English Language Teachers' Pre-Service Identity Constructions:

A Narrative-Focused Critical Ethnography

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Abstract

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Over the last few decades, there has been an enormous increase in scholarship attending to the ways social concerns shape ontologies of language and subsequently our understandings of language acquisition. Given the increasing awareness that language is always a socially situated, local practice, the importance of attending to the ways that power dynamics impact language learning can hardly be overstated. This is particularly true in the field of English Language Teaching, as the current, global demand for English is the direct result of centuries of colonial conquest and tightly connected to ongoing colonial legacies. While the theoretical support for the need to decolonize English Language Teaching is quite robust, much research is

still required to help language teachers and language teacher educators put such theory into practice.

In this critical ethnographic study, I contribute to this research need through a "small story" approach to oral interactional data, an approach which attends to the form and context of narrative productions in addition to the content. I utilize tools from the traditions of Discourse Analysis and Narrative Analysis to examine the discursive identity productions of five pre-service English language teachers over the course of their MATESOL degree program. I use collected textual artifacts, classroom observations, and faculty interviews to determine the manner in which social justice discourse was presented to my participants and to better situate the way my participants position themselves regarding this discourse in the conversational narratives I collected from them during individual and group interviews.

My findings have implications for English language teacher education and critical language pedagogy, as I detail the ways that institutional structures and hegemonic ideologies posed obstacles to my participants' adoption of socially transformative teacher identities and thus to their practical application of more socially just English language pedagogy. I offer particular attention to the potential hindrances posed by dichotomous understandings of theory and practice, the unaddressed emotional labor of critical pedagogy, metanarratives surrounding the politics of social justice education, neoliberal influences on teaching circumstances, and the excessively narrow, non-intersectional positioning of English-learning students.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABE	Adult Basic Education
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSU	Cascade State University (pseudonym)
DA	Discourse Analysis
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
IEP	Intensive English Program
KPD	Key Program Discourse
LTE	Language Teacher Education
LTI	Language Teacher Identity
MATESOL	Master's in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
NNS	"Non-native" Speaker
NNST	"Non-native" Speaker Teacher
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLTE	Second Language Teacher Education
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

CAPITAL	words articulated louder than surrounding text
0 0	words within these symbols are articulated softer than surrounding text
Bold	words articulated with greater prosodic emphasis than surrounding text
::	indicates stretched out elongation of preceding sound
↑	indicates rising intonation
↓	indicates falling intonation
< >	words within these symbols are articulated at a slower pace than surrounding text
> <	words within these symbols are articulated at a quicker pace than surrounding text
(.)	indicates a short pause, less than one second
(…)	indicates a pause of a few seconds
[…]	indicates a portion of the transcript has been removed
[ ]	indicates overlapping speech
{ }	indicates words replaced or added for anonymity or clarity
(( ))	used for author notes (for example, to indicate elements like a laughing tone or to make comments about the nature of the articulation, etc.)
<u>Underlined</u>	indicates which words are affected by (( )) author notes

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this project, I examine the salient programmatic discourses provided to pre-service language teachers in a Master of Arts for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (MATESOL) degree program and the ways these discourses were embraced, reproduced, resisted, or adapted by these student-teachers in their own oral and written discourse over the course of their degree. I take a critical, ethnographic approach to this project, focusing on the way my participants discursively construct their beliefs, positions, and identities in their narrative productions. As I explain in more detail later in this chapter, my analyses of these narrative productions include attention to the unified content of the stories (the traditional domain of "big story" research) as well as to the situated context and form of smaller-scale narrative devices. Attending to context and form in this way has been referred to as "small story" narrative research (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2007).

This project was first conceived during my own time as a MATESOL student and given shape and direction during my later reflections on this time during my PhD coursework. Shortly after completing my MATESOL degree, I took a discourse analysis seminar alongside current MATESOL students during the Spring Term of 2016. My situation was close enough to my MATESOL classmates that their program was much in my thoughts, and I often felt like I was a part of their group. However, being two-years removed, in a different degree program, and not having been a part of my classmates' cohort gave me more of an outsider's critical distance. As part of my work for this seminar, I was required to collaborate on various projects and the process of this collaboration revealed a great diversity of responses to the social justice elements of the class. This observation led me to focus, in my final project for this seminar, on the way that current and former MATESOL students performed their understanding of the construct of "linguistic imperialism" and how they constructed their identities as language teachers in relation to this construct. While working on this project, a current MATESOL student told me quite bluntly (outside the interview context) that he did not really believe in any of this stuff (the need to attend to the social aspects of English Language Teaching (ELT)) and that he was just doing what he had to do to get a good grade. Some other MATESOL students expressed a radical commitment to decolonizing TESOL, and several

found themselves in-between, articulating a balance between their ideological aspirations and their practical circumstances.

