayed from 17 to 25; this organizational choice signifies that she had reaffirmed and expanded upon her pre-instruction understanding. On the second map, the central concept of "Critical Language Teaching" descends into "A teacher's role" (an implicit component of the first map) and is thereupon bisected into two primary subcomponents. Each subcomponent is further divided into several strata of supporting details and example activities that can be employed to put critical language teaching into practice. Whereas the initial map defined a teacher's role in terms of her obligation to provide an "Engaging class" and "[Understand] the view of students," the second map

emphasizes a reciprocal theory-practice connection by asserting the need for critical pedagogues to "Keep aware of [their] own study field" and function as both "a Scholar" and "a Helper in class." As Diana noted in her map explanation, "I think the teacher should be ready as a scholar and always be fresh-minded when it comes to performing class … things the teacher does as a scholar would also be for making a more effective class" (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012).

The "Scholar" and "Helper" categories each include a combination of items reappearing from the first map and new concepts arising from Diana's experiences as a teacher and student in the United States. On the "Scholar" side, the item "learn foreign languages to balance the level" appears as a condensed encapsulation of three items from the first map: ("Understand students' mother tongue"; "learn a foreign language"; and "learn basic level of students' language"). Similarly, the item labeled "Know students' curriculum in other subjects" on the initial map rematerializes in a more comprehensive form: "Know students background, and their needs. * Context, too!" Jean's influence is again readily apparent in the item "(Educational / life narrative)," the suggested task through which teachers can gain awareness of students' backgrounds, as Jean used this very assignment for this very purpose in TESOL 500.

Diana also reiterated the importance of items from the first map on the "Helper" side of the second map: "Creative activities" and "[Visual] materials" were rephrased as "Fun and practical activities" and "Search / make effective materials (ex. video …)," respectively. However, the "Helper" category diverges from its predecessor "Engaging class" by positing the prospective long-term benefits of stimulating lessons rather than the lessons themselves as the primary objective of critical language teaching. Diana stated that this shift emerged as

319

she began to engage in more substantive reflection on her practice: "I get to think more about the real purpose of [my] teaching, these [days], especially after having a little experience of teaching in a university" (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012). As a result, she included the items "Long-term education"; "Keep in touch with students who travel/work in Korea"; and "Make a bridge/community between old and new students" to highlight her hope that a pedagogy centered on "[encouraging] students and [giving] them confidence" would engender lasting effects on their intercultural sensitivity and open-mindedness. (Such a pedagogy would also stand in notable opposition to the admonishment-based approach that had provoked such vehement pain and resentment from Diana during her schooling in Korea, thus lending more support to the notion that the attainment of criticality is in part fueled by the desire to vicariously redress personally suffered injustices.) As Diana wrote in her map explanation:

> Teaching is not over with the final exam. If my ultimate goal is to teach students
> Korean and have them actually use it in their life, and enrich the culture and
> education (both for themselves and …for the world), then I should keep coaching (or
> guiding/advising) them ... It will also [be encouraging] and refreshing for new
> students to kind of see what they can do in the future with what they are learning.
> (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012)

In summary, Diana entered the final stages of her time in TESOL 500 having built upon the critical awareness forged through her lived history of exclusion and marginalization. She was eloquent and perceptive in critiquing prominent philosophies and assessment practices of English teaching in Korea on the grounds that they rendered the language a lucrative form of social capital brokered by native speakers to privileged populations. Though she continued to

320

wrestle with her culturally conditioned reluctance to accept localized English varieties, she had embraced the role of a reflective practitioner in the course of staking out her disciplinary identity.

A follow-up interview conducted six months later found Diana facing an uncertain future in the language teaching profession. She reported that she would soon have to return to Korea due to an inability to extend her visa. As such, Diana greatly regretted that she would be unable to continue fostering her students' proficiency in Korean as well as the meaningful connections she had cultivated with them. In spite of this setback, Diana was upbeat and undaunted as she stated her intention to spend one year working in Korea and saving money in order to return to the United States and enroll in a full-time graduate TESOL program.

Fittingly, Diana had continued to hone her critical faculties while observing an ESL class at a language institute affiliated with the research site as part of a practicum course in her second and final semester abroad. She spoke at length about the contradiction between the teacher's stated endorsement of communicative, student-centered methods and her actual teaching, which was heavily lecture-based and often didactic to the point of adopting the tone of a "mother's nagging" (Follow-up interview, April 23, 2013)[20].

Freshly struck by Diana's capacity for penetrating critical insight, I concluded the interview by strongly encouraging her to seek out a viable means of continuing her graduate education. This was no mere conversational pleasantry; considering the criticality she had achieved despite a lifetime of formidable obstacles, I felt that the TESOL and Applied Linguistics fields would potentially have much to gain from her continued involvement.

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[20] Diana subsequently contacted me by email to request that I mention that, despite her critical comments, she was grateful for the opportunity to observe the class (personal communication, Apr 26, 2013)

Hani

Hani (Female, Indonesia) had previously taught EFL at the secondary level as part of an undergraduate apprenticeship program. After obtaining her Bachelor's degree, she worked as an English tutor in the private sector for three years. Her primary goal for graduate study in TESOL was decidedly practical: she sought to acquire the formal qualifications that would enable her to obtain a lecturer position at her alma mater in Indonesia. Nonetheless, she exhibited genuine interest in enriching her overall knowledge base as she forged her disciplinary identity.

Hani was animated and occasionally rambunctious during TESOL 500 sessions and our interviews, often exuding infectious enthusiasm as her eyes grew wide and she gesticulated frantically to emphasize her interest in the topics under discussion. Despite her vivacious personality, she was capable of measured contemplation and introspection, particularly when discussing the need to craft approaches that were ethically responsive to diverse student populations. This objective was situated at the core of her evolving pedagogical philosophy because of its particular importance to the Indonesian context, which is co-inhabited by ethnic and linguistic groups numbering in the hundreds.

As the semester unfolded, Hani shifted away from the liberal and positivist perceptions that cultural differences were naturally occurring phenomena and moved toward a more critical interpretation of the relationship between discourses of difference and the politically motivated stratification of Indonesian society (the latter being a long-familiar element of her lived experiences that she began to account for more consistently in her ruminations on teaching). However, the general development of her critical pedagogical agenda was inhibited by her fears that students were not mature enough to engage in serious

discussions of inequality, and she neglected to fully interrogate the factors underlying her students' deep-seated resistance to English learning.

Hani wrote on the explanation accompanying her initial concept map that the mapping activity was "the first time [she] heard about critical language teaching," so it is perhaps unsurprising that the understanding displayed therein was highly speculative (but in some respects perceptive) (Aug 30, 2012).

Figure 15. Hani's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

Consisting of 14 total items, this map divides "Critical Language Teaching" into three primary subheadings: "Have → Teachers' Ability (Competency) in the [language]" ; "Want → Classroom atmosphere"; and "Student." Hani's map explanation clarified that these components "would be three main aspects to have" in order to adopt a critical approach. The

item labeled "Teachers' Ability" branches into four subcomponents, two of which include further supporting details and all of which are limited to vague terms: "Have → Tools" proceeds into "From → Sources"; "Have → Teacher role" stands alone; and "to motivate students →" is connected to "learning process" and thereupon to "Assignments test."

Hani's rationale for including these items contained the first hint of her conviction that respect for student diversity was among the principal obligations of language teachers: "The reason I put teacher competency in language was because … if the teacher does not have a good competency in language, it will cause disaster because it will affect the students who have different background" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). As the concept of competence can itself be problematic depending on the standards on which it is based, Hani's provocative assertion that insufficient language ability can "cause disaster" may appear to possess a judgmental dimension; subsequent comments, however, revealed that the object of her critique was not any perceived deficiency in teachers' fluency but rather the behavior of those instructors who neglected to consider how words, phrases, and variations in pronunciation entailed different meanings among various ethnic and linguistic populations (see further discussion below).

The final component of the "Teachers' Ability" portion of the map, "Interaction," is also connected to the primary subheading "Want → Classroom atmosphere." Additional items descending from this latter subheading are: "comfortable"; "something sensitive"; and "Dos & Don't." The most prescient aspect of Hani's pre-instruction understanding is presented in this region of the map, as she referenced the discussion of sensitive issues in the language classroom, an action that is urgently necessary from a critical perspective (Kubota, 2004) but often difficult to implement in practice (e.g., Lin, 2004).

324

Furthermore, she stressed that the pedagogical choices through which instructors attempt this delicate procedure (i.e., "Dos & Don't") must be informed by knowledge of "Students' Background," thereby placing critical emphasis on the importance of context. Hani summarized her first map's dual tenets of circumstance and reverence as follows: "So … to create a good classroom condition, a teacher has to consider student itself" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). As her first semester in graduate school progressed, careful consideration of how to achieve "comfortable" modes of "interaction" based on mutual trust and respect would indeed come to occupy the focus of her scholarly attention.

As Hani discussed her history with learning and teaching English during our first interview, several connections emerged between her main pedagogical imperative and the various critical and uncritical impressions she had gleaned from her lived experiences. Her long journey toward the English teaching profession was similar to Linlin's in that both originated in an early fascination with Western popular culture. In Hani's case, she became enamored with Disney movies, which were broadcast locally in the original English with Indonesian subtitles; more so than the films' fantastical content, her interest was chiefly attributable to the enjoyable time she spent transcribing and translating her favorite characters' lines with the help of her father and an English-Indonesian dictionary.

Another factor in Hani's journey was that she came from a family of teachers and was often encouraged by her father to follow the same career path, though his encouragement was coupled with the insistence that she should strive to obtain a more prestigious position than his own (a high school social sciences teacher), hence her desire to become a university lecturer: "That's the thing that he always said, 'you have to be better than me' and then that's why he is a teacher so I'm going to be a lecturer" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). Hani's hobbies

and home environment sustained her interest in becoming an English teacher despite her discontent with her formal education in the subject due to its heavy reliance on drilling, the grammar-translation method, and the antiquated "banking" method of instruction, through which teachers deposited knowledge into students' minds (Freire, 1970):

> [English classes] were boring. Because you only repeat doing repetition, "one, two, three" okay, I know that, don't teach me again! … And jump to my junior high school, we only translate the book. So … the textbook is everything. So answer that questions based on the reading, it's like we are doing it everyday, [with an] open dictionary, and then it's boring for me … it's only like transferring knowledge. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

In the course of reflecting on her official study of English from its earliest stages, Hani demonstrated her ability to critically identify aspects of the dominant educational paradigm that stymied her investment in language learning. Her most intense scrutiny, however, was reserved not for the archaic methods that had rendered her English classes a form of drudgery but rather the affronting messages sent by teachers who, through indifference or active antagonism, failed to anticipate how students of linguistic backgrounds distinct from their own might attribute different significance to particular utterances. The alienating consequences of this neglect had been crystallized in a particular moment of Hani's high school career that lingered in her memory to the present day: "It's like for example in my language, Indonesian, we have like so many types language, and then one of my teachers say something that's fine for him, but for my own language, it's like, that's not good one" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012).

In this incident, the teacher used a variation of a word that meant "egg" in his own Javanese dialect but functioned as a euphemism for male genitalia in the students' Sasak dialect. While this occurrence could be construed as merely a humorous error, and Hani acknowledged that the sheer breadth of linguistic diversity in Indonesia made occasional communicative mishaps inevitable, she felt that this particular *faux pas* reflected an inadequate effort on the instructor's part to understand the students' linguistic practices:

Okay, they pronounce it different. They say it different, we know that he means that, he meant that, but that's not the way you have to say it in here … It's like, for example, *ack telur* in Indonesian, but … my teacher said *telor*. Okay, *telor* in my own language means like, um … in English, it's like testes. So it's like, "Oh c'mon," so because it can cause disaster the lack of competence in language, I mean they do not study another aspect of the culture of our background. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

A complicated and partially contradictory array of critical and uncritical perspectives was evinced in Hani's commentary on this event. In terms of the former, she identified teacher insensitivity to potentially offensive language as a factor in the devaluation of students' heritage and the creation of an oppressive educational environment. The social power disparity between the dialects in question lent an additional critical dimension to Hani's interpretation of the incident: because Javanese is spoken by Indonesia's largest and most privileged ethnic group and the teacher occupied an authoritative position, his utterance functioned in a sense as an opportunistic assertion of linguistic superiority.

As regards the uncritical components of Hani's commentary, her expressions of indignation were phrased in terms strongly indicative of a rigid binary distinction between Self and Other: "*They* say it different, *we* know that he means; *they* do not study another

327

aspect of the culture of *our* background" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012, emphasis added). Ironically, the linguistic choices that Hani made when castigating the instructor for his lack of intercultural understanding subjected him to a rhetoric of exclusion not distinctly different from that which she sought to condemn. More generally, the repeated linguistic evocation of "us" versus "them" indicated that, in the early stages of her graduate education, Hani subscribed to a conception of cultural differences as fixed, neutral, and self-evident entities, which were themselves grounds upon which individuals could be unproblematically subsumed into categories.

Hani's liberalistic view of diversity was influenced by ideologies of the Indonesian government, whose official motto "Unity in Diversity" and concordant philosophy of fundamental equality amid difference were instilled into her by the country's educational institutions:

When we were in junior high school or elementary school they taught us that that we are all one but we are different. … I mean we say like we are unite but in this unity we have many differences but in positive way. (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012)

From her and her family's own lived histories, Hani was keenly aware that the social realities experienced by Indonesian people were typically shaped by extensive and fluctuating hierarchies of power among the country's many ethnic groups rather than the idealistic egalitarianism professed in official policies. This awareness, however, had yet to permeate her static conceptualization of cultural and linguistic difference in the classroom.

To reiterate, a lack of recognition of students' linguistic diversity and outmoded teaching approaches were Hani's main points of contention with language education in Indonesia throughout her primary and secondary education. Though she at last encountered

some measure of pedagogical variety as she reached university and her English courses began to involve extended speaking practice for the purpose of exchanging thoughts and opinions, she found that her peers were resolutely unwilling to use English outside of class:

> We only speak English in the classroom. But when we were outside the classroom, and then I tried to talk in English with my friends, my friends always say like this, "Um, okay Hani, we are in Indonesia, we understand Indonesian each other, so speak Indonesian" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

As reported by Hani, such remarks intimated a purposeful resistance to English use in non-academic settings and depicted the language as an unnecessary and even intrusive element in the linguistic ecology of Indonesia. Despite her viewpoint that her friends' unwillingness to English was a major impediment to her own proficiency improvement, she appeared to have given relatively little critical thought to the underlying reasons for their reticence. (The reappearance of this type of student resistance later in her teaching career would lead to another missed opportunity for critical rumination about connections between individuals' oppositional attitudes and larger inequitable power relations among languages and cultures, as is described in greater detail below).

As such, Hani understood her dearth of opportunities to use English as just another unfulfilling aspect of her studies. The numerous frustrations she had experienced in her home country, however, were sharply contrasted by a largely positive study abroad at a language institute in the United States during the fifth semester of her undergraduate career; she stated that this landmark experience transformed her understanding of the possibilities and challenges that English teaching could entail: "And then I went to Sycamore University[21] and

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[21] This institution name is a pseudonym

over there everything changed … it opened my point of view about English. English is not that simple. Teaching English is really hard" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012).

Two of the most appealing aspects of the instruction Hani experienced abroad were the consistent emphasis on communicative activities and the opportunity to interact with willing speakers of the language from a wide range of countries and cultures. Owing to Hani's firsthand awareness of how students may find certain classroom proceedings objectionable due to their enculturated mores, she closely observed her classmates' reactions to the various topics raised in their English courses. One specific moment involving a Korean friend's objection to a course reading about religion reinforced her critical conviction that instructors need to carefully consider the potential consequences of their pedagogical choices; however, the conclusions she drew from her friend's remarks involved the uncritical attribution of a collective mentality to Koreans in general and moreover suggested that the safe solution was to simply omit from class discussion any topic that could be construed as offensive:

> Maybe for example, for Korean … they really hate talk about religion. So when I was in Sycamore, the teacher gave us like an article about religion, and then my friend, she is from [Korea], she said like this, "Why should I care about religion? I don't belong to any religion, I don't want to talk about this." So I think we have to be aware of … our students' background, so we don't talk about something sensitive, something like that. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

Sensing that we had broached a topic of critical significance, I asked Hani if she thought there were any situations in which it would be appropriate to incorporate sensitive topics into one's teaching approach. In contrast to the overgeneralized nature of her

330

immediately previous remarks, Hani's response contained a precise and pragmatic recommendation that attempts to engage in critical conversation be preceded by the cultivation of rapport and reciprocal respect among students:

> Maybe we can do it, but not in the first time, I think. … Maybe in the middle of the semester we can bring it up and maybe they have, the students have like [made a] lot of friends, so they can open their mind, something like that. Maybe they're not strict anymore with that, and then now they are able to get … along with people so I think we can bring it. (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012)

These musings reflected a savvy approach to the problem of students potentially taking offense at being removed from their comfort zones and asked to reappraise the validity of their entrenched assumptions.

In spite of the personal rewards Hani felt she had reaped from her study in the United States, she found upon returning to Indonesia and commencing a teaching apprenticeship that the techniques she had learned abroad were of limited applicability to the Indonesian secondary context. For this reason, she had critically reappraised the primary value of her study abroad by focusing on the discursively constructed prestige of study abroad experiences and their potential career benefits: "many people come to United States… to study English. … why can't [they] do that in Indonesia? It's like financial one right? So I think English is like what we call it … for future … enterprise?" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). Hani viewed marketing herself in the education field as a less noble endeavor than becoming a skilled teacher but nonetheless a necessary concession to material realities: "So I like teaching but somehow I have to live, right? So I have to like financial and my interest … It's reality. I'm not going to be a volunteer teacher. [laughs] I need money!"

As referenced above, the most significant factor that hindered Hani's ability to utilize communicative methods in her high school EFL classes was her students' adamant opposition to speaking or receiving instructions in English: "I met lot of students they [said] like 'Mom, please don't speak English' something like that. 'I don't understand'" (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). The exigent need to accomplish class objectives prompted Hani to adopt an approach centered on code-mixing and making strategic use of students' L1 in exhorting them to participate: "'Hey, you are studying English, I am supposed to speak English little bit' I said like that with like, mixed it with our traditional language little bit, mix it with Indonesian … Because it make the class interesting." Thus, whether through deliberate intention or pragmatic necessity, Hani critically rejected the English-only practices that had featured prominently in her instruction abroad and embraced those best suited to the linguistic resources of her students.

Yet, despite Hani's estimation that "only thirty percent" of a typical lesson was conducted in English, students continued to resist even minimal use of the target language (Interview 1, Sept 7, 2012). When I asked Hani what might explain such hostility, she stated, "They don't want to get confused, I think. *I never asked them*" (emphasis added). As was the case with the anti-English attitudes exhibited by her fellow undergraduates, Hani had neglected to investigate the various factors that may have been underlying her students' resistance. Therefore, she attributed their behavior to anxiety or mere indolence and as such could perceive no recourse to motivate them beyond simple expressions of encouragement: "I think [they thought] like … 'I don't want to think twice, I don't want to translate that into Indonesian' something like that ... I just would say, 'Ah, come on.'"

Scholarly and journalistic inquiries have contended that English occupies a complex position in Indonesia: as in other locations, powerful discourses posit increased English proficiency as a prerequisite for national economic development and hence argue that its achievement should be a priority of educational reform; in practice, however, access to English learning has become stratified along lines of social class, and drives toward widespread English use have been counterbalanced by apprehensions about the corrosive effects of Western culture on local traditions (Lauder, 2008; Onishi, 2010 July 25). The resistance demonstrated by Hani's students and peers, then, may have been attributable to numerous causes, including the feeling that speaking English was tantamount to betraying one's heritage or resentment among less privileged students at having been denied previous access to an ostensibly profitable resource. Largely incurious attitudes about the nature of cultural difference and student resistance, however, prevented Hani from attempting to elicit these reasons via a critical inquiry process.

As Hani's initial semester of graduate study progressed, her commitment to honoring student diversity was boosted by Jean's oft-repeated maxim "Context is so damn important," which Hani identified as the concept from TESOL 500 that had made the strongest impression on her. She explained during our second interview that the immense importance of context was stressed uniformly in her first semester courses; this in effect reaffirmed what she had already intuited on the basis of her teaching experiences but also prompted her to reconsider the myriad hierarchies that gave shape to social conceptions of appropriate language use:

> It makes sense. Because as I said before … [in Indonesia] you cannot say this word to older people, and then you cannot say this word to younger people, and when you are

classmate and you are a teacher, you cannot also say this word to your students. So …

as a teacher I have to know the culture and then everything of [my] context. (Oct 24,

2012)

I subsequently returned Hani's attention to the concepts of unity and inherent equality

that figured so prominently in the rhetoric of the Indonesian government and asked her

whether she felt these were reflective of the views on diversity that circulated in Indonesian

society. Her response indicated that she had begun to amend her previous adherence to

neutral discourses of difference and shift toward a critical awareness of difference as a

politically motivated construct through which mechanisms of subordination were naturalized

and concealed:

Interviewer: So do you think that most people in Indonesia take a … positive attitude

towards diversity?

Hani: I think so but in some part like political … okay I will try to give example like

my dad, my dad is from Java and now we live in Lombok Island. So because of he is

from Java, so he actually was pushed by the institution not to have any position *[i.e.,

it was extremely difficult for her father to find work as a teacher],* because he is not

from Lombok … that's the negative one. In [politics] I think it happens. (Interview 2,

Oct 24, 2012)

Though this instance of provincial bias was obviously of great personal significance

to Hani's family, she was careful to avoid depicting it as simply an isolated incident of

victimization. Instead, she acknowledged that the prejudice her father experienced was

situated within a long history of racialized subjugation through which he, as a member of the

traditionally dominant Java people, had been greatly privileged regardless of his intention or

334

will. Additionally, she clarified that the propensity of local residents to discriminate in favor of their own ethnic and linguistic groups, while not exactly justifiable, could be understood as a gesture of resistance toward the disproportionate dominance of Javanese in national government: "Because most of the leader in our country is from Java. See, so if you see our political or our educational institution, it always from Java. So maybe that's why the Lombok people hate my dad [laughs]" (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012).

Hani's increasingly politicized conception of difference also had ramifications for her developing expertise in TESOL, as she was able to discern a system of interrelation between the discursive attribution of positive or negative qualities to particular language varieties and larger inequitable relationships of power and prestige:

In my island when you speak Java it means you are cool … also in terms of education people think that when you take your Master or take your education in Java, it means that you are better than the others … in Sumatra or another island. So Java is the best one." (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012)

In addition to identifying these discriminatory practices, Hani directly rejected jingoistic discourses that proclaimed the supremacy of Indonesia's Western region: "'So the West part is the best one, I think,' [people] said like that, but I don't think so" (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012). Hani also detected a parallel between these ingrained assumptions and the characteristics that are stereotypically attributed to different varieties of English: "So it's like within American English and then British English so you feel like British English is more educated or something. I read that."

Through consistent critical reflection on the Indonesian context as TESOL 500 progressed, Hani was also able to determine concrete teaching actions that she could use to

enact an inclusive pedagogy. First, she stated that she would adopt an ideology of plurality rather than standardization as far as students' pronunciation was concerned:

> I don't want to make the student feel offense because like, what word, "deal." Maybe they will say "dell." Right? I would like to take consideration that they have that difficulties in saying "deal" they will say "dell" … I will not push them and say "you have to say deal" because it's difficult, right? (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012)

These remarks align with the classic critical position that forcing students to approximate dominant codes is an oppressive act, though one would hope that the importance of the concept of tolerance would extend beyond phonological features of target language production and encompass the values and perspectives of minority populations in Hani's future teaching.

Second, Hani had resolved to address students' resistance to using English by refocusing their attention on the confluence of goals and experiences that had led them to a university English classroom; she reported an intention to ask recalcitrant students "If [you] don't want to do it, so why do you come here then?" (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012). In this respect, Hani had adopted Jean's use of autobiographical reflection as means of discerning larger purposes for learning and moreover recognized the need to investigate students' reasons for exhibiting uncooperative attitudes.

These specific critical gains notwithstanding, Hani maintained a pessimistic outlook toward the overall feasibility of implementing critical approaches in her intended future teaching context. During a mid-semester in-class activity that directed her to reflect on the relevance of course content, she wrote, "Critical multiculturalism can't be applied in my context—sensitive issue" (Field notes, Oct 4, 2012). When we met for our second interview,

I asked Hani to elaborate on her statement that frank discussions of social inequalities and the prejudices that sustain them were not viable in Indonesian EFL classrooms. Her response highlighted her belief that many students lacked the emotional maturity to engage in serious conversations about issues of social justice:

> It doesn't work because like I said … the students we are taught that we are different but we are unite … But not all the students understand that because they are still young, okay for the adult people the mature one they understand that but for the students with the young age where they like, "Okay, I'm the best one blah blah blah" it's kind of difficult so I really avoid putting something sensitive issues in the classrooms. (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012)

Observing this mentality among students had rendered Hani wary of bringing up expressly political topics and running the risk that ensuing discussions would backfire as some students expressed prejudicial statements and others were intimidated into silence: "I'm afraid [minority students] will feel uncomfortable and then they will say, 'No I don't want to take her class anymore'" (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012). However, she did express willingness to tangentially address issues of race and ethnicity-based oppression by intervening when students mocked others' ways of speaking: "maybe we talk about the pronunciation difference … because sometimes they make fun of it. I'm afraid that they will do it again and again and then … one person will feel offended."

Though Hani's readiness to open spaces for discussions about linguistic difference was certainly commendable, she clarified that she would instruct students to "just please *don't take it seriously* and just share your [differences]," thus giving cause for doubt about whether such dialogues could transcend trivial celebrations of diversity and induce critical

337

interrogation of socially ingrained beliefs (Interview 2, Oct 24, 2012, emphasis added). Like

Myriam, Hani interpreted her students' immaturity as a factor that forestalled the adoption of

a critical approach rather than a circumstance that spoke to the urgent need for its

implementation; accordingly, there was a disconcerting possibility that her skeptical

assessment of students' potential to alter their worldviews would become a self-fulfilling

prophecy.

The concept map that Hani constructed as her first semester approached its

conclusion (displayed below in Figure 16) demonstrated numerous signs of an enhanced

critical understanding.

Figure 16. Hani's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

On this map, "context" appears to the immediate right of "critical language teaching" and is

positioned as the progenitor of all subsequent items, thus visually reasserting its centrality to

a critical approach. As in the previous map, the central concept is divided into primary

subcomponents associated with "Teacher" and "students," though the second map introduces

the new item "Issues of Identities" as an element that governs "interactions" between the

two: "Issues of identities within the context cannot be avoided because each student has their

own perception of Identity" (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012).

While the "students" portion of the initial map was limited to brief references to their

"Background" and "Role," its counterpart on the latter map incorporates Bourdieu's (1991)

notions of "linguistic capital"; "social capital"; and "cultural capital" as the factors through

which the values of "society" are reproduced in individuals' "investment" in language

learning: "We can say students' needs & wants are affected by society" (Map explanation,

Nov 15, 2012). In deconstructing the concept of learner motivation, Hani had partaken in the

"restive problematization of the given" advocated by Pennycook (2001, p. 9).

A similar process of critical refinement is evidenced in the "Teacher" portion of the

second map, which replaces its predecessor's imprecise allusions to items such as "Tools";

"sources"; and "Assignments test" with overt teaching objectives ("understanding student's

background"; "Embracing all Backgrounds"). Furthermore, the first map's item "Teacher's

Ability (Competency)," which connotes a problematic positivist invocation of objective

assessment, is exchanged for "linguistic capital," a term that emphasizes the ideological

underpinnings of the concept of proficiency.

In regards to Hani's shifting criticality, the most noteworthy change exhibited in the

second map arises from the different significance attributed to the item "Sensitive Issues."

Unlike the first map, which listed "something sensitive" as an example of a topic to be

steadfastly avoided in the classroom (a perspective which Hani continued to espouse late into

her first semester), the latter map and its accompanying explanation clarify that discussion of contentious issues is potentially advisable, provided the instructor can guide the discussion in such a way as to ensure the protection and validation of minority or oppositional voices: "If there is a sensitive issue … then the teacher has to know what approach & method to be able to embrace all the students" (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012).

When summarizing the differences between her first and second maps, Hani referenced the considerable effect of TESOL 500 readings on the general evolution of her understanding: "My map changes because I have read many articles which give me many deep insight about teaching and learning" (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012). Considered collectively, Hani's reflections on English teaching in Indonesia did indeed reflect a progression towards a more consistently critical conception of the role played by discourses of difference in perpetuating the country's innumerable hierarchies. The perceived pedagogical applicability of this newfound awareness, however, was limited by Hani's mistrust of students and her own capacity to conduct critical discussions while safeguarding against the possibility of inadvertently providing students with a venue to air their discriminatory views.

Thus, the long-term tenability of Hani's criticality was uncertain. A follow up interview revealed her intended thesis topic: student perceptions of two frequently high stakes standardized exams: the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) (April 2, 2013). Nonetheless, her orientation to investigating this topic is much like the nature of her future teaching in that the extent to which either will involve a critical dimension remains to be seen.

Julian

Julian (Male, China) had previously taught EFL courses in the private sector in Shanghai and worked as a tutor at a language institute in the United States. His long-term goal was to become a professor in TESOL or Applied Linguistics, though he speculated that he would pursue more practical teaching experience after completing his Master's degree rather than immediately enroll in a doctoral program. In both class sessions and our interviews, Julian gave the impression of an earnest intellectual: refined in demeanor and slightly mannered in his speech, he often peppered his utterances with elevated terms and linked elaborate clauses with an offhand grace. Though typically serious, he sometimes showed flashes of an understated and sardonic wit.

Along with Diana (see above), Julian differed from the other participants in that he was not a member of the MA TESOL program's incoming cohort. He had transferred from the research site's MA Literature program midway through the previous academic year and subsequently completed one semester of TESOL coursework. Thus, while Julian's classmates in TESOL 500 were encountering literature of the discipline for the first time, he had already begun to cultivate a base of relevant scholarly knowledge. As might be expected, the ideas and theories that had featured prominently in his previous courses (and particularly the work of Krashen) exerted a strong influence on his emerging pedagogical perspectives; many of these perspectives, however, would gradually be modified or supplanted by the critical concepts taught in TESOL 500.

Near the onset of the course, Julian demonstrated his ability to critique the ideological underpinnings of the teaching approaches he was compelled to adopt at his former places of employment. As the semester progressed, the scope of his criticality slowly expanded to

341

displace his wholly cognitive conception of second language learning in favor of a model that emphasized the concept of meaningful literacy (Hanauer, 2011). More so than any other participant, Julian subjected the contents of research articles to sustained critical scrutiny by evaluating the validity of their claims against the amount and quality of evidence they provided; his ability to do so was partly attributable to his comparatively greater experience with formal study of TESOL. Despite his impressive capacity for critical reasoning, Julian resisted the notion that tenets of critical scholarship could be applied consistently to practical teaching situations.

Julian's first concept map, which appears below in Figure 17, depicts the roles and responsibilities of teachers, learners, and researchers in developing productive language teaching approaches.

Figure 17. Julian's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

Containing 16 items in total, this map displays four primary subcomponents whose

importance is signaled by the inclusion of a star symbol: "SL/FL learner"; "Teacher /

Teacher educator"; "learning SL/FL"; and "teaching." Again demonstrating the influence of

past coursework on his current viewpoints, Julian explained that he was instructed to focus

on these concepts when writing a teaching philosophy statement during the previous semester

(Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012). Two of the starred items branch out into a cluster of related elements: "SL/FL learner" is connected to "low anxiety filter"; "self-motivated"; and "Goal"; while "Teacher / teacher educator" is surrounded by "literature"; "technology corp. word bank"; "education pedagogy identity"; and "teaching philosophy." The two remaining starred items do not include any component concepts but are connected to other clusters as well as a column of three discrete items in the lower center of the map: "The process of learning"; "nature of TESOL"; and "research researcher."

One distinguishing feature of the map is its extensive use of arrows to depict the numerous interrelations among the clusters, as six items are connected from one cluster to another and three items are connected to two other clusters. On the whole, the visual structure of the map emphasizes the common objectives and mutual interdependence of the parties involved in the act of language teaching; as Julian remarked, "they have lots of intertwined relationships … None of them is [dispensable]" (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012).

Another distinguishing feature is the contrasting characterizations of teachers as agentive professionals and learners as a passive and homogeneous group. As regards the former, the map foregrounds the importance of a thorough grounding in the scholarship of the TESOL field. Julian wrote on his map explanation that ESL and EFL instructors are obliged to: "understand [literature] / nature of TESOL"; "know the process of language"; and have "awareness of identity" (Aug 30, 2012). The final item's implication that language learning is a vehicle of identity reconstruction appears to be contradicted by the map's generally cognitivist orientation to interpreting the learning act. The map itself references Krashen's (1982) concept of the "low anxiety filter"—a catchall term referring to environments and mindsets conducive to comprehension and production of the target

344

language. Likewise, the map explanation lists "comprehensible input"—utterances that lie within the scope of the learner's understanding (Krashen, 1982)—as a major factor in the learning process.

While these theoretical constructs give tangential consideration to the influence of individualized factors such as anxiety, apathy, and resistance on learners' performance, they frame language learning in largely cognitive terms; in other words, they are problematic from a critical perspective because they place near-exclusive focus on the cognitive processing of abstract syntactic codes, thereby obscuring or erasing the larger social circulations of meaning for which languages are actually used.

In sum, the items on Julian's first concept map suggested that his conceptions of language teaching and learning were governed by depoliticized and ahistorical theories. Yet, the precise interplay of ideas on the map reflected the care and enthusiasm with which he had contemplated these phenomena. As Julian described his journey to an MA TESOL program during our first interview, it became apparent that his passion for English learning had been kindled in his early childhood. From the time that he entered kindergarten, Julian was encouraged to study English by his father, who predicted that the currency and prestige of the language would surge as the world became increasingly globalized: "my dad … he foresaw that English will become a huge asset for any people worldwide like non-native … non-native English speaking countries" (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012).

A particularly inspiring high school teacher, who was a fellow Chinese male, strengthened Julian's positive attitudes toward English. Julian reported that students typically held this individual in high regard because he incorporated his philosophies and worldviews into lessons to make language learning an intellectually stimulating experience. However,

Julian's subsequent comment that this teacher "had some charming characteristics like [a] British gentleman" revealed another dimension of his appeal (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012). Namely, the teacher demonstrated how language learning can enable the alteration of one's habitus to encompass the traits of the idealized Others to whom the language is perceived to belong (see also Dagney's comments about her motivation for learning French in the representative case study for category 1).

In Julian's case, these traits were the elegance and refinement that are often stereotypically attributed to British males from higher socioeconomic classes. As mentioned above, Julian often followed in his former teacher's footsteps by emulating "British gentleman"-like modes of speech and demeanor. Though I hasten to clarify that Julian is entitled to perform his identity in the manner he finds most fulfilling, questions can be raised about whether the admiration he expressed for his teacher's qualities was shaped by the ideology that native speakers are the ultimate exemplars and arbiters of English use.

While adulation of natives was a major element of Julian's high school English study, he encountered the disempowering consequences of native speakerism as he graduated from university and found teaching work in the private sector. Because his employer English First (which he stated was the "largest private pro-business education section company in the world" at that time) prioritized profits above all else, students were essentially considered as customers (Interview 1, Sept 2012). Accordingly, he was compelled to employ the English only approach that many students ironically believed to be optimal even though it ran contrary to their actual needs and abilities:

I mean sometimes [the company] did things bureaucratically, like they required teachers to use minimum native language, I mean first language. But point is most of

my students were pure beginners and if … I didn't use any Chinese, I mean … they

couldn't get much sense out of my English I mean that's totally impractical.

Thus, Julian found himself in an unenviable position, as strategic use of his shared first

language with students was often necessary in order for lessons to proceed smoothly, yet to

utilize this literacy resource was to risk student complaints and reprimands from his

supervisors.

During this time, Julian was also subjected to discriminatory comments from students

who subscribed to discourses of native supremacy. In heartening contrast to his prior

complicity with these very same discourses, Julian stated that he refused to accept the labels

of inferiority that these individuals attempted to place upon him: "students sometimes [said]

they couldn't understand my English, they said, 'Actually what I signed up for was a native

English teacher.' I said, 'Good for you. Unfortunately you have me'" (Interview 1, Sept 2,

2012). Moreover, Julian's experiences at English First led him to not merely defy prejudicial

labels but also to laud non-native teachers' abilities to counsel novice students on the basis of

their first-hand experiences with EFL learning: "when [students] just begin learning English

it's better to have some [non-native] speakers to tell them some experiences how to deal with

second language how to learn a foreign language the way we've been through."

Mounting frustrations with the corporatized and highly prescriptive version of

English teaching he was forced to enact at his place of employment prompted Julian to apply

for other positions. During job interviews, Julian found that his lack of study abroad

experience placed him at a great disadvantage, as the prestige with which one was

discursively imbued via exposure to native language was held in higher importance than all

other credentials: "Those in charge they really preferred somebody with solid study abroad

347

experience, you can call it like a norm or something like that" (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012).