My own thoughts on the socially situatedness of language teaching and the connections between colonialism, neoliberalism, race, and linguistic nativeness had changed enormously in the time between my undergraduate education and the beginning of my PhD coursework, as had my understandings of my identity as a teacher. While there were surely a large number of variables at play in my own shifting identity constructions, I felt that the time of my MATESOL degree played a significant role in sedimenting certain aspects of my teacher identity. It was surely not by coincidence that my beliefs, attitudes, and identity performances were now more aligned with those promoted by the MATESOL program. Observing moments such as my peer's confessed lack of concern for social issues, moments where teacher-candidates narratively perform a resistance to (or an alteration or adoption of) their degree program's discourse on social justice, encouraged me to continue reflecting on my own identity constructions as a MATESOL student and increased my interest in studying the process of language teacher identity construction, particularly in light of the potentially identity-defining discourses offered student-teachers[1] by their degree program.

My doctoral coursework thus scaffolded the realization that my pedagogical beliefs surrounding social justice were inextricably connected in complex ways to the time I had spent in this MATESOL program, and this realization fortuitously came while witnessing firsthand the confusions, dilemmas and struggles that current MATESOL students were undergoing as they tried to come to grips with the critically oriented nature of their program. The longer I thought about these issues the stronger my conviction grew that these questions warranted deeper and more focused attention. My dissertation project is a direct result of these initial thoughts.

In the following sections, I briefly situate this project in the local university site, introduce the participants, and lay out the multi-layered research questions that informed my study. Extended descriptions of the site, participant, and data collection and analytical procedures are provided in Chapter 2. I follow these introductory comments with an in-depth discussion of the scholarship that informed this

[1] I have commonly referred to my participants as pre-service "student-teachers" or "candidate teachers." However, I also sometimes refer to them as "novice teachers" or "early career teachers," depending on context.

project, beginning with a broad look at major trends in social justice discourse in the field of TESOL. I then proceed to discuss the recent history of Second Language Teacher Education (SLTE), the role of identity in SLTE, and the use of narrative-based research methods in studying Language Teacher Identity (LTI). After addressing each of these areas in turn, I conclude with a brief description of my own positionality as relevant to the collection and analysis of the data used herein.

1.1 Situating This Project

This research was undertaken in the Pacific Northwest of the United States at a large, public university, which I refer to by the pseudonym: Cascade State University (CSU). Eight CSU MATESOL students, most of the 2017 cohort, participated, and five students from this group permitted me to observe their teaching over multiple class sessions, thus becoming my focal participants (Chiara, Huck, Kevin, Liz, and Sync[2]). As I explain in greater detail in Chapter 2, I gathered data from several sources, including classroom observations of my participants in their roles as both teachers and students, individual and group interviews with my participants and their MATESOL program instructors and mentors, and textual artifacts (for instance, my participants' homework assignments, teaching journals, syllabi, etc.) Data was analyzed using an eclectic set of analytical tools, principally from the traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Narrative Analysis.

1.1.1 Research Questions

As discussed in this chapter's introduction, this project began with my increasing interest in the connections between LTI, SLTE, and social justice in ELT. As a number of qualitative researchers have recommended (see, for example, Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Heath & Street, 2008; Wolcott (2008), I generated an initial list of research questions, but allowed these to evolve as the research proceeded. As I collected data, certain questions became more "substantively relevant" and "answerable" (Duff, 2008) than others. For example, I was initially interested in exploring how my participants' involvement in this research itself impacted their professional identity formation. However, most of the data I collected was helpful in evaluating their degree program's role in their identity formation and not particularly rich in meta-information about the research itself. When asked explicitly about their experiences as participants

[2] All names are pseudonyms.

in the research, my participants' answers were uniformly brief comments on how they enjoyed the opportunity to get together as a community and to discuss class-related issues. I realized that more fully answering such a question would involve significant additions to my research (essentially conducting research on my research) and so this question was dropped. In the end, I narrowed my key questions to the following:

1) What are the most salient or "key" social-justice discourses promoted by the CSU MATESOL program?
    a. How are these Key Program Discourses (KPDs) presented to MATESOL students?
    b. What teacher identity or identities are promoted through these KPDs?