Echoing experiences recounted by Linlin, Julian contended that this tendency arose because interviewers frequently lacked the proficiency necessary to evaluate candidates' speaking abilities and as such made decisions on the basis of paper qualifications alone: "some [interviewers] don't speak very good English so they are judging people more like with a norm or hunch, and having study abroad experience is more like one of standards."

This experience of being marginalized led Julian to conclude that simply accruing fluency and experience was not enough to ensure a rewarding position in the language teaching profession; he therefore elected to enroll in a graduate program in the United States in order to come into contact with prestigious varieties of English and accumulate the social capital that he had previously been lacking: "[an] English speaking community like the Great Britain or America … is more considered … a symbol of standard English, so it is a great asset or capital to secure a degree here in the States" (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012).

This strategy held both critical and uncritical undertones: In one sense, Julian had rejected the notion that native language varieties possessed an innate qualitative superiority and instead acknowledged the sociopolitical origins of their symbolic prestige; he even invoked Bourdieu's (1991) concept of capital to describe their role in the systematic stratification of access to resources. While Julian had determined a savvy means of rectifying his disadvantageous position in China's English teaching job market, it must also be said that his chosen course of action did nothing to challenge the widespread privileging of natives and Inner Circle institutions (Kachru, 1985) as brokers of ostensibly authentic speech.

In spite of this particular instance of critical reflection, Julian's general capacity to connect his lived experiences to broader issues of dominance and oppression in language

teaching did not come to full fruition during his first semester of formal TESOL study because his courses had mostly emphasized cognitive theories, as mentioned above. Julian's remarks continued to exhibit the influence of these theories at the time of our first interview. For example, he critiqued the teaching of grammar rules, but did so entirely within a cognitivist philosophy that depicted second language acquisition as an abstract and universal process: "according to Krashen, …language acquisition is more based on like something like comprehensible input while grammar doesn't really [play] a very important role in the process of acquisition" (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012).

Though Julian had not given much credence to the politicized dimensions of language learning at that point, he had already begun to develop a series of critical criteria by which to evaluate the validity of claims made in published research articles. Many of these criteria were centered on his convictions that theory should not be articulated solely for its own sake and was only valuable insofar as it could inform concrete teaching approaches in particular contexts. Referring back to his decision to include the item labeled "research researcher" on his concept map, Julian commented:

Actually, I wrote this tab because I believe researcher and their research results must, it is only useful if they can bring tangible results, which means their research results should be transformed into new materials and new design, anything which, which teachers and learners could use in classrooms so they're not just papers, they're not just publications, they are something that really can bring a change or make things better …Cuz I think some theorists are not so practical. It looks very well. It's like a metaphor that looks beautiful and perfect … but it's not so practical I mean there are

a lot of factors … to account for sometimes … not every research results can be

directly applied to field practice. (Interview 1, Sept 2, 2012)

In emphasizing the importance of a reciprocal connection between theory and

practice as well as scrutinizing the extent of empirical justification provided for various

scholarly claims, Julian had laid the foundation for a powerful critical sensibility. During

sessions of TESOL 500, Julian vocalized his thoughts on a fairly regular basis and was

particularly active when discussing readings that involved the Chinese EFL context (e.g.,

Gao, 2010; Pennycook, 1996). In addition, he exercised his aptitude for methodological

critique by questioning whether authors of certain course readings (e.g., Vandrick, 2011) had

provided sufficient data for their assertions or merely argued from predetermined theoretical

positions (Field notes, Sept 7, 2012). However, he offered relatively scant commentary on

concepts such as critical multiculturalism (Kubota, 2004) and postmethod (Kumaravavidelu,

2006); this reticence rendered it difficult to gauge how extensively he had been impacted by

course concepts that explicitly linked conventional practices of language teaching and the

reproduction of social inequalities.

When we met approximately seven weeks later for our second interview, I found that

Julian's time in the course had increased his appreciation for the importance of critical

scholarship. Nonetheless, he continued to hold doubts about its past or potential future

applicability to his teaching career. Indeed, as Julian discussed the general impressions he

had gained from Jean's class, he emphasized the prevalence of critical perspectives in

contemporary literature of the discipline but made little mention of critical concepts that had

resonated with him:

There is a lot of stuff out there [about] like ideologies and culture and political

context *that didn't seem very relevant to me but now it seems like everywhere in*

articles and there is a dominant voices in these articles indicating that these are very

very important components in TESOL profession … so it really raised my awareness.

(Interview 2, Oct 26, 2012, emphasis added)

Julian's measured reaction to critical ideas was in keeping with his conviction that

theory possessed value only when it could inform practice. Though he understood the need to

become conversant with critical work as part of his scholarly development, he could discern

neither retrospective (i.e., approaches he could have used in his past teaching) nor

hypothetical (i.e., viable future approaches) applications of critical principles. As regards his

former teaching, Julian felt that the ability to enact critical pedagogies was dependant on a far

greater degree of teacher autonomy than he was afforded by his employer. Because a system

of routine observation and performance evaluation was used to standardize lesson procedure,

he could not perceive any means of subverting or modifying the prescribed curriculum.

In terms of his imagined future teaching, Julian anticipated that, should he return to

China and obtain a position that offered greater academic freedom, he would still encounter

numerous impediments to adopting critical practices. Chief among these was the educational

culture's deeply entrenched assumption that English proficiency was a neutral technology for

career advancement. Julian reported that, in consequence, employers prized prospective hires

with proven records of facilitating student success on standardized assessment measures over

those whose pedagogical approaches were rooted in concepts such as identity and power:

When I had … job interviews for those teaching positions in China or in Asian

countries they don't ask you … "what do you think [about] identity, students' identity

351

or how do you see yourself?" They more ask … "How are you going to use the materials we've prepared for you?" (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2012)

In Julian's estimation, this ingrained mentality was also prominent among students, resulting in a common preference for perfunctory methods of test-preparation over substantive explorations of self and society.

> It's just like the students I had … were less concerned with their identity issues … learning English is just like kind of like, it's kind of a strategy that they are going to employ … they need to learn English to climb the corporate ladder or get as a career development so what they were seeking was more practical thing. (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2012)

Because Julian perceived that students' motivations and expectations were shaped by neoliberal discourses of English as a lucrative resource for self-advancement, he was reluctant to pursue a more identity-centric mode of teaching. In explaining his rationale for this hesitation, he referenced the high risk of imposing his own ideologies on students within the lopsided power dynamics of the classroom. "I would definitely love to [discuss identity] but I would leave more room for students to make their own decisions rather than imposing my idea of identity construction upon them." Julian furthermore stated that, because was he was younger than some of his students, social hierarchies of age placed additional restrictions on his ability to introduce such considerations:

> Most students they are adults, which their identities were still growing but I think they had a very clear mind who they were and they were not inclined to consult a younger teacher, a teacher younger than they were [about] those questions [of] identity."

Thus, Julian found himself in a quagmire: while he realized that students were unlikely to reappraise their deep-seated beliefs concerning the purposes and proper procedures of English study without some manner of deliberate provocation, he felt that any efforts along these lines would ultimately reinforce teachers' traditional roles as authority figures. This concern, coupled with extensive institutional and student resistance, led Julian to resign himself to the implausibility of implementing critical pedagogies; he therefore expressed a *laissez faire* attitude about students' tendencies toward facile conceptions of language learning and even the sort of native idolization that had been a source of anxiety and frustration at English First, remarking "if they prefer to be a white [person] mentally, I mean, good luck" (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2012).

Julian added a hopeful postscript to his pessimistic commentary by stating that the feasibility of foregrounding identity in his future teaching "might change" depending on the particular students and institutional circumstances he encountered (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2013). Though he had seemingly reached an impasse in terms of discerning practical strategies for critical teaching, further cause for optimism was found in the noteworthy changes that his characterization of the language learning act itself underwent as his time in TESOL 500 unfolded. He essentially abandoned cognitivist theories in favor of Hanauer's (2011) concept of meaningful literacy, which stresses precisely those dimensions of the learning experience that the former tend to diminish or ignore: "the human individual at the center of language learning and … the symbolic transformations in relation to self and world that learning a language entails" (p. 108).

Julian explained this shift in his perceptions as follows:

What I mentioned in our first interview is more like Stephen Krashen and … how to

be a teacher and researcher and scholar … [however,] being a TESOL teacher from

what I've learned is more like a teacher as agent is subject to many many different

ideologies and identity constructions. (Interview 2, Oct 26, 2013)

In attributing primary importance to factors at the intersection of socially structured power

relations and individual agency, Julian reinforced his previous resistance to complete

theoretical abstraction. Additionally, he seized upon the notion of meaningful literacy to

refocus his scholarly agenda on the cultivation of pedagogies fully responsive to students'

humanity:

"I think it is really really important that [Hanauer (2011)] brought up this [question

of] what sort of writing or literacy is really meaningful to students and what's the

ultimate goal of learning a language … for a multilingual writer?

The essence of the profound change in Julian's understanding was captured in his

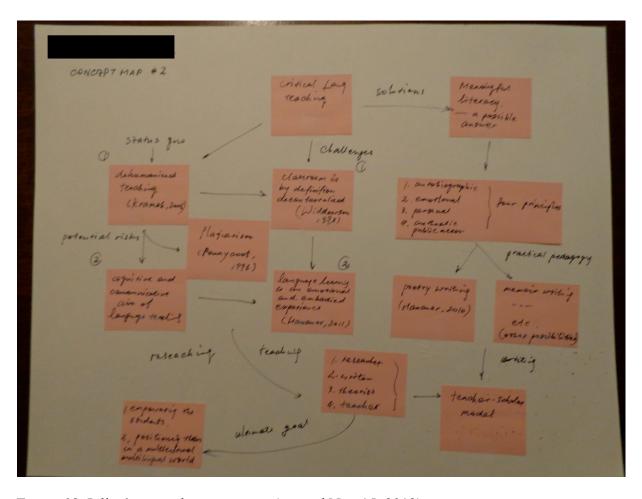second concept map, which appears below in Figure 18.

Figure 18. Julian's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Though this map contains two fewer items than its predecessor (14 as opposed to 16), its depiction of critical language teaching is far more in keeping with the issues and concepts emphasized in TESOL literature. The previous map's terse and highly generalized representations of learners, teachers, and researchers, along with its invocation of cognitivist terms such as "low anxiety filter," have been replaced with a three-part organizational structure detailing the "status quo" that critical teaching seeks to contest, "challenges" that arise in its execution, and possible "solutions." Each of these elements includes references to particular scholarly articles (a practice that was unique to Julian's concept maps), among which were a course reading from TESOL 500 (Pennycook, 1996) and, unsurprisingly, Hanauer's (2011) article on meaningful literacy.

Appearing immediately beneath the heading of "status quo" is "dehumanized teaching (Kramsch, 2006)"; this item is in turn connected to the "potential risks" of "Plagiarism (Pennycook, 1996)" and "cognitive and communicative aim of language teaching." The classification of the latter item as a potential risk indicates the extent of radical change in Julian's conceptual understanding, as the notions that had constituted the near entirety of his previous portrayal of critical teaching are now listed as an undesirable outcome of uncritical practices.

The heading "challenges" descends into "classroom is by definition decontextualized (Widdowson, 1998)" and thereupon into "language learning as an emotional and embodied experience (Hanauer, 2011)." Closely following arguments in Hanauer's piece, these items refer to issues that arise as instances and customs of real-world language use are inevitably abstracted for the purposes of controlled classroom activities, thereby necessitating means of "[making] language learning a personally contextualized, meaningful activity" in a setting that is inherently contrived (Hanauer, 2011, p.106).

The third heading, "solutions," displays "Meaningful literacy" as "a possible answer" to this dilemma. Subsequent items under this heading present the "four principles" of a meaningful literacy approach to language instruction as well as "practical [pedagogical]" techniques such as "poetry writing" and "memoir writing … etc. (other possibilities)." While these items might appear to reflect the development of concrete critical teaching strategies, Julian is, in actuality, once again giving a detailed summary of Hanauer's (2011) article. As discussed above, Julian remained doubtful of his abilities to subvert dominant ideologies of language teaching in China and implement critical alternatives. Nonetheless, he postulates on the map that meaningful literacy approaches require instructors to adhere to a "teacher-

scholar model" that encompasses the roles of "researcher"; "writer"; "theorist"; and "teacher." The "ultimate [goals]" of the approach are "1. Empowering the students" and "2. Positioning them in a multicultural multilingual world."

In his map comparison, Julian wrote that he had progressed from an "ideal model of language teaching / learning" to a "more mature" teacher-scholar model (Nov 15, 2012). Considered collectively, his concept maps, interview comments, and actions during TESOL 500 sessions did indeed provide ample evidence of a momentous shift away from cognitive theories of language learning toward critical models centered on identity, literacy, and the social contestation of power. During a follow-up interview conducted approximately five months later, Julian reported that he had decided to write a thesis about the lifelong language learning experiences of foreign-born faculty at American universities, thus furthering his grasp of L2 learning as a highly individualized phenomena situated at the core of the learner's sense of self in the social world (April 1, 2013). Though he had struggled to detect viable applications of critical principles, the gains that he had made within the scope of one semester gave me confidence that he was well equipped to determine feasible strategies once he had entered his future teaching context.

Laila

A mother who moved abroad with her husband and young son, Laila (Female, Saudi Arabia) had a long-term goal of obtaining her doctorate and becoming a professor. Inspired by an older sister who excelled at English and studied in the United States, Laila held positive attitudes towards language learning throughout her formative years and was eager to seek out practical communicative applications of the content she learned in her English classes. As with Zahra and Myriam, however, Laila's decision to enter the English teaching

profession was not voluntary but rather dictated by Saudi Arabia's restrictive and patriarchal society; she was forbidden by her father from pursuing her desired career in medicine, prompting her to settle upon formal study of English Linguistics as a surrogate means of cultivating scientific expertise and authority. After completing her Bachelor's degree, she taught English at several private institutions in her home country but was for the most part denied the autonomy to determine targets and procedures of instruction.

Though Laila was very forthcoming with remarks about her experiences during our interviews, I experienced some impediments to building rapport with her. She spoke in muted tones, used few emotive gestures, and was so outwardly reserved in demeanor that the full import of her statements and actions was sometimes enigmatic. For example, she could not catch a question that I had asked her during an early portion of our first interview. Only the faintest flicker of an embarrassed smirk registered on her face, and I mistakenly thought she was formulating a response until she finally cupped her hand behind her ear in order to convey that she had not heard me properly. In spite of these occasional difficulties, her thoughtful commentaries enabled me to discern connections between her lived experiences and her evolving criticality.

Laila did not respond to my numerous requests to arrange a meeting time for a follow-up interview, so my scope of inquiry was limited to her first semester of graduate study. Nonetheless, she displayed a significant transformation of critical understanding within that timeframe: whereas her pre-instruction interests and perspectives were grounded in theoretical constructs like Chomskyan universal grammar, she gradually shifted toward a postcolonial orientation to English teaching, through which she claimed expertise as a multilingual practitioner and sought to facilitate a similar process of empowerment for her

EFL students. Though she expressly condemned blind adulation of native speakers and pursued a pedagogy centered on instilling English as an additive literacy resource, she echoed the other Saudi participants in utterly rejecting the possibility of using EFL classrooms as venues for discussions about oppression and inequality in the Saudi context.

The critical positions that Laila would come to express were all the more remarkable considering that she was largely if not wholly unfamiliar with the concept of critical teaching when she commenced her graduate career, as evidenced below in her first concept map.
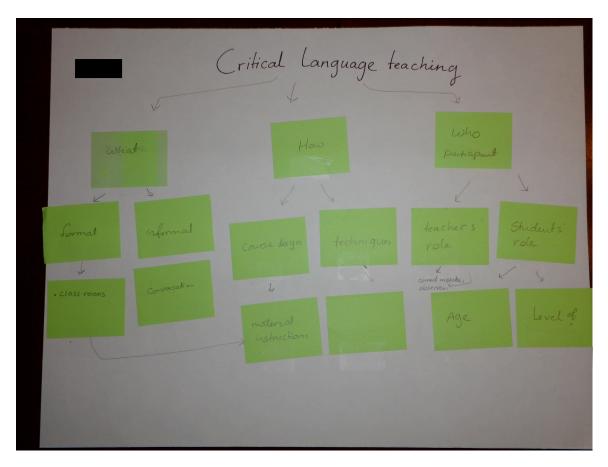

Figure 19. Laila's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

Containing 14 items in total, this map divides "Critical Language teaching" into three primary subcomponents: "What"; "How"; "and "Who Participant." Each subcomponent is divided into 4 further items, though one item in the "How" cluster is blank. Appearing

beneath "What" are: "Formal" → "Classrooms"; "Informal"; and "Conversation." Below "How" are "Course design" → "Material instructions" (this item is linked to "Classrooms" in the only instance of inter-cluster connection on the map); and "Techniques." Finally, "Who Participant" descends into "Teachers' role → correct mistake, observer"; and "Students' role" → "Age"; "Level of."

The map's extreme brevity evokes a nascent and speculative understanding of criticality, as 8 of the 14 items contain a single word and the remaining 6 contain just two words. Moreover, the terminology employed betrays a reliance on binary distinctions ("Formal" and "Informal" teaching contexts) and limited definitions of core concepts ("[correcting] mistakes" and "[observing]" are the only listed dimensions of "teacher's role"). Though the formal/informal dichotomy presented on the map is doubtlessly an oversimplification, the accompanying explanation clarified a critical intention to distinguish hostile or indifferent teaching environments from those characterized by support, encouragement and validation of students' interests: "formal teaching takes place in instructional classrooms while informal teaching occurs in more friendly context where intimidation is avoided by selecting topics that are [interesting] to learners" (Aug 30, 2012).

Building upon the map's assertion that "Students' [roles]" are malleable depending upon their "Age" and "level," Laila states on her map explanation that: "In my point of view, teaching depends on … [the] context in which teaching takes place… [The] student's age and level of proficiency really affect the choice of materials and the required techniques" (Aug 30, 2012). Along with her call for sympathetic teaching, Laila's awareness of the vital importance of context stood out as a clear critical viewpoint amid her general uncertainty as to concepts and methods of critical teaching.

Though Laila may not have been able to craft a very detailed representation of criticality through conscious reflection at the onset of her graduate studies, many of the comments that she made during our first interview suggested that the she had begun to cultivate skeptical and questioning attitudes toward prominent theorizations of the language learning phenomenon, if only subliminally. Moreover, her experiences of subjugation as a woman within Saudi Arabia's repressive and paternalistic social order as well as a teacher working within highly prescriptive curricula had fostered the "embodied … alterity" conducive to the development of enduring critical dispositions (Luke, 2004, p. 26)

As mentioned above, Laila held strongly positive attitudes towards English study from her earliest exposure to the language due to the influence of an older sister who functioned as a role model of a successful language learner. When her sister was accepted to study abroad in the United States, Laila was struck with awe and envy; she therefore endeavored to obtain a similar level of proficiency: "my sister was studying in United States and … I want to develop my skill in that way just communicate as [well as] her to be good in English" (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012). Laila's emotional engagement with English learning was sustained by privilege, as her family could afford a private tutor to provide home instruction and opportunities for conversational practice, an element that was often missing from her grammar-centric lessons at school.