2) How do the CSU MATESOL program students respond to Key Program Discourses?
    a. What moments of discursive alignment and/or discursive misalignment between the KPDs and CSU MATESOL students' discursive performances can be identified?
    b. How do the CSU MATESOL students construct their identities in relation to the KPDs in their speech, writing, and teaching?

3) What circumstances are relevant to the CSU MATESOL students' adoption of, adaptation of, or resistance to the KPDs?
    a. What are the most significant contributing factors in the CSU MATESOL students' discursive alignment with the KPDs?
    b. What are the chief obstacles contributing to CSU MATESOL students' discursive misalignment with the KPDs?

4) What pedagogical implications for language teacher education programs are suggested by the key findings from this study?

At the broadest level, I wanted to conduct research that would contribute to answering the following over-arching question: How does someone become an English language teacher who considers social justice a significant part of their profession? While bringing greater social justice to the field of TESOL has been important for some time, recent research has increasingly revealed the immense importance of teacher identity in this endeavor. The following sections serve, respectively, to situate my study amongst the scholarly discussion of social justice work in the field of TESOL and to explain the value of the narrative analyses I conduct here for illuminating the role of identity in this social justice work.

1.2 Social Justice and Decolonizing TESOL

ELT, according to Pennycook (1998), is doubly bound to European colonial history, as it "not only rode on the back of colonialism to the distant corners of the Empire but was also in turn produced by that voyage" (p. 19). For Pennycook, colonialism produced the discourses of "self" and "other" that altered the thinking of both the colonizers and the colonized (p. 19), and these discourses have had the tendency to "adhere" to English teaching (p. 5). So, despite the fact that many of the most overt aspects of colonial control appear to have ended, colonial patterns of thought remain, often invisibly (Motha, 2014, p. 29), in the discourses of English language teaching. Such patterns can be observed, for example, in the tendency to devalue local teaching practices in non-Western countries (Chowdhury & Phan, 2008; Ramanathan, 2006) and in the essentializing and othering of non-English speaking cultures (Kubota, 1999).

Attitudes towards language, like attitudes towards race, bear the mark of colonial self/other dialectics. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see language grouped with race and land of origin as mutually reinforcing constituents of ethnic or national identity (May, 2008; Pavlenko, 2001). Additionally, the colonial tendency of ranking races, with Northern Europeans imagining themselves at the top of a global racial hierarchy (Dyer, 1997), is mirrored in a ranking of languages, with English often being ranked as a better language for gender equality in romantic relationships (Piller & Takahashi, 2006), as the best language for rational thought (Canagarajah, 2013a; Pavlenko, 2001), and, despite much evidence to the contrary, as the language best suited for a country's economic development, (May, 2008; Prendergast, 2008; Widin, 2010). In this way, Whiteness and the English language, constructed at the top of Eurocentric colonial taxonomies, continue to promulgate colonial dominance through their discursive

inertia, even in the material absence of much of the original colonial structure in which they were refined – a situation that has been referred to as “coloniality” (Maldonado-Torres, 2010).

Given that in many places it is now unacceptable to openly discriminate based on race, linguistic discrimination has become a more tolerable form of discrimination (Lippi-Green, 1997), a form of discrimination that is, in turn, often informed by conceptions of race. Indeed, examples of language used as a covert means of racial discrimination abound in the literature, with “standard English” being used to discriminate against, for example, Chicanas/os (Yosso, 2013), native Hawaiians (Wiley, 2013), people from the Caribbean (Nero, 2005) and African Americans (Young, 2014). Additionally, although language is perceived to be much more malleable than race, the degree to which most people are able to change their language, or even their accent, is in reality quite limited (Lippi-Green, 1997).

One aspect of racism that is particularly salient in the field of TESOL is in the nearly ubiquitous discrimination against teachers who are considered “Non-native” speakers of English (NNSTs). The “Native Speaker Fallacy,” or the fallacious notion that the best teachers of English are those for whom English was their first and “native language,” was first given widespread academic attention by Phillipson (1992) and, despite the scholarly understanding that “nativeness” is neither a reliable measure of language proficiency (Cook, 1999) nor linguistically acceptable (Moussu & Llurda, 2008), and in spite of the well-documented list of injustices and negative effects caused by the NNST construct (Braine, 1999; Holliday, 2015; Quach, Jo, & Urrieta, 2009) the notion that “nativeness” is an important, or even the most important quality in an English language teacher is persistent and pervasive (Kumaravadivelu, 2016).

Although one’s “nativeness” in speech is often perceived as a purely linguistic category, the scholarship on this topic provides abundant examples of the ways that “nativeness,” like language itself, is linked to the construct of “race.” For example, Rubin (1992) demonstrated how the same oral production is often heard as native or non-native depending on the perceived race of the speaker, and Purnell, Isardi, and Baugh (1999) found that racially coded dialects could be distinguished on the phone more than 70% of the time (p. 22). Qualitative research likewise shows a general consensus that one’s “nativeness” in English is connected to one’s Whiteness (Amin, 1999; Curtis & Romney, 2006; Motha, Jain, & Tecle, 2012; Moussu & Llurda, 2008).

While hierarchical, modernist notions of racial and linguistic difference have resulted in the continuance of marginalizing, colonial notions of the self and the other within TESOL in what could be called an immaterial or discursive residue of colonialism (with very material effects), market forces have worked to continue unequal colonial relations in a directly material way (Harvey, 2005). Whether it is the British Council arguing that Britain's "real black gold is not North Sea oil but the English language" and that the goal is to "exploit it to the full" (qtd. in Phillipson, 1992, p. 49), or the recruiting brochures for Intensive English Programs (IEPs) which treat students as consumers and education as a commodity (Chun, 2009), or governments promoting communicative language teaching to produce a workforce that "can meet the desires of global capitalism" (Motha & Lin, 2014, p. 348), the many and varied links between TESOL and capitalism are overtly acknowledged, both by the supporters of such links[3] and by their detractors (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012; Canagarajah, 1999).

The last several decades have seen the steady rise and diffusion of a "neoliberal" brand of capitalism across the globe. The tenets of neoliberalism include the belief that people are autonomous, rational individuals working in their own self-interest with little or no meaningful obligation to society as a whole, and thus government interference in free market economies should be kept to a minimum (Harvey, 2005). Likewise, public services in general are considered wasteful and inefficient, and so neoliberal-minded policy makers seek the privatization of such services, including schools.

This general trend towards privatizing the educational process and treating the English language as a commodity increases the chances that English language teaching will exacerbate rather than reduce social inequalities. The colorblind, impersonal, and depoliticized curriculum that has the most currency and the least controversy in the neoliberal market masks the political, personal, and racist realities of education (Apple, 1999). Classroom materials often "originate in the highly marketized commercial sector" (Gray, 2012, p. 108) and because of this, the norms guiding mass-produced textbooks are almost invariably the norms of the predominantly White "native-speakers" who produce them (Canagarajah, 1999), the diversity of the English used in such materials is curtailed (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), the material is often culturally foreign to the students using the textbooks (Chowdhury & Phan, 2008) or

[3] See, for example, the British Council as already mentioned (Phillipson, 1992, p. 49) and standardized testing services such as ETS (Phillipson, 2008, p. 10-11)

stripped of all meaningful culture (Gray, 2012), the depictions of people of color are either absent or negative (Chacon, 2010) and these texts therefore "reflect legacies of colonialism and imperialism which privilege White European knowledge and epistemologies" (Kubota & Lin, 2009, p. 14).[4] Likewise, a commercialized emphasis on teacher recruitment has the tendency to reinforce racist and linguicist patterns of thought, as White native speakers are prioritized in hiring (Ruecker & Ives, 2015) and then themselves marketed to students, reinforcing students' stereotypical desire for White "native speaker" teachers as the best teachers of English (Amin, 1997).