However, an ulterior motive was cloaked within the familial support for English study that Laila received throughout her primary and secondary education: though Laila dreamed of entering the medical profession, her father staunchly opposed the idea and insisted that she instead pursue a career in teaching, a gender-segregated vocation considered by conservative Saudi society to be socially acceptable for women. In a direct parallel to

361

Zahra's experiences (see Appendix I), Laila's father opposed her entry into the medical field because she would be required to interact with males in university classes and the workplace:

When I graduated from high school, my percentage or my score was very high. I can go to medicine. But you know it's like in my country there are some restrictions and my dad refused to do it because it's like you know we are from it's like conservative community that men and women can't work at the same place … and … also studying medicine's like, it's like a mixed community some male teachers and male students and classmates, men and women are in the same class or in the same lab. And also they work together and my family they refuse that thing. (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012)

Laila's socialization process had made her well aware of women's restricted career autonomy, which in turn led her to resign herself to the implausibility of realizing her ambitions and acquiesce to her father's demands:

I have some previous knowledge that I won't be able to do it. So that's why when they said no, okay I understand why … Yeah, all of, most people [in] my country are used [to] this because we don't have this idea [of gender integration]. Men students are in the men schools and women students are in women's schools so we don't have this idea or we can't accept it." (Interview 2, Nov 11, 2012)

Though Laila expressed no ill will towards her family when describing this experience, her narrative bears the clearly problematic influence of larger systems of misogynist discrimination. Her desired means of self-actualization was thwarted by her home culture's traditional abhorrence of mixed-gender workplaces, which was itself rooted in patronizing contempt, sexual loathing, and the compulsion to negate any vestige of female agency.

After agreeing to major in English at university, Laila choose to concentrate in linguistics rather than literature because she felt that the former would enable her to foreground the scientific dimensions of her imposed field of study. Within the women-only domain of her college courses, Laila encountered a highly inspirational professor of psycholinguistics, who challenged students to embrace complexities in their conceptions of language:

> I think she is very well educated, okay? Sometimes when we [asked] her … for example "Why do we have to do this and this and not that," and she said, "There is no black and white in linguistics. There is always a grey area." And at the beginning I hate this answer, but day after day I recognize that this is because she has a lot of knowledge and reading a lot. (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012)

Considering that Laila's English studies functioned in part as a mode of vicariously fulfilling her deferred medical ambitions, she understandably gravitated toward the subject of psycholinguistics and its component topics of "the brain, how language is presented, and also … how kind of disorder in speech or in understanding can be analyzed." During her undergraduate studies, therefore, theoretical constructs such as Chomskyan universal grammar played a large role in shaping her cognitivist orientation to interpreting the language-learning phenomenon.

In keeping with the exhortations of her favorite professor, however, Laila did not passively accept prominent theories of language acquisition at face value. Instead, she developed a skeptical and inquisitive mindset with which to interrogate disciplinary knowledge, often on the basis of her personal experiences. For example, she resisted the critical period hypothesis, which holds that language learning must commence within an

early period of the learner's cognitive development in order to culminate in mastery of the

language's grammatical systems (e.g., Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994), on the basis of her own

learning history and observations of her peers.

> when first we were introduced to the critical period hypothesis, I was shocked
>
> because some of my [fellow students] they've never exposed to language at very
>
> young age, and after that maybe at high school or at maybe in while they were
>
> undergraduate student of English they developed good English skills and they
>
> become proficient. Okay? So this … doesn't go with the critical period hypothesis
>
> (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012)

Though Laila had yet to detect the political purposes for which the critical period hypothesis

was circulated in academic and popular domains (i.e., to reinforce the assumption that native

fluency is the ultimate yet unattainable outcome of language study and condemn the adult

learner to perpetual inferiority), her objection to its discriminatory aspects evinced a nascent

criticality.

After finding employment at a private teaching institution upon the completion of her

Bachelor's degree, Laila was again disempowered, this time by the rigidly prescriptive

demands of a test-preparatory curriculum. Her students varied from undergraduate students

to PhD holders but were uniformly seeking scores on standardized tests of English

proficiency (e.g., TOEFL and IELTS) that would enable them to work or study abroad.

Though Laila attempted to incorporate students' interests and experiences into class

activities, she ultimately had little recourse to modify the highly structured teaching routine

required by her employer: "I tried my best actually [but] we have to stick to the book … and

they have to get an examination on that book" (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012).

364

Unsatisfied with this limited teacher role, Laila sought out a position at a state university that had recently instituted a policy of teaching science subjects in English. Her responsibility was to teach required "foundation level" EFL courses that would ostensibly prepare first year students for subsequent subject-specific study in English:

> [in] courses like … physics or medicine or administration all of these they have to use English in that courses … it's like the scientific courses they use books in English, teaching in English, examination in English, so everything I think depends on the first year (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012)

Laila and her colleagues found that teaching these courses was exceedingly difficult owning to the students' low proficiency levels and the woefully unrealistic expectations of the university regarding the amount of time needed to prepare students for English-mediated coursework. She remarked that the foundation level classes she taught were just "five hours a week and [weren't] intensive [courses] … [and] we have to develop their writing skills, and their speaking also how to discuss how to analyze, argue. So it wasn't easy for us." Once again, Laila had identified a flawed and frustrating aspect of a previous teaching context but had not yet come to critically unveil its underlying ideological origins: infatuation with the Western world as a supposed exemplar of progress and economic advancement as well as the incautious embrace of English to the devaluation of students' existent literacy resources.

In addition to these aggravations, Laila was afforded only marginally greater autonomy for designing and teaching classes than in her previous position. Though she was able to craft her own supplementary materials, she was denied the authority to determine lesson targets or culminating assessment measures. Laila lamented that a required textbook and committee-designed exams reduced her foundation-level classes to an endeavor both rote

365

and unresponsive to students' individual needs: "if we stick to the book all we are teaching [is] the book, not teaching" (Interview 1, Sept 18, 2012). Because Laila had not been granted the opportunity to stake out her own philosophies of EFL instruction, she identified "developing my pedagogical skills as a teacher" as a primary goal for graduate study. Laila demonstrated astute self-appraisal in determining this objective, as her reported attempts to enliven formulaic lessons seemed to lack a critical dimension in that they were predicated on referencing superficial topics such as "shopping, fashion, [and] everything related to that," which students found interesting.

Aside from occasions when class activities required her to speak, Laila was not particularly vocal in TESOL 500 sessions. When we met approximately eight weeks later for our second interview, however, her comments revealed that course concepts had indeed exerted a profound influence on her previous perspectives and catalyzed more critical understandings.

When asked about the course readings that made the greatest impression on her, Laila echoed many of her fellow participants in referencing Kumaravadivelu's (2006) article on postmethod. Yet unlike several of classmates, her appreciation of the article was not limited to the practical tactic of customizing teaching approaches to suit the unique needs of particular learner populations; rather, she embraced the political imperative to decolonize the social practice of English teaching that lied at the core of the piece. In a manner both concise and profound, Laila conveyed how the article prompted her to validate her unique expertise as a multilingual practitioner while rejecting discourses of native supremacy:

> We used to think that the native speaker are the perfect teacher of English so it's like
> to remove the colonized view of teaching language, I've just get to know that for

example if I learned English as a second language I would be a good teacher to teach

students who learn English as second language and have the same L1 as mine. So it

would be helpful for me to understand how they think and how can I help them in the

same situation. (Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012)

Thus, Laila had undergone the process of self-advocacy that was among Jean's fundamental

objectives for the course by reconceptualizing her shared first language with students. While

she previously felt that this linguistic resource was a stigmatizing signifier of her "non-

nativeness," she had come to perceive it as a form of expertise that enabled her to anticipate

and accommodate frequent areas of difficulty for students:

Yeah this I think the focal point in [TESOL 500] because yes, first of all we was

thinking about okay we are non-native speakers and we are not privileged as the

native speaker but by the now, I think I'm a multi-competent teacher. I'm bilingual by

the way, so this is a good point for me.

A corollary to Laila's newly claimed status as an empowered multilingual instructor

was that she would no longer accept the assignation of a powerless position with a

prescriptive curriculum. Whereas she previously capitulated to the imposition of preset

teaching approaches, she expressed an intention to diagnose and implement necessary

modifications in her future courses:

I think at the beginning it's like I'm a passive teacher, I have to do what I have to do,

and there is nothing that I can impose in the syllabus. But right now I have some

things to think about before I get the syllabus and start teaching. There are some

objectives I have to state at the beginning of the course. And see if I can obtain or

attain those goals or not. (Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012)

I then asked Laila whether her first-semester coursework had suggested any new perspectives on the shift toward English-mediated instruction of science subjects at some Saudi universities. Her response spoke not only to her critical reappraisal of the shift itself but also to her emerging ability to develop pedagogies that gave credence to the ideological dimensions of English learning. Laila now expressed a measured endorsement of subject specific English instruction, a phenomenon she described as "political, economic, all of these things together," (Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012). Her perspective was rich with critical nuance, as she characterized English proficiency as a prestigious form of capital that will grant students access to opportunities for study abroad or other vehicles for self-advancement that they might otherwise be denied:

> To learn language it's like it's not only for the purpose of speaking language. And sometimes to be well educated you have to master for example English so that when they finish their education they can go abroad and study so that they don't have any problems in studying. So it would help learners very much … for their further education, for their further jobs, so it would open lot of chances and opportunities for students.

Moreover, she weighed the potentially alienating consequences of English-mediated instruction against the prospective (albeit unspecified) benefits to be gained from bilingualism: "also I think it's to be multi or bilingual … would be a better idea than being for example only monolinguals like only Arabic speakers."

Even more impressive were Laila's comments about the need for foundation-level courses to explicitly demystify the conventions of English-language academic writing so that students might cease to engage in surface-level mimicry of its perceived traits and come to

understand the broader ideological orientations to articulating knowledge in which they are situated:

> to progress in English-mediated department [students] have I think to get [additional] academic skills. So I thought of developing a course in English for academic purpose to teach students how to write scholarly articles, to read articles, and to write for example synthesis paper … Okay if the students are just Arabic speakers and they come to the university and they start learning English and it's like intensive courses they can't match [teachers' expectations]. That's why I think a good step we have to add another courses to develop students academically. (Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012)

Though Laila's stated intention to facilitate EFL students' acclimation to the value-laden and frequently arcane customs of academic genres was a noteworthy development in her criticality, it was counterbalanced by her viewpoint that discussions of injustice and repression were impossible in Saudi classrooms. Laila expressed a belief identical to that espoused by Salem and Myriam: namely, that the resolute opposition of Saudi educational institutions to classroom discussion of such matters rendered the adoption of critical practices extremely risky, particularly in light of those institutions' cultures of surveillance, reproach and discipline. During our discussion, Laila dismissed the prospect of discussing social inequalities with a succinct finality:

> Interviewer: … Is there any situation in which it would be feasible or advisable to discuss controversial topics [in the classroom]?
>
> Laila: I don't think so because as I told you it's not for me or it's not for the students it's like a policy in the university. So we can't mention such of these topics in the class. … Actually also we can't discuss anything related to politics in my country.

I: You mean like by politics you just mean … criticizing the government or

something?

L: Yeah, we can't do that. … we can't mention something related to politics or

something related to the government or something related to the policy of the

university. We can't mention all of these things. Yeah so we have some restrictions.

(Interview 2, Nov 12, 2012)

In viewing institutional impediments as wholly insurmountable, Laila was more pessimistic

than Salem, who at least professed an intention to broach sensitive topics such as women

being denied the right to drive in his EFL courses, and Myriam, who had developed covert

and tangential methods of discussing her students' subjugation at the hands of the patriarchy.

Accordingly, determining whether to classify the overriding outcome of Laila's

engagement with critical ideas into category 1 (development of an advocacy agenda) or

category 2 (inability or unwillingness to develop an advocacy agenda) was difficult. On the

one hand, she intended to be an advocate for her students by unshrouding the cultural

assumptions and values that implicitly informed customs of constructing academic

knowledge in the West, including ideologies of source citation and the detached, evenhanded

personas that authors are expected to inhabit.

On the other hand, Laila's resolute opposition to classroom discussion of inequalities

in Saudi society suggested that she had internalized her conditioned role as a dominated and

passive subject, averse to even speculating about resistance for fear of reprisal. Of course, it

bears repeating that her position was quite justifiably rooted in concerns about her own job

security and furthermore that the enactment of critical pedagogies is not necessarily

contingent upon overt indictment of oppression as phrased in liberatory or revolutionary

terms; as seen in Myriam's case study, it can take more oblique and surreptitious forms that are immediately recognizable only to insiders of a particular context. Nevertheless, grounds for Laila's placement into category 2 were found in her reluctance to contest the very social mechanisms of discrimination that had ruined her original career ambitions and her complicity, by way of inaction, with the perpetuation of total male hegemony in Saudi Arabia.

Though Laila could perceive means of operationalizing only the least overtly political aspects of a critical pedagogical agenda, her second concept map reaffirmed that her understanding of criticality had grown significantly more vast and refined over the course of her first semester.
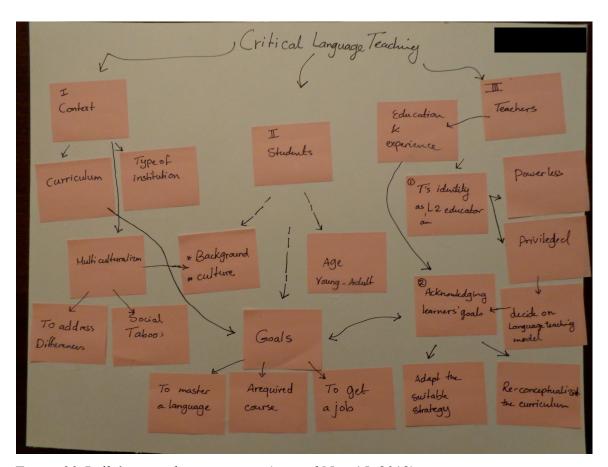

Figure 20. Laila's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Containing 22 items whereas its predecessor contained 14, the second map depicts a more extensive and precise representation of critical language teaching. Additionally, some of the terms and inter-item connections displayed on the second map reflect core critical principles of TESOL 500; these include a direct association between a "[Teacher's] identity as an L2 educator" and the ways in which she may be "Powerless" or "Privileged" (Park, 2009, 2012) as well as a depiction of "Multiculturalism" as a construct that must be viewed critically in order "To address Differences" and "Social Taboos" (Kubota, 2004).

As with the first map, the second map divides the central concept of Critical Language Teaching into three primary subcomponents, though the former's "What"; "How"; and "Who Participant" have been replaced with: "I. Context"; "II. Students"; and "III. Teachers." "I. Context" descends into "Curriculum"; "Type of institution"; and "Multiculturalism." The final item is connected to "To address Differences"; "Social Taboos"; and "*Background *culture." The arrangement of these items indicates that Laila's conception of context had grown beyond the "formal / informal" dichotomy presented on the first map to encompass a range of cultural, curricular and institutional factors. In her map explanation, Laila reiterated her conviction in the fundamental importance of knowing one's context, which she now described as a prerequisite for the creation and implementation of successful teaching methods:

> To decide on the best approach for teaching L2, teachers must acknowledge the various factors of context of learning as well as have a good understanding of the learners … language teaching [models], curriculum, and other related notions are conceptualized accordingly. (Nov 15, 2012)

Furthermore, the second map lists "Multiculturalism" as a further component of "Context" and specifically notes that its purpose is to prompt engagement with the concept of difference and, by extension, the systematic forms of prejudice and discrimination that are disguised or erased by "Social Taboos." In doing so, Laila has acknowledged an important precept of critical teaching, even if she herself was convinced of its implausibility in the Saudi context.

The latter map also demonstrates an expanded understanding of factors surrounding the motivations and experiences of language learners: while the previous map characterized "Students' role" solely in terms of "Age" and "Level," the "Students" portion of the second map compliments "Age" with references to "*Background *culture" and "Goals," which is divided into a variety of potential motivating factors, including autonomous interest ("To master a language"); the obligation to meet institutional requirements ("A required course"); and social compulsion toward the acquisition of marketable skills ("To get a job") (Kubota, 2011b).

Lastly, the latter map's representation of teachers' professional identities, roles, and responsibilities is far more elaborate than that of the first map, which listed only "correct mistake" and "observer." The second map posits a more sophisticated process through which instructors "decide on [a] language teaching model" that "[Acknowledges] learners' goals": their "Education & experience" informs an identity that is centered on various of iterations of being "Powerless" or "Privileged," and these dynamics in turn shape the body of techniques that they can draw upon to "adapt the suitable strategy" for meeting their students' needs. A final change of note is that, while the first map addressed teaching only within the scope of a particular course, the second map takes a broader view of the educational process by

emphasizing the need to "Re-conceptualize the curriculum" in which particular acts of language teaching and learning are situated.

Laila also noted the extent of difference between her first and second maps, observing that:

> the older map manifest a superficial view of language teaching process. It looks as a technical process which depends on factors related to classrooms only … [whereas] in this [newer] map there is no factors that [are not] well identified … curriculum, syllabus, strategies … all [depend] on determining the context of teaching, as well as learners' goals. (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012)

She then testified to the singular influence of TESOL 500 in effecting this change, while simultaneously espousing her conception of criticality in a terse but eloquent way: "On the basis of the articles I read in this course, I believe that critical language teaching challenges taken for granted assumption about language teaching. It challenges the traditional [perspective] of teaching the language."

Because Laila did not participate in a follow-up interview, I was unable to investigate whether she had determined any new possibilities for adopting critical approaches in the Saudi context or further retrenched herself in the perception that such an endeavor was impossible. Despite her staunchly pessimistic or even defeatist outlook on the viability of using her future EFL courses to plant the seeds of resistance among a new generation of Saudi women, I retained a degree of optimism that she would eventually determine subtle yet potent means of disrupting the status quo.

My faith stemmed partly from a comment Laila made in passing during our second interview; this remark revealed that she had not entirely abandoned her ambition to use her

graduate studies in TESOL as a springboard into a career with a medical or clinical dimension: "So sometimes it's like even in studying English … what about being a … psycholinguist okay who can … [do] language therapy [or] something like this. I wanna be a doctor, one day I wanna be a doctor" (Nov 12, 2012). If Laila could have endured a lifetime of subjugation to male authority and still convey this spark of defiance, however briefly, there was cause for hope that she would one day fully cast off her bonds of compliance and seek out practical applications of her critical knowledge.

Zahra

Zahra (Female, Saudi Arabia) entered the MA TESOL program with the ultimate objective of returning to her hometown and obtaining a university lecturer position. Prior to majoring in English for her undergraduate degree, she had undergone intensive English language study at the British Consulate. While completing her undergraduate studies, she taught middle school and high school English classes as part of an internship program. During TESOL 500 sessions, Zahra often remained silent and wore an expression of concern or concentration, though she occasionally spoke with certainty about familiar matters such as issues faced by English teachers in various Saudi Arabian contexts.

Zahra was jovial and accommodating during our interviews. She would lower her voice to a whisper and grin when confessing to having forgotten requested information, and she occasionally punctuated her statements by asking whether I had understood them. I sometimes needed to encourage and reassure her before she was willing to speak candidly. When our interviews touched on topics Zahra found intriguing or personally relevant, however, she would begin to converse excitedly, her voice suddenly rising in pitch and her comments often concluding with deep, prolonged laughter.

Though Zahra's maps contain relatively few component items compared to other examples from the overall data set, they nonetheless demonstrate a significant shift in understanding. Zahra's first concept map is displayed below in Figure 21.
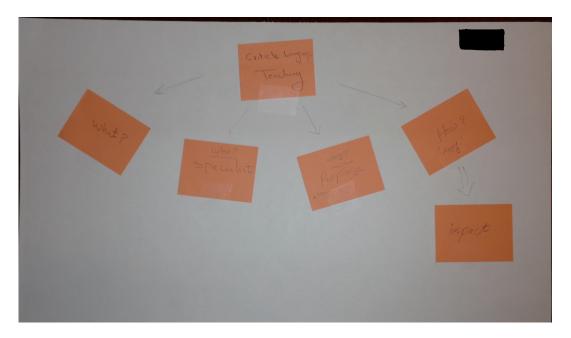

Figure 21. Zahra's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

This initial concept map features four items emanating from the central concept of critical language teaching; each is labeled with basic question words and three of four include one or two additional words of elaboration. From left to right, the items read "What?"; "Who? Specialist"; "Why? Purpose *main"; and "How? 'Apply.'" One further item labeled "Impact" descends from "How? 'Apply.'"

The skeletal nature of the map and extremely terse descriptions of each item suggest that Zahra was largely if not wholly unfamiliar with critical language teaching at the onset of the course. This interpretation is supported by Zahra's written explanation, which states that the map actually represents her process of engaging ideas for the first time:

I choose the main questions that will be risen when I face a new concept. So, I put

four questions at the same level to identify the concept. First, what is the definition of

376

this concept? Second, who are the specialists in this particular field? Third, what is the main purpose of the criticle [sic] language teaching? Finally, how this concept is applied and what is its impact on the language teaching? (map explanation, Aug 30, 2012)

According to this explanation, Zahra's first map illustrates her diagnostic process of determining the meaning of a given concept rather than her definition of that concept.

During my initial interview with Zahra, I attempted to promote further examination of critical language teaching on her part. I began by asking her if she could think of some previous instances when she had made use of the "What-Who-Why-How" investigative process to gain an understanding of an unfamiliar idea. She reported that she commonly used such words when typing questions into online search engines: "…sometimes I search google so 'who is the responsible for blah blah blah, who that is?' so it's come up with the information, so I definitely use these." (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012).

I then asked Zahra whether such lines of questioning have any potential applications in language teaching. She answered that teachers were obliged to ask themselves these questions in order to clearly explain the objectives and rationales for teaching activities as well as monitor their effectiveness: "I have to tell [students] what is the purpose of that task. And then I will weigh their feedback, which is the impact" (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012). These responses, though indicative of Zahra's inquisitive character and her belief in the importance of reflective practice, did not seem to bear the influence of any commonly recognized critical concepts in the TESOL and Applied Linguistics field.

Thus, while Zahra was equipped with a promising means of methodical inquiry, it appeared that she possessed a very nascent and tentative understanding of criticality, at least

377

in terms of her ability to reflect on the abstract concept was concerned. Yet, as we discussed the events that had led to her to graduate study in TESOL, I was struck by the extent to which her educational journey was deeply bound with, and shaped by, sociopolitical issues of privilege and marginalization in her home context[22]. As Zahra narrated portions of her life history, I got the impression that the essence of a potent critical capacity lurked just beyond the purview of her conscious reflection.

Among the most striking components of Zahra's experiences was the influence of sociocultural, economic and familial factors on her initial motivation to become an English teacher. As Zahra finished high school, she needed to find a career that offered a sufficient salary and was considered socially acceptable for women in Saudi Arabia. As described by Zahra and the two other female Saudi participants in the present study, traditional Saudi culture holds that an appropriate career for women is one that does not require them to interact with male colleagues in the workplace. Zahra remarked:

> … in my country actually, women especially from conservative families, they can't work anywhere. So we have to find a job that is suitable for women, and what is the job that's suitable for women and have a good salary at the same time? It's teaching. So if I want to teach what subject, actually my elder sister is a teacher too and she's a mathematics teacher. And she recommended, no, don't study mathematics. If you want to get a good job just she recommended me just go to English. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

Hence, conservative Saudi society's deep-seated and vehement opposition to male and female interaction in the workplace restricted the scope of Zahra's career ambitions to those

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[22] See Park (2009) for more extensive commentary on discourses of privilege and marginalization as manifested in individual teacher's educational journeys

vocations that could be segregated by gender; as a female English teacher, she would teach female students exclusively. As Zahra shared when elaborating on these social attitudes during our second interview, there was a coercive dimension to her path towards English teaching, as she originally wanted to pursue a medical career but was forbidden from doing so by her family: "I wanted to…study for medical stuff. Even nurse or a doctor or whatever dentist for example but this, at that time that were not allowed to me in my family" (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012).

Zahra's decision to attend intensive English classes at the British Consulate was similarly motivated by practical necessity, as she felt dissatisfied with the highly structured, textbook-centric instructional methods employed in her junior high and high school English classes. She believed an immersion approach would enable her to gain the requisite skills for completing an undergraduate degree program in English. Such an approach was offered at the British Consulate, a prime example of corporate and governmental schemes that import native speakers of English to local contexts and instill them as dispensaries of prestigious, codified language varieties (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Zahra reported that the Consulate's classes constituted her first experiences with a "native" teacher and an English-only approach. Moreover, she first encountered an engaging, stimulating, and personally fulfilling style of English teaching at the Consulate. The range of activities and teaching methods utilized by her teacher changed her perception of how English instruction could be performed. Zahra described the teacher and the appealing aspects of her lessons as follows:

> she is actually from UK so she's a native speaker. She speaks all the time English so
> it's exciting you just try to figure out what she said. So I think she was amazing
> because she used some material that we didn't use in a public school … So she use

379

center student activities, comparative learning, so actually in my school I didn't used

to work in a group or doing such activities so these things just made me think "Wow,

English is exciting," and teaching English is just like playing a game, it's not like

<u>teaching</u> by itself so it's … [a] flexible … relationship between teachers and students.

(Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

These comments suggest that Zahra gained awareness of new pedagogical possibilities but

also became enamored of nativeness while attending classes at the Consulate, as reflected in

her statement that the teacher's monolingual approach was a source of excitement despite her

occasional difficulties in understanding the teacher's utterances.

Powerful discourses that construct native teachers and their "standard" language

varieties as being qualitatively superior to non-native bilingual teachers and localized

varieties also seemed to exert a significant influence on Zahra's perception of her English

professors at university. She expressed a clear preference for professors who had studied in

Inner Circle countries, where prestige varieties of English are commonly spoken as native

languages (Kachru, 1985), and furthermore viewed her accent as inferior to theirs:

my professor[s] there inspired me all of them were students in UK or in the United

States so I would like to be just like them, and study abroad since I found my accent

is not perfect. And you can't compare the professors who studied at a foreign country

from the professor who studied at locally or in your hometown. (Interview 1, Sept 6,

2012)

I asked Zahra to elaborate on what distinguished the former category of professors from the

latter. She stated:

Okay, I will be so frankly [laughs]. The professor who has studied in foreign country

usually have another system which I think I like more than the professors who were

student at [3.0] um

Interviewer: Just locally or within your country?

Zahra: Locally, yes. Or even in Arabic other country. So their way of thinking, even

their personality, their way of speaking, you can find that … as a student you can feel

it. Highly educated, yeah.

I: So the professors who had been abroad just kind of gave the impression of being

more highly educated or?

Z: Yes. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

It is significant to note that Zahra's remarks not only express her partiality to Westernized

teaching approaches but also position the individuals who practice them above those who do

not; the former are described as having more pleasing personalities and being better spoken

and more educated.

Despite Zahra's preference for such approaches, she found that she was largely

unable to adopt them when it came time for her teach middle and high school English classes

during an internship component of her undergraduate studies. Instead, she was expected to

follow the highly regimented method prescribed by the Saudi ministry of education. Zahra

stated that a system of weekly supervisor observation and corrective feedback was employed

to standardize lesson procedure:

as a teacher in public school, I think we didn't have much choices, so we have to

follow the curriculum. So even in public school in my country, we have textbook for

the teacher. So there is a plan for the teacher how to do the lesson. And the supervisor

attend your class, "Why you didn't do, why didn't this?" It's just like homework.

(Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

As a student teacher, Zahra had little recourse to alter the required methods. She was consequently obliged to reproduce the conventional teaching style she had found unsatisfactory as a student, though she retained the belief that these methods, along with the textbook around which they were centered, were ineffective because they comprised an overly segmented and inauthentic mode of language teaching. According to Zahra, this approach commonly resulted in students' rudimentary understanding of the target language but did not often contribute to their abilities to use the language in personally meaningful ways:

[through this approach] you just know the basic information about the language you just know the letters some words, some sentences, but you can't use the language. You know? It's a grammar, the unit is divided like vocabulary the first lesson and the other lesson is conversation other lesson is grammar, so it's kind of divided. You can't use the language like that. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

In sum, Zahra possessed a vague and provisional understanding of criticality in the early stages of the course. The life experiences Zahra discussed during our first interview indicated that her own journey towards graduate study in TESOL had been heavily influenced by socioculturally constructed gender roles in the Saudi context, the imposition of prescribed curricula on novice teachers, and the discursive construction of native teachers and Western methods as more advanced and sophisticated than their local counterparts. Zahra, however, did not yet appear to have discerned the larger issues of dominance and

marginalization that gave rise to these phenomena or connected her experiences to established topics of discussion and debate in TESOL and Applied Linguistics literature.

My second interview with Zahra took place on November 6, 2012, exactly two months after our first meeting. Though I had been observing Zahra in Jean's course and was aware of her increasing willingness to express her views during class discussions, I was nonetheless struck by how Zahra's comments during our latter interview signaled a substantial change in her understanding of criticality.

I began the interview by asking Zahra what concepts, ideas, or articles from the course stood out to her. She remarked that one of the course readings, Park's (2009) piece on the influences of gendered identities and familial pressures in the educational journey of a Korean woman, resonated with her because it evoked a number of parallels with her own life: "when I read it I think oh similar situation you know similar restriction of the social, parents, [living] in the US the difficulties so I feel like she is telling part my story" (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012). By reflecting on the article in question, Zahra was able to critically reinterpret her past and present difficulties with pursuing a career as an English teacher in terms of the gendered subordination inflicted upon women within and beyond her home culture:

> … society always create a lot of pressures on women especially my society I mean…
> so it's not easy to be here in the US for a woman in my situation I mean. So it was
> really really difficult and challenging to be here and when … I read [the article] for
> the first time just "Oh my goodness." All women are struggling not only me.
> (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012)

By virtue of personal experience, Zahra was well familiar with limitations on Saudi women's career autonomy when she entered Jean's course; however, it seems that reading Park (2009)

helped her to situate her experiences within broader social mechanisms of misogynist discrimination and even to forge new senses of solidarity with other oppressed women across boundaries of race, ethnicity and nation.

It is moreover significant to note that, in attaining this critical understanding, Zahra did not resign herself to a more cynical view of the world. Instead, she contextualized her critical remarks by expressing the optimistic perspective that "my society is changing … and women is getting better position in the society" due to a saturation in the employment market for female English teachers and a dire need for qualified medical professionals, with the result that women are gaining increased access to the vocation that had been denied to her (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012).

Zahra additionally remarked, "the globalization help people to open their [minds] and accept [women] to be working [in the medical field]" (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012). Though this statement speaks to Zahra's investment in the plight of fellow Saudi women and her genuine desire to see Saudi culture become more gender-equitable in the future, questions can be raised about whether Zahra is espousing a rhetoric of social change as an agentless historical progression rather than the result of deliberate activism, and whether such mindsets ultimately work toward the reproduction of the status quo. Furthermore, the comment suggests a need for more multifaceted and critical consideration of how globalization has affected historically subjugated, non-Western cultures. In connoting both critical and uncritical perspectives, Zahra's remark encapsulates participants' collective tendency to develop critical perspectives in non-linear and contradictory fashions; such inconsistencies are in keeping with Pennycook's (2001) contention that criticality is not a disposition which

one definitively attains at any point in time but rather a proclivity towards skepticism that is gradually cultivated and continually refined.

During our second interview, I also asked Zahra whether any of the topics or concepts discussed in Jean's course had changed her view of English teaching in Saudi contexts or suggested future changes that she would like to see implemented in those contexts. She responded by describing how students at public elementary schools tended to begin their English studies later than private school students and have access to fewer teaching resources, which eventually puts them at a disadvantage in Saudi Arabia's standardized high school English curriculum:

> There is a different system for … private and public school … students in private school they begin studying English from seven years old while public students they begin at … twelve. So they are more proficient I think we can say that. Their English proficiency is better than public school student I mean in high school. Also private school … they want … to attract students to their schools, they always try to bring all the equipment to their schools…While public schools have some but not all of the equipments and teachers have the responsibility if she want to bring something she will bring it [on] her own. (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012)

Zahra's critique of English education in Saudi schools indicates that those students whose families possess the wealth required to pay private school enrollment fees are systematically privileged through greater access to educational equipment and more time to accrue English proficiency as a form of symbolic and academic capital, which may in turn translate to economic capital depending on students' future careers.

Just as Zahra's statements about changing social attitudes toward Saudi women's careers intimated a balance of critical awareness and optimism about the potential for future change, her comments about the marginalization of Saudi public school students did not reflect resignation to an unfortunate reality but rather the ascertainment of a problematic imbalance to be redressed through concerted efforts by capable teachers:

> people think that public school is inferior to private school this is not correct, but if there is a good teacher I believe there will be a good class. So it doesn't depend on private or public … it depends on the teacher and how can she teach her students.
>
> (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012)

From these remarks, it appeared that Zahra's understanding of criticality had undergone noteworthy development in the span of two months, particularly in terms of connecting her experiences to prominent topics in the TESOL field and larger issues of social justice in Saudi contexts. The progression in Zahra's understanding was further evidenced in her second map, which is displayed in Figure 22 below:
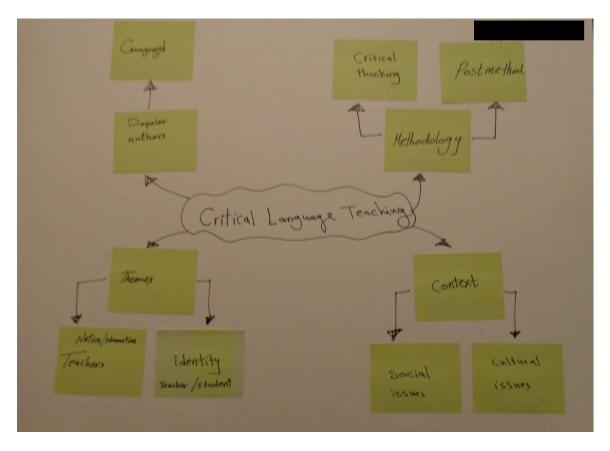
Figure 22. Zahra's second concept map (created Nov 15, 2012).

Zahra's second concept map includes four items emanating from the central concept of critical language teaching; three of these four are further divided into two component concepts, while the remaining item features one additional example. Proceeding clockwise from the upper left corner of the map, the items appear as follows: "Popular authors" is connected to "Canagarajah"; "Methodology" is linked to "Critical thinking" and "Postmethod"; "Context" is connected to "social issues" and "cultural issues"; and "Themes" is divided into "Native/nonnative teachers" and "identity teacher/student."

This map suggests a shift towards a more structured, developed, and discipline-specific understanding of criticality, particularly in terms of its nearly symmetrical structure, the increased number of total items included (11 as compared to 5 in the first map), and the replacement of the first map's basic question words with core concepts of critical scholarship

387

in TESOL and Applied Linguistics. Zahra wrote "Who? Specialist" on her first map to articulate the need to learn about experts on critical approaches to TESOL; on the second map, she identified Canagarajah as a noteworthy figure in this regard. Similarly, the simple question word "What" on the first map has been expanded into a terse yet thorough depiction of critical language teaching, which Zahra described as having "a lot of integrated elements that couldn't be separated" in her second map explanation. Zahra characterized the importance of these elements as follows:

> First: Themes, I think identity, either of teachers and/or students is a crucial themes in CLT. It should have a great consideration in LT. Moreover, native and nonnative teachers is an important theme of CLT. CLT tries to correct the misconception of many people that native teachers of a language are better than nonnative speakers. Second, I chose to write "context" since it plays an important role in LT. It contains social and cultural issues that should be consider by language teachers. (Map explanation, Nov 15, 2012)

Though Zahra's comments do not offer much elaboration on the significance of the items included, they identify major areas of disciplinary research and debate. Zahra's description of native speaker teachers' perceived superiority as a "misconception" seems especially significant in light of previous remarks that suggested an implicit compliance with the discursive construction of Western or Westernized teachers and methods as being more advanced and refined than their local equivalents. This change in perspective gives cause for hope that, in keeping with Jean's goal of promoting advocacy in her course, Zahra will validate her own expertise as a bilingual instructor and facilitate the same process for future language educators should she eventually work as a university lecturer in Saudi Arabia.

Additionally, Zahra's decision to include context in her second map indicates an acclimation to the critical perspective that appropriate and effective instructional methods are inherently derived from unique circumstances of particular teaching situations. Zahra pursued the importance of context further by supplanting the "How" item on her initial map with "Methodology," further divided into "critical thinking" and "postmethod," on the second. She wrote, "I write critical thinking and postmethod under [methodology] in order to show that critical thinking leads educators to create the postmethods to help students in different contexts" (map explanation, Nov 15, 2012). Zahra also expressed a desire to further explore postmethod approaches to language teaching in our second interview, stating:

> I like postmethod so much. And I would like to know more about it … and what is it exactly how can the teacher just try to mix many methods in order to customize it for the students in the class depending on their needs and it's interesting to know something like that. So I would like to apply this in my class. (Interview 2, Nov 6, 2012)

Considering that Zahra described her previous experiences with English teaching largely in terms of the anxieties and frustrations that resulted from the imposition of standardized teaching procedures, it is not difficult to imagine why the autonomy and flexibility characteristic of a postmethod approach would hold great appeal for her.

In Zahra's written comparison of her first and second concept maps, she asserts that her understanding of critical language teaching had undergone a considerable change since the onset of Jean's course:

> Actually, I can see how much my understanding is improved. It is clearly seen that I don't have any knowledge of CLT at the beginning of the semester … My

understanding of CLT, by the end of this semester, has changed. It is clearly seen in

the 2nd map that I have some themes, ideas, and issues about CLT. I am really glad to

see such an improvement. TESOL program, especially [TESOL 500] helps me a lot

to improve my understanding of CLT. (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012)

While these comments are again limited to brief summary, Zahra's concept maps and

interview remarks support her conclusion that a significant shift in understanding has taken

place. Within the scope of one semester, Zahra progressed from a state of almost total

uncertainty regarding the relevance of criticality in TESOL and Applied Linguistics to the

development of firmly grounded and still evolving insights. Zahra's descriptions of the

events that initiated her journey into the English teaching profession and the challenges she

encountered as a novice instructor indicated that both were deeply bound with larger social

mechanisms of dominance and subjugation in Saudi Arabia; as a Saudi female with restricted

career autonomy and an apprentice teacher who was expected to adhere to prescribed

methods, Zahra was subjected to marginalization that served to reproduce inequitable power

dynamics within existent social structures.

While certain comments made by Zahra during our first interview suggested that she

had consciously or unconsciously subscribed to discourses of native superiority when

evaluating previous English teachers and her own accent, her subsequent interview and

concept map indicated that she had started to engage in the critical reappraisal of these

perspectives. In addition to explicitly rejecting the notion that "native teachers of a language

are better than nonnative speakers," Zahra identified changing attitudes towards acceptable

careers for women and public school students' disadvantageous access to English language

learning as issues of social justice to be addressed or further rectified through conscious

teaching efforts (map explanation, Nov 15, 2012). Finally, Zahra approached the conclusion of her first semester of graduate study having identified postmethod as an area of critical scholarship that she intended to investigate in more depth as her studies progressed.

Appendix K

Additional participant case studies in Category 3: Limited transformation of understanding

Linlin

Linlin (Female, China) had previously been employed as an office worker at a university in China. During this time, she regularly interacted with Chinese and Western instructors from the English department. Her primary purpose for graduate study in TESOL was to earn credentials that would enable her to obtain a teaching job at the same university, as this position offered a higher salary, more vacation time, and greater prestige than her clerical work. Linlin's desire to be employed as a teacher was bolstered by her belief that her English proficiency was often equal, and in some cases superior, to that of Chinese teachers of English at her institution.

Wry and slightly aloof, Linlin was quick to problematize any concept, belief, or classroom practice that failed to acknowledge the myriad disadvantages faced by "non-native" English speakers. At certain times during our interviews, her comments were uttered with seeming reluctance at a volume scarcely above a whisper. When making satirical remarks about American culture or mildly irritating aspects of her life abroad, however, she often accentuated her words with a wry grin and subdued laughter. If her attention turned to facets of her experiences that were truly objectionable or disquieting, she would become animated, frustrated, and defiant. As is subsequently discussed in more detail, being in class with American students and undergoing academic socialization to the community of TESOL professions were significant sources of apprehension, particularly in the early portions of Jean's course.

Overall, Linlin's developing scholar and practitioner identities were wrought amid a conflicted negotiation between advocacy for second language learners and lingering skepticism about the validity of non-native Englishes. On the one hand, she understood how targets and practices of English language teaching are commonly bound with cultural assumptions and values that, if not directly explained, are likely to confuse and alienate students. On the other hand, she appeared at times to demonstrate derisive attitudes toward Chinese-English (i.e., alterations made to prestigious, codified varieties of English to reflect local communicative practices as well as lexical, phonetic and grammatical features of Chinese). Not until the latter portions of her first year of graduate study did she begin to question why she held the English language use of fellow Chinese learners in such dismissive regard.

Linlin's first concept map, which appears below in Figure 23, displays a concise yet complex array of notions related to language, including issues of variation and authenticity as well as the numerous cultural concepts it embodies. The map also makes reference to binary distinctions between native and non-native speakers, though, as presented, the dichotomy is reaffirmed rather than challenged.
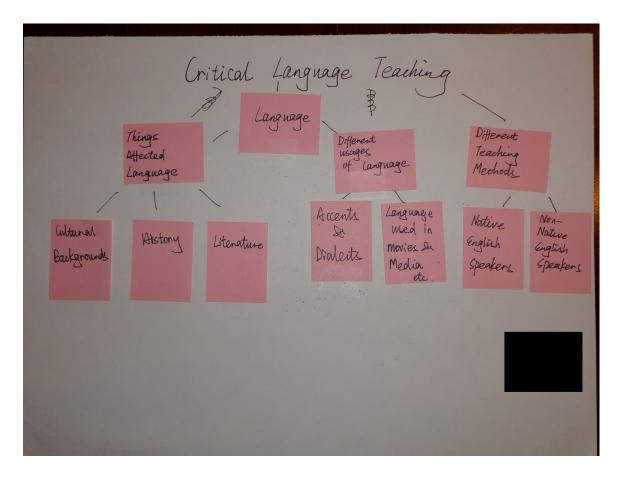
Figure 23. Linlin's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

In this map, the central concept of "Critical Language Teaching" branches out into two component concepts: "Language" and "Different Teaching Methods." "Language" is subdivided into "Things Affected Language," which is further partitioned into "Cultural Backgrounds"; "History"; and "Literature," and "Different usages of Language," which is split into "Accents & Dialects" and "Language used in movies & Media, etc." "Different teaching methods" is separated into "Native English Speakers" and "Non-Native English Speakers."

On her map explanation, Linlin used three succinct sentences to explain the significance of the clusters:

1) Different cultural backgrounds, history and literature affected language. Eg. Greek stories & Bible had a great influence on British literature.

2) People from different corners of the world have their own "English" language, and the usage of language [differs] on different occasions.

3) Teaching methods vary because of different types of students. (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012)

Despite her generally accurate critical depictions of the English language as a fluid, localized, and hybridized entity and language in general as a social phenomenon through which meanings are circulated and reified, Linlin expressed a lack of confidence about her map in her closing comment: "[ooops, sorry, I don't think I have any idea of what "critical language teaching" really is yet, so …Got to study harder ☺]" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). This self-effacing remark illustrates Linlin's keenly felt anxieties about her novice status in the TESOL field; she would struggle with these feelings throughout her first semester because she was among the few members of the incoming cohort with no previous teaching experience and she habitually conflated disciplinary knowledge with conversational fluency in English.

The significance of each notion on the map to Linlin's understanding became further apparent as she discussed her language learning history and future goals during our initial interview. First, the concept of authenticity was fundamental to Linlin's distinction between her experiences with English learning in formal educational contexts and those that were self-directed. As with several other participants, she felt her junior high and high school English classes were unfulfilling due to their near-exclusive focus on stilted expressions and vocabulary words that were irrelevant to any purpose other than passing written exams: "[It

was] kind of boring. And … the stuff you learn from the textbooks is like one day you go to a English-speaking countries, you don't use the things you learn from the textbooks. Not really." (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012).

While her official classes were uninspiring, Linlin developed a strong interest in learning conversational English after viewing the film *Titanic*, which captured her imagination as a junior high school student during its initial release. From this point forward, Linlin strove to understand and use English as it was spoken in works of popular culture:

> I started to watch a lot of—not a lot of, but some American movies but I didn't understand what they were saying without the translation. And then, I figured out if I wanted to know more about what they were really saying I gotta study this thing hard. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Because the English featured in films, TV news reports, and talk shows had piqued Linlin's interest in ways that her dull and formulaic coursework could not, she speculated that she would include such materials in her future teaching. By using clips from audiovisual materials to augment required components of English teaching curricula in Chinese universities, Linlin hoped to inspire her future students to discover personally stimulating aspects of language learning beyond scoring well on exams:

> If I'm going to teach [an EFL class], … if I have to use a textbook I will use it. But if I can add something I would add something like the talk shows in [the United States]. Something really interesting, though it would be kind of hard for the students but after listening to it again and again and with subtitles, that will help. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Linlin wished to increase the currency of conversational fluency not only within China's English classrooms but also as a desirable asset for prospective English teachers in China. As mentioned above, her primary motivation for entering an MA TESOL program was to obtain qualifications that would allow her to be hired as a teacher at the university where she was previously employed as an office worker. In pursuing a graduate degree, she sought to redress what she perceived as unfair employment practices wherein English teachers were hired solely on the basis of paper qualifications and the reputation of their alma maters. Frustrations arising from her employer's emphasis on credentials that were not necessarily reflective of the ability to use English for communicative purposes were intensified when Linlin discovered that the speaking fluency of some teachers at her institution was lower than her own:

> In China real teachers' salary is always more than people who work in offices in the school. And I don't like that. And I found out some English teachers in my school, I speak better English than them though I don't really speak good English, I know that [laughs] … and I'm not happy about that, they got more money they got more vacations than me.
>
> Interviewer: So what makes a real teacher, how do they define that?
>
> Linlin: Well they have a Master degree in English something like that.
>
> I: Okay, so it's more about the qualification or the credential I should say
>
> L: Actually, it's degree. Just degree. When they interview you, they don't know how good you teach …how good you speak English, right? First they need to see your degree or whatever where you graduated from, what program. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

Thus, Linlin's future career objectives were motivated by a practical desire to attain greater compensation and her belief that others would share the fulfillment she derived from studying conversational English. She was furthermore determined to subvert a system of hiring practices that, in her opinion, positioned oral fluency and pedagogical skill below other, largely superficial qualifications.

From a follow-up email inquiry, I discovered that Linlin deemed some of her Chinese teacher colleagues' English proficiencies inferior to her own on the basis of their shared interaction with visiting American teachers:

> During their stay … they need someone or more than one person to translate and help, and most of the time … people from my office (administrative office) and a couple of young Chinese English teachers do this. And American teachers come to my office all the time, as well as Chinese English teachers. Besides taking about work, we do small office chats too. So from those conversations I realized at least in Speaking, my English competence is better than some of theirs, including some who got their TESOL degrees from English speaking countries. (Personal communication, May 1, 2013)

Linlin's predilection for appraising Chinese teachers' English fluency in terms of their ability to successfully communicate with native speakers was confirmed by her comment, "I don't talk to Chinese English teachers in English unless we were talking with foreign teachers" (Personal communication, May 1, 2013). As such, she appeared to preemptively disqualify the validity of localized usage (i.e., that which diverged from normative practices of "native" varieties but was nonetheless intelligible to fellow Chinese speakers of English),

consequently putting her at odds with calls for more pluralistic and inclusive conceptions of the language (e.g., Canagarajah, 2007; Jenkins, 2006)

These remarks are somewhat surprising considering that Linlin's map explanation demonstrated an awareness that "people from different corners of the world have their own 'English' language" and moreover stressed that even the most traditional incarnations of languages reflect interplay among myriad "cultural backgrounds, history and literature" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). During our first interview, Linlin elaborated on the influence of these diverse cultural traditions in contemporary English:

> in [my] British literature classes and American literature classes my teachers always talked about the … ancient Greek stories. And they say much of the British literature was influenced by the Greek stories and the American literatures was influenced by British literatures …or also the bible. So it's kind of they … affected each other (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

I proceeded to ask Linlin how awareness of these factors could be used to inform critical teaching approaches. She responded by advocating direct teaching of the implicit cultural beliefs, customs, and assumptions that are inevitably bound with purposes and procedures of English instruction in order to avoid making students feel confused and frustrated:

> … But for Chinese who … don't [have any religious beliefs] and when you say some stories in bible if you don't explain what that thing is I wouldn't understand that. That's very important if you teach students from different countries who are not Christian or catholic or whatever … I think if before you teach something, you got to introduce the background first. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

In contrast to Linlin's earlier remarks about the linguistic abilities of Chinese teachers at her former institution, these comments demonstrated emerging understandings of two important critical perspectives: first, languages are not static entities amenable to clear division and enumeration (Pennycook, 2013); and second, even monolingual communication bears the influence of interrelated cultural traditions. These viewpoints are particularly significant because linguistic proficiency is often used to discursively construct and reinforce boundaries between belonging and exclusion within and among nations (Hanauer, 2008; Pavlenko, 2002).

After commencing her career in graduate education, Linlin found that her experiences were initially characterized by anxieties about attending classes with American students. These feelings of apprehension were exacerbated by the deficiencies she perceived in her own speaking ability as compared to the effortless speaking fluency demonstrated by her American classmates. Linlin made the striking comment that, during early class meetings, she was discouraged to the point of internalizing a fatalistic perception of perpetual inferiority:

> when I was in my class in here, first I didn't expect I have so many American classmates in my class. So it's kind of, it's kind of somewhere in the brain saying, "[no matter] how hard you study you cannot do anything better than those students because they speak that language." … I felt pressure. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

This remark suggested that Linlin had mistakenly equated basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS)—the ability to make one's self understood in everyday communicative contexts—with cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP)—the analytical and evaluative aptitudes necessary for success in academic domains (Cummins, 1999).

Consequently, she believed the scholarly merit of her own work could not match let alone exceed that of work produced by her American counterparts simply because the latter group spoke English with greater ease.

While Linlin had essentially attributed her trepidation to self-perceived limitations in her English proficiency, she also recognized that American students could function more comfortably and confidently in graduate classrooms because of their familiarity with assumed cultural knowledge. One such instance occurred when Jean referred to the American educational reform initiative No Child Left Behind during the third session of TESOL 500. Though Jean made this reference in order to critique a real world instance of linguistic discrimination—namely, that No Child Left Behind provides a veneer of objective assessment while concealing the systematic disadvantaging of students whose home language is not English (Field notes, Sept 13, 2012)—her comment ironically reinforced Linlin's belief that she lacked sufficient cultural awareness to participate as readily as American students:

> It's like when the teacher is saying something I was like "What does that word mean?" but [the American students] already response to that question. I think it's in … Dr. Jean's class, she said something like President Bush say something No Child Left Behind … Americans know it. We don't. We are like, "What is it? Who said that?" It needs more time to process that in the brain. (Interview 1, Sept 4, 2012)

This occurrence demonstrates that even discussion points raised for critical purposes may have the opposite of their intended effect if international students lack the background information needed to discuss culture-specific issues on equal footing with their American classmates.

During our second interview, which was conducted nearly two months after our first, I found that Linlin was still acquiring the set of ingrained dispositions, actions, and gestures, or *habitus*, through which experienced scholars attain and articulate critical perspectives in recognized forms (Bourdieu, 1991). In keeping with the centrality of this adjustment process to her experiences, Linlin mentioned that Casanave's (2008) piece on the academic socialization of international graduate students was one of the TESOL 500 course readings that had stood out to her:

> … one article … [talked] about foreign students when [they] first get to the US [and] what they thought about their classes and the articles they read. It's like they were not totally ready for this. And I felt the same, I still feeling the same it's like what I know and what I am supposed to know, there is a huge gap between the two. And I'm trying so hard to fill it.
>
> Interviewer: So you feel like … there's kind of an assumption in the program that students know certain stuff?
>
> L: Yeah, it's like you're already in this program. You are supposed to be at a certain level but I'm not there yet. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

These observations suggest the degree to which Linlin was struggling to acclimate to the community of TESOL professionals and customs of graduate education in the United States. Linlin's relative newcomer status was also reflected in her use of online search engines rather than library databases to search for additional information about core concepts of her coursework; this strategy indicates that she had yet to cultivate the institutional competence (Curry, 2006; De Costa, 2010) necessary to locate and utilize relevant resources. Using the example of postmethod (Kumaravadivelu, 2003), Linlin described how she was frustrated

with the often-irrelevant results of such inquiries, prompting her to give up on investigating

notions that, in her view, had not been adequately explained by her instructors:

> … if I got time I will google it, but sometimes the things you google, google is not the
> same as in TESOL field … Yeah it's like postmethod in art and in TESOL is totally
> different … And if the teachers don't explain that, I will be like "What is that? Okay,
> forget it." (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Though Linlin experienced numerous adversities as she tried to adjust to the complex

bodies of disciplinary knowledge referenced in her courses and norms of interaction in

American classrooms, she was able to achieve larger insights about her present difficulties by

critically reinterpreting her lived history. Echoing findings from work in the field (e.g., Oda,

2008; Park, 2009), she discerned how acclimation to the skeptical and assertive scholarly

persona valued in American contexts is extremely difficult for some Asian students because

its intended outcome stands in diametrical opposition to their preexisting, culturally-

inculcated equation of silence and passivity with humility. Reflecting on the relationship

between her upbringing and her brief career in graduate education to that point, Linlin

remarked:

> … you could see in my [classes] the native speakers talk more than other people and I
> was thinking … [about] why I didn't talk. But I think I got some kind of answer cuz
> back in my home, when I was a student my mom was always said, "I don't think you
> can do that." Even I got the number one in my class I got home I was so happy to tell
> her she's like "Next time you will fall to ten." She was always like that for us. And
> some of my friends' parents are like that too. And they have their own theories like
> "I'm saying that because I don't want you to … be too proud of [yourself], to be

[prideful]." … So it's like when I got something in my mind I want to speak it out I will think "Is that too stupid to say that out?" Maybe other people don't think it like how I think it. Then maybe I sound more stupid. So I'm getting quiet. (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012)

Because Linlin's mother prioritized modesty to the extent that she made overtly discouraging remarks in response to Linlin's reports of her accomplishments, Linlin's habitus was characterized by great reluctance to speak her mind in classroom settings despite previous academic success. Therefore, one can imagine the extent of her struggle to function in a new educational environment co-inhabited by several American students whose habitus enabled them to speak freely even when expressing tentative or speculative understandings. Furthermore, Linlin expressed a preference for the encouraging classroom atmosphere she had encountered in the United States and hypothesized that she would be more comfortable with expressing herself if she had been raised in an such an environment: "[In America], people always say, 'Oh good, excellent.' I like that. If I grow up in here I would be better at talking" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012).

Significantly, Linlin's increased awareness of how cultural edicts can inform the silencing of students resulted in the determination of a critical imperative for her intended future teaching context. She reported that would strive to convince Chinese university students to speak out in class by creating an environment in which "there [are] no right or wrong answers," as she felt this tactic would allow her to "encourage the students to really say what they are thinking" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012). In doing so, she would seek to vicariously amend the social and familial pressures that had stifled her own self-confidence

404

via the adoption of new teaching approaches centered on the validation of students'

individual perspectives.

Linlin's intention to act as an advocate for her future students was complimented by a

gradual shift towards recognition of her own merit as a developing "nonnative" scholar.

During our second interview, I asked if she still felt that her own insights and achievements

could never compare to those of her American classmates. She responded:

That feeling got weaker. It's still there but it got weaker.

Interviewer: Okay, that's good I'm glad to hear that. Why did it get weaker?

L: It's like after I heard what they were saying about some ideas in the articles or in

the chapters it doesn't sound too much better than mine, so [laughs]. (Interview 2, Oct

30, 2012)

In an understated but unmistakable fashion, Linlin had begun to differentiate BICS from

CALP by appraising her classroom performance in terms of the intellectual quality and

relevance of her responses to course readings rather than the conversational fluency with

which they were expressed. In the process, she claimed status as a full-fledged member of

her cohort. This critical viewpoint was further reflected in her reported conversation with

Hani, a fellow international student in the cohort: "Hani asked me 'Do you think the native

speakers are like much better than us in reading [assigned articles]?' I was like 'I think they

just know more words than us'" (Interview 2, Oct 30, 2012).

The numerous critical perspectives that Linlin had developed in her first semester

were reflected in her second concept map, displayed below in Figure 24, though these critical

elements continued to be juxtaposed with items that devalued localized usage by positing

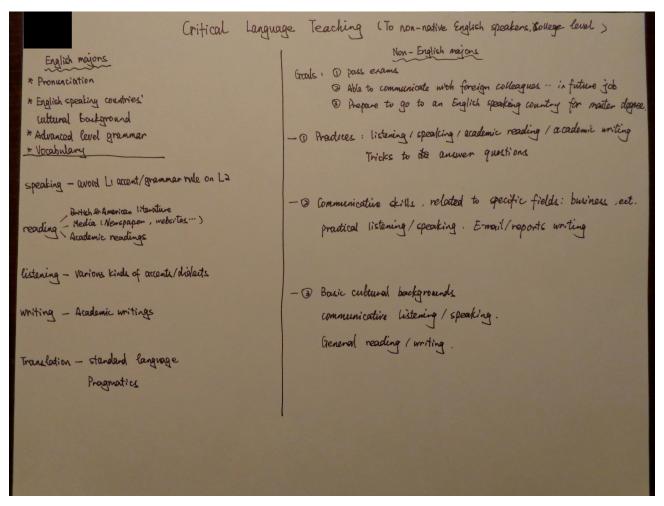English as the cultural and territorial property of Western nations.

Figure 24. Linlin's second concept map (created on Nov 15, 2012).

On this map, Linlin elected to forego the standard method of map construction (i.e.,

brainstorming concepts on sticky notes and then graphically arranging those notes to

illustrate means of interrelation) and instead list items in two columns. Furthermore, the first

map's notion of "Different Teaching Methods" for native and non-native speakers has

disappeared and been replaced with a more contextualized focus on a particular non-native

student demographic: the central concept of "Critical Language Teaching" is narrowed to

"(non-native English speakers, College level)," which is further separated into "English

majors" and "Non-English majors." Linlin clarified on her map explanation that "the main

difference between these two kinds of students is: English majors are supposed to know

much more about English language and culture in all aspects" (Map explanation 2, Nov 15, 2012).

Listed under the "Non-English majors" category are: "Goals: 1) pass exams, 2) Able to communicate with foreign colleagues … in future job, 3) Prepare to go to an English speaking country for master degree."; "1) Practices: listening/speaking/academic reading/academic writing, Tricks to answer questions"; "2) Communicative skills related to specific fields: business, etc., practical listening/speaking, Email/reports writing"; and "3) Basic cultural backgrounds, communicative listening / speaking, general reading/writing."

Though these items do not make overt use of critical pedagogical terminology, they do reflect a postmethod approach (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) in that Linlin has opted to customize her instructional philosophy based on the aspects of English learning of greatest potential relevance to the student population. In referencing the importance of passing exams and learning test-taking "tricks" in the Chinese university context, she has moreover given credence to the predominant educational paradigm so as to balance her own preference for communicative approaches with consideration for students' ingrained expectations.

Listed under the "English majors" category are: "Pronunciation"; "English speaking countries' cultural background"; "Advanced level grammar"; "Vocabulary"; "Speaking – avoid L1 accent/grammar rule on L2"; "Reading—British & American literature, Media (Newspaper, websites ….), Academic readings"; "Listening – various kinds of accents/dialects"; "Writing – Academic writings"; and "Translation – standard language, Pragmatics." In this column, several items from the first map ("Cultural backgrounds"; "History"; "Literature"; "Accents & Dialects"; "Language used in Movies & Media, etc.") reappear in more detailed forms and are integrated into a more thorough teaching approach,

407

suggesting a reinforcement and refinement of Linlin's pre-instruction understanding. As such, there is evidence to support the summative comment Linlin made in her map comparison: "Gee! I do see myself learning stuff by comparing the two maps! Though I feel like I'm not able to express what exactly I learned [in] both [theoretical] and practical ways. I do see things from different and various perspectives" (Map comparison, Nov 15, 2012).

As far as criticality is concerned, however, a salient contradiction remained on display in Linlin's second map: the pluralistic advocation for "various kinds of accents/dialects" to serve as targets of listening activities stands in stark contrast to the corrective admonition to "avoid L1 accent/grammar rule on L2" in speaking practice. These conflicting elements, in combination with subsequent remarks, suggested that Linlin was a proponent of linguistic diversity insofar as the language varieties in question were defined as discrete, homogenous codes of native populations (e.g., British and American English) or populations that tended to speak English with high degrees of fluency and relatively few alternations to the phonetic and grammatical systems of prestigious varieties (e.g., Indian English). By contrast, she continued to hold the spoken usage of fellow Chinese learners, and particularly that which demonstrated a strong Chinese accent, in low regard.

It was not until the latter portions of her second semester that Linlin gained conscious awareness of her penchant for dismissing Chinese English. During a follow-up interview on April 4, 2013, I showed Linlin her second concept map and asked if the understanding of critical language teaching it represented had changed in any way. She immediately identified the "Pronunciation" item in the "English majors" column as a concept she had reconsidered. This process had been catalyzed by a comment made by Dr. Daniels, one of her second semester instructors:

… we had to write reflections for Dr. Daniels' class and one time I wrote something

[negative about the pronunciation of Chinese English learners] and then she gave me

feedback on that thing, she wrote "Who cares about pronunciation?" [laughs]. I didn't

dare to tell her "I care about pronunciation." … So yeah, I care. But there is

something called … World Englishes. So it's kind of [1.0] I don't know. (Follow-up

interview, April 4, 2013)

In this instant of hesitation, Linlin appeared to be on the verge of a critical moment, during

which new understandings become possible as implicit assumptions and value judgments

come to the fore and existing schema of relations are open to change (Pennycook, 2004).

Indeed, as I pursued the conversation further, Linlin came to realization that she had been

singling out Chinese speakers for derision.

Interviewer: So okay I just want to make sure I understand you correctly so you're

very aware of World Englishes and the notion that … English use is a very diverse

phenomenon beyond American speakers British speakers etcetera but in your opinion

pronunciation is still important. Is that correct?

Linlin: I think that's what I thought but right now I'm thinking of am I being I mean

I'm kind of discriminating my own people. Maybe that's the reason. Cuz … someone

who speaks English with a French accent different accent I'm okay with it.

I: Ah, that's an interesting point.

L: Yeah I just figured it out. But someone speaks English with a strong Chinese

accent I just cannot listen to it.

I: Why do you think that that's the case that a Chinese English accent kind of gets on

your nerves more than other

L: I don't know. I just figured out right now. [laughs] Why I do that? Why I do that?

(Follow-up interview, April 4, 2013)

Having already navigated the anxiety-ridden process of socializing to the community of TESOL professionals and recognized that disparities in conversational fluency did not render her an inferior scholar to her American classmates, Linlin had perhaps in this moment attained the most important critical awareness of all. In confronting her history of marginalizing Chinese Englishes, she had moved beyond critiquing systems of discrimination as they were manifested in social venues (e.g., the teacher hiring practices of her former employer or assumed cultural knowledge in American classrooms) and begun to consider how they had been internalized in her own psyche. This self-directed scrutiny constitutes a critical viewpoint equally important to challenging the reproduction of social inequalities, as Bourdieu (1991) noted that disparities in symbolic power are successful only when dominated individuals are indoctrinated to accept the legitimacy of their own subjugation.

Finally, Linlin's epiphany illustrates the importance of continued engagement with critical concepts as graduate education progresses; because Dr. Daniels' feedback reinforced ideas introduced in Jean's course, Linlin was prompted to challenge deeply entrenched prejudices directed at those who shared her own linguistic and cultural heritage. As a result, there is reason for optimism that she may be able to sustain critical perspectives throughout her academic and professional career in TESOL.

Katya

The daughter of an American man and an Italian woman, Katya (Female, United States) was raised in a bilingual household. As a result, she could speak both English and Italian fluently. Her multicultural upbringing catalyzed a cosmopolitan outlook that was

further refined though international travel during her teenage years, as her family moved to several locations in Europe and the United States to accommodate her father's career in the military. She also worked as an EFL instructor in China after she had completed her undergraduate degree. Shortly after enrolling in the research site's MA TESOL program, Katya obtained a position tutoring ESL students at a local high school. As such, she joined Dagney and Afia, both of whom tutored L2 writers at the university writing center, as one of the few participants who were able to gain additional experience as an ESL practitioner during her first semester of graduate study[23].

Because Katya struggled to balance her responsibilities for work and school, she asked to conclude her participation in my research after the second concept-mapping task. I honored her request and did not attempt to contact her for a follow-up interview. Though my ability to depict shifts in Katya's perceptions was somewhat restricted by this reduced scope of data collection, the information that Katya provided during her first semester illuminated a stasis in critical understanding that was surprising in light of her firsthand experience with the benefits of bilingualism and her highly sympathetic attitudes toward English language learners.

Throughout class sessions and interviews, Katya exhibited a polished, mature, and highly respectful demeanor—she even insisted on referring to me as Doctor or Professor Nuske despite my repeated explanations that I was still working toward my doctoral degree. On rare occasions, a glimmer of vivacity or passion would shine through her quiet and

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[23] In this regard, Dagney, Afia, and Katya were greatly advantaged as Americans with no impediments to working legally in the United States. Additional manifestations of American privilege (or lack thereof) on participants' experiences are discussed in Chapter 6.

411

unassuming exterior as she flashed a sly grin or raised her fists and shook them dramatically to emphasize the anguish or frustration associated with a previous teaching experience.

As the semester progressed, Katya often gave the impression of a concerned and reflective teacher who was committed to making language study a meaningful and rewarding experience for students. However, very few of the critical concepts from TESOL 500 permeated her preexisting pedagogical philosophies; she continued to espouse a straightforward conception of SL/FL learning as an ideologically neutral process. Accordingly, she gave little consideration to the inequitable dynamics of power and prestige between students' L1 and L2 literacy resources or conflicts that arose in their allegiances and affiliations amid their processes of identity reconstruction through language learning.

Katya's first concept map, which appears below in Figure 25, focuses on the notions of student motivation and the various competencies and resources required to enact engaging teaching approaches.
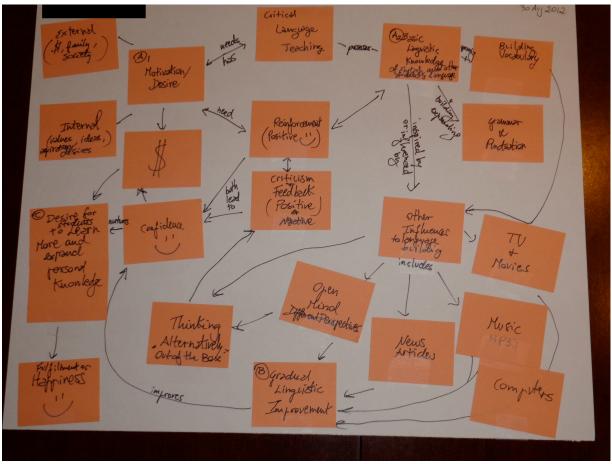
Figure 25. Katya's first concept map (created Aug 30, 2012).

Containing 21 items in total, this map bisects the central concept of "Critical Language

Teaching" into " needs/has → (A1) Motivation/Desire" and "possesses (A2) Basic Linguistic

Knowledge of English and other student's language." Each of these primary subcomponents

branches out into an elaborate cluster of related elements. "Motivation/Desire" is connected

to "External ($, family, society)"; "Internal (values, ideas, aspirations, desires)"; and "$." In

this cluster, Katya has perceptively identified the interplay of social and psychological

factors in shaping learners' attitudes toward the target language. Moreover, her inclusion of

the dollar sign symbol signifies her awareness that some individuals are compelled to learn

languages because of "external influences coming from … money" (i.e., the actual or

perceived benefits of learning for economic advancement) (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012).

413

On the whole, however, her characterization of motivation is almost exclusively positive, apolitical, and predicated on the concept of intrinsically willing learners, as demonstrated in her statement: "[motivation] is … highly influenced by an internal desire or motivation to expand personal knowledge, think outside the box and cooperate with our personal values, ideas and aspirations."

Additional items connected to "Motivation/Desire" clarify that the role of teachers is to provide "Reinforcement (Positive ☺)"and "criticism + feedback (Positive or Negative)" in order to nurture "confidence ☺," which will in turn boost students' "Desire … to learn more and expand personal knowledge." As represented by the item labeled "Fulfillment or Happiness ☺" in the lower left corner of the map, the ultimate objective of this approach is "to give to the teacher and the student a sense of fulfillment or happiness" (Map explanation, Aug 30, 2012). Once again, Katya has appraised the characteristics and outcomes of the learning process in an extremely optimistic manner (she herself would describe the goal of fulfillment as "idealistic" during our first interview), locating students' attitudes towards language study entirely within a framework of cultivated desire for self-improvement and neglecting larger sociopolitical factors that may prompt resistance or resentment.

As regards the portion of the map displaying the capabilities and tools necessary to implement critical language teaching, Katya first references the importance of possessing linguistic knowledge of both English and students' native tongues; subsequent interview comments would suggest that this insight was gained from her own bilingual upbringing. The stated benefits of this "Linguistic Knowledge" are "growing → Building Vocabulary" and "building/expanding → grammar & Punctuation." It is furthermore clarified that linguistic knowledge is "inspired by or influenced by → other Influences to language building," which

414

include "TV + Movies"; "Music MP3's"; "Computers"; "News articles"; "Open Mind Different Perspectives"; and "Thinking Alternatively 'Out of the Box.'" From a critical perspective, the final two items are the most significant in that they stress the potential for language learning to expand students' awareness of values and worldviews alternative to those inscribed by their home culture. These items, however, are fewer in number than items which simply list resources that might be employed during lessons. The map's disproportionate balance toward the latter indicates that Katya has again placed primary emphasis on the surface level dimensions of the teaching act—i.e., cultural and technological objects that can capture students' attention—rather than the broader implicit ideologies that structure the essential characteristics of the teaching situation.

Several factors underlying Katya's consistent focus on immediate and non-ideological aspects of English learning emerged as she narrated her journey to an MA TESOL program during our first interview. Katya explained that her initial interest in teaching arose during her high school years in Europe. Because she was a native speaker of English, her friends frequently asked her for help with their English homework; while assisting them, she found that she derived great fulfillment from facilitating and observing their progress:

> I just noticed that some of my friends and peers were just [saying], "Hey, can you help me with English? I don't understand this. Hey, I am so lost." And I always thought, "Sure, why not?" And it [was] always something fun, something that I enjoyed doing … There's something so rewarding I think in helping other [people]… achieve the goals that they have set for themselves (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

Though Katya did not possess any formal training in language tutoring at that time, she reported that she could draw on her own bilingualism to anticipate her friends' difficulties and strategically determining tutoring approaches:

> I think definitely [being bilingual] helped because I could see where the other person's coming from. But also as I was studying other languages, the way that you're trained to think and to process language changes according to the person that you have [in] front of you, and also how you intake the information. So yeah, definitely, it had a big impact. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

Through these experiences, Katya had begun to move toward the critical validation of learners' L1 literacies as valuable resources for the acquisition of their L2.

After completing her undergraduate degree, Katya spent two years working for a multinational communications company. However, the lure of teaching remained prominent in her mind and eventually compelled her to take a position as an EFL instructor for a private company in China; her employer catered to junior high and high school students who sought additional English instruction, often for the purposes of gaining an advantage in China's extremely high stakes entrance exams.

Katya stated that this experience removed any lingering doubt about whether she wanted to devote herself to the teaching profession, and her comments about the nature of her work indicated that she had indeed cultivated a thorough understanding of the context. Nonetheless, she responded to my question about how she accessed the opportunity to work in China with a terse and oddly cryptic remark: "Everything just presented itself. I am not kidding you. Like when people say 'How did you [get the job?]' I was like 'It just showed up,' I was like 'Okay, let's go, let's try this'" (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012).

This statement raised the question of whether Katya had considered the influence of her own privilege as a native speaker of English in obtaining a teaching job abroad. This influence was likely to have been substantial, as numerous scholars (e.g., Kubota, 2011a; Nuske, 2014; Pillar & Takahashi, 2006) have contended that native instructors are lucrative commodities for attracting potential students in Asian locales due to the circulation of discourses lauding their desirability and superiority. Whether Katya was unaware of her advantages in this regard or merely neglected to acknowledge them, her remarks reflected a problematic penchant for accepting situations at face value rather than interrogating their implicit origins.

This penchant appeared to extend to Katya's interpretations of the behaviors exhibited by her students, though in fairness it should be emphasized that she also expressed great concern and empathy for the various struggles they encountered. Commenting on her interactions with Chinese students, Katya again foregrounded the rewards reaped from helping them to work past their initial apprehensions and gradually gain confidence when speaking in English:

> You know, just … seeing the kid come in the first day meeting you and being terrified … and then by the end of a couple weeks you just see them relaxed, talking, it's such a rewarding experience also for you as an individual as you're helping them. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

For Katya, her students' accomplishments were all the more remarkable considering the intense social and familial pressures towards academic achievement to which they were routinely subjected and the overbearing workloads inflicted upon them:

They have expectations of themselves and of course then the parents also have [expectations] cuz it's normal, it's their [children's] education … also the students are getting that from the schools in China: "You have to get here, to this level," and they're like "Really? After all the other … homework that I have." (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

Katya was sympathetically attuned to immediately apparent consequences of her students' burdens such as fatigue, reticence and embarrassment: "I know they have a billion classes and a lot of homework and when they come to the class they're just exhausted and they look at you like 'please don't do this to me right now.'" However, she did not appear to have pondered possible connections between these behaviors and more meaningful resistance to English learning as a social practice through which they were forcibly positioned into existing hierarchies of prestige and power. As such, her recommended tactics for bolstering student motivation were largely limited to basic expressions of encouragement and assurances of future benefits to their study:

I think always liked to go with positive reinforcement with the students … just to keep reinforcing [by saying] "Hey, good job" or "You may think right now that this is not useful, but along the way whenever you work" you know just giving them long term goals whatever you do in your life, you might use it. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

A more critical approach, by contrast, might have focused on empowering students to discern, explicitly decry, and perhaps even subvert the social circumstances of their alienation.

Despite Kayta's generally unquestioning orientation to her EFL teaching experiences abroad, she did endorse the critical concept of scaffolding upon students' L1 resources rather than implementing a monolingual-normative approach:

> We want to use English in the classroom, right? But if [students] are looking at you and … they have this blank stare and you are forced to use their language to … to bridge them across, I don't see anything bad in that, I think it's just another useful tool … to clarify what they're not understanding. (Interview 1, Sept 6, 2012)

Because this particular perspective has clear connections to Kayta's own bilingualism, questions can again be raised about whether she expressed sensitivity to only those aspects of the language learning phenomenon that accorded with her own experiences; a corollary to this tendency was that she remained largely oblivious to those aspects from which she was exempted by her own privilege. Such a selective filtering method would explain Katya's overarching goal for language teaching, which was admirable but by her own admission "very idealistic" in its emphasis on achieving profound contentment: "And ultimately everything … should lead … to the ideal fulfillment and happiness for both the student and the teacher. When that is attained, I believe that both have a good basis for learning."

In sum, the viewpoints described above constituted a pre-instruction understanding of criticality that was surprisingly limited when considered against Katya's firsthand experiences with the benefits of bilingualism and extensive exposure to various international contexts. When I met Katya for our second interview approximately three months later, I found that this trend continued, as her characterizations of the critical ideas taught in TESOL 500 were somewhat reductive: she often focused on surface level classroom implications of course readings while glossing over their expressly political dimensions, thus greatly

reducing their potential to transform her fundamental philosophies of teaching. This trend was evidenced as Katya discussed Kumaravavidelu (2006); Park (2009); and Pennycook (1996), the articles that she stated had made the strongest impression on her.

Regarding Kumaravavidelu's (2006) piece on postmethod, Katya understood the author's points about the inappropriateness of universalized teaching approaches in light of the immense global diversity of learner populations and the need to imbue non-native speakers with a sense of linguistic ownership:

> I think [Kumaravavidelu] really points to the fact that … in the field of TESOL you face challenges that maybe in another subject wouldn't be as evident because you have people from different backgrounds coming together and … they have to express themselves in a language that perhaps is not theirs and how do they make it theirs? (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

Though accurate to a certain extent, Katya's interpretation of the author's text diminished the critical imperative at the heart of a postmethod approach: namely, to contest the ideological dominance exerted by Western, native speaker-centric institutions in creating teaching approaches and exporting them to the periphery, often at considerable profit. The possibilities she perceived for applying postmethod, therefore, did not extend far beyond vague postulations on the relationship between motivation and unspecified contextual factors:

> One thing that transpired through my other readings is also the importance of motivation and how … the way that [teachers] create an atmosphere sets the whole stage on how the learners will experience the learning process. So I think that also has

to do with context and it kind of touches back on [Kumaravavidelu's] point of view. (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

Missing from this commentary is the awareness that subjugated populations cannot make English their own through concerted study alone; they must rather wrest agency from social and educational systems designed to confine them to perpetual inferiority.

Katya offered a similar response to Park's (2009) piece on the influence of gendered identity roles in the professional development of an East Asian ESL teacher. She stated that it was "fascinating" to hear a feminist perspective on practitioner identity and commented that the article prompted her to consider how language study is bound with a larger redefinition of self in society:

Whenever somebody goes and studies a language [they're] not just studying the language … and not just from a feminist perspective or female's perspective but I think any learner … kind of put themselves in the center and they question themselves and their identity. (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

Further development of Katya's nascent critical consciousness in this regard, however, seemed to be preempted by a reversion to her preexisting, depoliticized conception of learner motivation. In the comments that immediately followed, she acknowledged the highly individualized nature of the learning phenomenon: "I mean that's the core thing about this course it shows us how any learner that comes to … learning English as a second language … [brings] a different set of motivations, different interests." However, she then segued into generalizations that briskly explained away instances of oppositional behavior among teenage learners: "and I think it is normal for a teenager to be like 'I don't want to learn this. Why am I learning this?' you know it's very normal." By positing resistance as a natural

421

stage in the maturation process, Katya yet again disregarded the possibility of more substantive and politically motivated opposition to the ideological character of the teaching situation.

Perhaps most telling was Katya's commentary on Pennycook's (1996) article, which traces the origins of plagiarism as a Western ideological construct and describes the alternative attitudes towards textual borrowing that may be held by non-Western students. As it happened, the topic of the text was directly related to a situation that arose during her ESL tutoring work at a local high school; she described counseling an angry Chinese student who had been reprimanded for copying and pasting content from the Internet into his own writing.

And actually this is something that kind of just happened last week with one of the students that I'm dealing with because he is Chinese and … he found something on the Internet and just attached it to a reflection that he was supposed to write. And he got detention. And then he comes over and he's like so mad and I tried to explain to him that in America, you can't do that … In China, … the teacher will let know you shouldn't do it but they won't reinforce it as much. But it was fascinating to see his anger and I tried to explain in America you can't do that. If you want to choose something, you have to cite it and so there's you could say that this kind of like um a big little elephant in the room when we're talking about Western and Western education when compared to the East you know? … He was like, "Why, why?" and so I said "You know this is something to learn from. Don't worry, you know it happens, but don't do it again." (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

Katya's analysis of the situation demonstrated a critical awareness of divergent cultural attitudes that stemmed from Pennycook's (1996) text along with her previous

teaching experiences in China. Moreover, her reported comments to the student characterized the incident of plagiarism in question as a misunderstanding rather than a deliberately dishonest or transgressive act. On the other hand, while statements such as "in America, you can't do that," express concepts that are doubtlessly crucial to the student's academic survival, they connote an implicit advocation of assimilation rather than subversion. In other words, Western citation practices and broader ideologies of knowledge as individual property are framed as value systems that students must accept and internalize rather than customs that they can enact in order to satisfy audience expectations while privately preserving their own principles. (This is an admittedly narrow distinction, but one that is significant when considered among previous instances in which Kayta did not see critical concepts through to their full fruition).

Sensing that Katya had drawn limited or inconsistent insights from course readings, I took a more direct approach and asked whether concepts from TESOL 500 had suggested any practical applications in her present tutoring or her intended future teaching context (i.e., an American university). Her vague and circuitous response indicated that, overall, a concrete pedagogical agenda remained elusive at that point in her professional development:

> That's a pretty good question. Well there are certain situations I think if we look at the general ideas, I think there are good points that can be applied in a classroom setting for sure. But then of course you have certain situations that are more delicate or you know have, should be considered on a case-by-case basis. But all in all I think they do at least allow you to reflect on issues that you could face as an ESL teacher. (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

This general uncertainty notwithstanding, Katya was able to draw on particular moments, such as Jean's in-class commentary on the pedagogical value of personal narratives (Field notes, Oct 4, 2012), to determine certain discrete possibilities for her future teaching. When I inquired about how she would approach a multicultural ESL classroom in an American university context, she emphasized her intention to utilize students' lived histories as starting points for the open exchange of culturally situated experiences and perspectives:

> I would ask each student to keep in mind that everybody brings something new to be taken into consideration and learned … I would hope that the students that come of course come with their cultural background and everything and their identities but I would hope that they would be able to exchange those identities and feel really comfortable in just developing their academic journey together basically … [because] what's more powerful than your journey? (Interview 2, Nov 29, 2012)

These thoughtful observations gave cause for hope that Katya will eventually glean more nuanced and thorough understandings of critical scholarship as well as gain the ability to apply its tenets in ways suitable for the unique demands of her teaching context. The items appearing on Katya's second concept map, however, spoke more to the reaffirmation of her pre-instruction beliefs than their amendment via the critical principles of Jean's course.
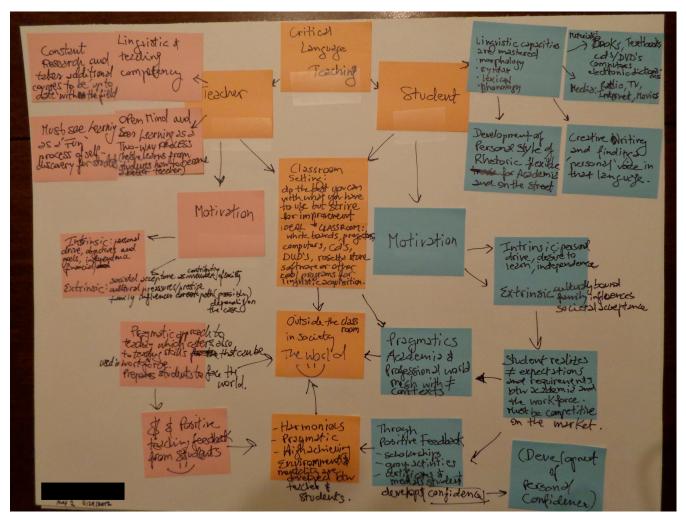
Figure 26. Katya's second concept map (created Nov 29, 2012).

This map is more detailed than its predecessor, containing 25 items as compared 21, and

much more elaborate in its description of the items included; whereas most items on the first

map contained just a few words and the longest item contained 10 words, 14 of the 25 items

on the second map contain 10 words or more, with the longest item containing 28 words.

Though the latter map is more meticulous, it retains the essential structure of the earlier map,

as Critical Language Teaching is divided into two primary subcomponents: "Teacher" and

"Student." This distinction was implicit on the first map, as one subcomponent ("Basic

Linguistic Knowledge of English and other students' language") detailed teachers' roles and

responsibilities, while the other ("Motivation/Desire") described those of students. Many of

items appearing on the second map are refined versions of notions appearing on the first. Consequently, nearly all of the item descriptions are more precise and inclusive, but only a few of them are more critical.

The teacher portion of the second map continues its predecessor's emphasis on the abilities and resources necessary to implement critical approaches. The item previously labeled "Basic linguistic knowledge" reappears as "Linguistic & Teaching Competency" and is now complimented by three additional dimensions of practitioner expertise: "Constant research and takes additional courses to be up to date with the field"; "Open mind and sees learning as a two-way process (he/she learns from students how to become a better teacher)"; and "Must see learning as a 'fun' process of self-discovery for students." Whereas the previous map defined the knowledge base of ESL/EFL teachers mainly in terms of metalinguistic fluency, the current map adds additional requirements, including state of the art praxis as cultivated through continual consultation of scholarship, the dispositional attributes of open-mindedness and receptiveness to feedback, and awareness of dimensions of the learning experience beyond utterances produced.

The latter map also echoes the first by foregrounding the concept of "Motivation," which is included in both the "Teacher" and "Student" clusters. While its component elements were formerly classified as "Internal" or "External," they are now separated into "Intrinsic: personal drive, objectives and goals, independence financial" and "Extrinsic: societal acceptance as contributing member of society, cultural pressures/prestige, family influences career path (possibly) depending on the case." By including "cultural pressures/prestige" among the "Extrinsic" factors, Katya has at last critically acknowledged the possibility of socially coercive aspects to the practice of English teaching. Additionally,

426

she has given credence to the notion that students' investment in learning English may lie with neither any inherent quality of the language itself nor the noble aim of self-enrichment, but rather the desire to obtain the status and privilege with which one is discursively imbued via English proficiency.

Yet, Katya's awareness that institutionalized English teaching sustained the stratification of society did not catalyze an advocacy agenda but rather the recommendation of a "pragmatic approach to teaching which caters also to teaching skills that can be used in [the] workforce" and "prepares students to face the world." Hence, the critical shift in the "motivation" portion of the map is counteracted by this invocation of the neoliberal ideology that one must make pragmatic concessions to the demands of labor markets in order to secure a stable future (Kubota, 2011b); this ideology is succinctly reiterated in the item "Student realizes expectations and requirements btw academic and the workforce. Must be competitive on the market." In articulating this critique, I am not espousing blanket opposition to the practice of teaching students marketable skills, but I do seek to question whether such a philosophy of education carries the potential consequence of inculcating unthinking obedience or cynical resignation to supposed "realities" of the existing order.

The "Student" portion of the second map has undergone a similar extent of expansion. While the initial map depicted the student experience solely in terms of motivation, the latter map features a cluster of four core aspects; these exhibit the tenuous coexistence of critical and uncritical orientations to interpreting the learning phenomenon: the item "linguistic capacities are mastered ·morphology ·syntax ·lexical ·phonology" displays a cognitivist bent, while "Materials: Books, textbooks, Cds/DVDs, computers, electronic dictionaries, "Media: Radio, TV, Internet [and] Movies" simply lists classroom

427

tools without commentary, thereby indicating an instrumental conception of traditional and technological resources. By contrast, the items "Development of Personal Style of Rhetoric flexible for Academia and on the street" and "Creative Writing and finding 'personal' voice in that language," are more in keeping with critical conceptions of language learning as a process that is highly individualized and agentively performed.

The "Teacher" and "Student" clusters converge in a column labeled "Classroom setting," which descends down the center of the map and serves as a final reaffirmation of Katya's apolitical perspectives on the acts of teaching and learning. The "Classroom setting" recommended on the map harkens back to a major tenet of Katya's pre-instruction understanding: idealistic exhortations grounded in assumptions of students' inherent motivation for learning—"do the best you can with what you have to use but strive for improvement." Furthermore, the notion of the "IDEAL CLASSROOM" is defined exclusively by the availability of technology such as "white boards, projectors, computers, Cds, DVDs, Rosetta Stone software or other cool programs for linguistic acquisition," thus obscuring the overriding pedagogical principles and intended outcomes of a critical approach. Finally, the map posits a system wherein reciprocal "positive feedback" between teachers and students will foster fulfillment within a "Harmonious, Pragmatic [and] High achieving Environment." As before, Katya has expressed teaching goals that are commendable in the scope of their ambition but romanticized to the point of potentially neglecting the shifting and inequitable dynamics of power in which instances of language teaching are inevitably situated.

Katya's decision to conclude her participation in my research after the second concept-mapping task prevented me from investigating whether she had attained more

consistently critical perspectives during her second semester. Nonetheless, her struggles to navigate beyond an early impasse in the development of her criticality raised numerous insights. First, substantial transformation of critical understanding cannot be assured on the grounds of fluency in academic English, the ability to effortlessly enact the habitus valued in American higher education, or direct experience with the benefits of bilingualism. Second, unquestioned privilege may constitute a factor powerful enough to singlehandedly cancel out the collective influence of these elements, as Katya's well-intentioned expressions of sympathy for the struggles of English language learners routinely lacked awareness of the ideological and political factors that may have been underlying observed instances of resistance.

Appendix L

Informed Consent Form (Faculty participant)

You are invited to participate in a research study. You are qualified to participate in this study because you will teach a Master of Arts (MA)-level course in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) during the Fall 2012 semester. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision of whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolds in an MA TESOL course. If you consent to serve as the faculty participant for the present study, you will be required to participate in the following data collection procedures: 1) allowing me to observe each class session and take field notes on classroom events such as the statements, actions, and behaviors of yourself and your students; 2) discussing your conception of criticality as it relates to language teaching and your critical course objectives in an interview with me before the course begins; and 3) providing copies of relevant course documents such as the course syllabus, lesson plans, and assignments and their assignment criteria. Participating in the interview will take approximately 45 minutes.

With your permission, I would like to audio-record our interview so that I can have an accurate record of what occurred. Then, I will transcribe the recordings and send you the transcriptions so that you will be able to check whether the translations accurately match your statements. The collected data will be saved in a file and locked in a cabinet. If you do not wish for your meetings to be audio-recorded, I will only take notes during the interview session. Please indicate below whether or not you give permission to audio-record the meetings.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigators or the institution that you belong to. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence. The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below and take the extra-unsigned copy with you.

Researcher:	Project Director:
Kyle Nuske	Dr. David Hanauer
Ph.D Candidate	Professor
Composition and TESOL Program	Composition and TESOL Program
English Department	English Department
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Leonard Hall 110   Leonard Hall 215D
421 North Walk   421 North Walk
Indiana, PA 15705   Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-357-9123   Phone: 724-357-2274
E-mail: K.Nuske@iup.edu   E-mail: Hanauer@iup.edu

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Signature

Date

Phone number or location where you can be reached

Best days and times to reach you

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

_____
Date   Investigator's Signature

431

Appendix M

Informed Consent Form (Student participants)

You are invited to participate in a research study. You are qualified to participate in this study because you are enrolled in a Master of Arts (MA)-level course in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) during the Fall 2012 semester. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision of whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the teaching and learning of critical ideas unfolds in an MA TESOL course. If you consent to serve as a student participant for the present study, you will be required to participate in the following data collection procedures: 1) meeting with me to participate in concept-mapping tasks on three separate occasions (before the course or shortly after the first course meeting; at the conclusion of the course; and three to six months after the conclusion of the course). During each meeting, you will create a map of the concept of "critical language teaching" and then explain your map to me. 2) Participating in two interviews with me. The first interview will take place before the course or shortly after the first class session. During this interview, you will be asked to discuss your personal experiences with language learning, perspectives on language teaching, and goals for graduate study. The second interview will take place around the midpoint of the semester. During this interview, you will be asked to reflect on significant classroom events and critical concepts taught in the course.

With your permission, I would like to audio-record our interviews and photograph your concept maps so that I can have an accurate record of what occurred. Then, I will transcribe the recordings and send you the transcriptions so that you will be able to check whether the translations accurately match your statements. The collected data will be saved in a file and locked in a cabinet. If you do not wish for your interviews to be audio-recorded, I will only take notes during the interview session. Please indicate below whether or not you give permission to audio-record the meetings.

Your participation in this study is <u>voluntary</u>. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with the investigators or the institution that you belong to. Your decision of whether or not to participate will not affect your course grade in any way. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence. The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below and take the extra-unsigned copy with you.

Researcher: Project Director:
Kyle Nuske   Dr. David Hanauer

Ph.D Candidate   Professor
Composition and TESOL Program   Composition and TESOL Program
English Department   English Department
Indiana University of Pennsylvania   Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Leonard Hall 110   Leonard Hall 215D
421 North Walk   421 North Walk
Indiana, PA 15705   Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-357-9123   Phone: 724-357-2274
E-mail: K.Nuske@iup.edu   E-mail: Hanauer@iup.edu

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

Informed Consent Form (continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Signature

Date

Phone number or location where you can be reached

Best days and times to reach you

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

_____
Date   Investigator's Signature

433