This last point speaks to the extent to which an individual's own desires can be shifted and shaped by larger social mechanisms. Commercial advertising, for example, is premised on the notion that desires can be created and shaped in the interest of greater profits. While individuals are certainly not helpless or mindless, they are at a disadvantage when we deny the influence on their desires of the people around them, the institutions in which they work or study, and the nations in which they live (Motha & Lin, 2014). The neocolonial hegemony of the market, for example, is certainly a desire-shaped but also a desire-shaping force within TESOL, as students respond to capital's need for a flexible, English-speaking workforce, and English language programs respond to students' desires by marketing their programs as fulfillment of those desires, up to and including romantic desires (Piller & Takahashi, 2006). Students' desire for the English language is often tightly connected to their desire to gain an advantage in employment, and even teachers are increasingly seeing ELT as a culture of entrepreneurship (Thornbury, 2010). Colonial relations have given the world a legacy of hierarchical arrangement of peoples and languages, a hierarchy of economic clout where former colonial powers retain, for the most part, the economic upper hand when dealing with their former colonies, and with the constructs of "whiteness" "masculinity" and "English-speaking Nativeness" at the top. When this legacy is ignored, the "purely instrumental" teaching of English for profit is far more likely to support this discriminatory status quo than work against it.

The traditional colonial project depended on static, reified, modernist notions of race and language (Taylor, 2006), and so some scholars have turned to postmodernist, poststructuralist

[4] See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.2 for a specific example of the coloniality of English Language textbooks as it manifested during this research.

theorizations of these constructs as a way to level these inherited racial and linguistic hierarchies. Examples of this include efforts to highlight the performative nature of identity, with some scholars building on Judith Butler's work in the early 1990's on the performative character of gender identity (e.g., Butler, 1990). Moving from the static categories of race and non-native-speaker to the verbs "enrace" (Mahboob, 2006) and "non-native speakering" (Aneja, 2016) is one way to disrupt the essentializing and "fixed" nature of these identity categories which greatly contribute to the social inequities produced by them (Lin, 2008). Likewise, work has been done to move us away from the notion that proficiency in a single dominant code such as "standard" English is the most desirable educational outcome and towards a more "plurilingual" attitude to language learning (Canagarajah, 2012; Nero, 2005) as well as towards a multicultural rather than a monocultural ideal for language teachers (Bartolome, 2004). Arguments have also been made in favor of disrupting traditional classroom hierarchies and encouraging more learner autonomy (see, for example, Chowdhury, 2003).

Each of these attempts to disrupt colonial patterns through postmodern theorizations and breaks with classroom traditions, however, can potentially be made to promote neoliberal and neocolonial relations. As Lin (2008) has observed, flexible, shifting identities are susceptible to manipulation by mass media. Similarly, Flores (2013) and Kubota (2016) have commented on the ease with which the socially liberating motivations behind the work of scholars advocating for plurilingualism and multiculturalism can be co-opted and subverted by corporations looking for human capital with linguistic and cultural competencies that can be put to use for corporate profit rather than for social justice. Schmenk (2005) has similarly observed that the kind of learner autonomy that is best suited for global dispersion is precisely the kind that has had its "critical edges" (p.114) cut off and is thus least likely to inspire reflection on social injustices and more likely, because of its perceived cultural neutrality, to be infused with meanings that reflect the economic and managerial discourse that is now so dominant (p. 115).

A major benefit of a fluid, multi-faceted, postmodern conception of identity, however, is that it highlights the problems with efforts to improve society that focus on just one identity category (i.e., race, class, gender). One's language is at once an identity category and the medium through which other identity categories are constructed, and thus identity categories gain meaning in symbolic relation to one another and cannot be conceived as discrete and separate (Fishman, 1999; Ibrahim, 2009). Thus, the

process of second language learning and socialization is very likely to involve a reconstruction of one's racial, gendered, and class-based identity (Pavlenko, 2001). This line of thinking is crucial for TESOL scholars working to fight neocolonial oppression, for, as critical race scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (2009) has articulated, one problem with identity politics is that it "frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (p. 213). Crenshaw (2009) uses the term "intersectionality" as a lens to explore how black women, for example, are further marginalized by an anti-racism which neglects the gendered differences in racism and by a feminism which neglects the racial differences in the oppression of women. Although Crenshaw is by no means the first to think along these lines—Brah and Phoenix (2009) offer Sojourner Truth's speech at the 1851 Women's Rights Convention as an early example of intersectional thought—the term "intersectionality" concisely describes the insistence from a number of education scholars that the links between different identity categories should not be ignored (Kubota & Lin, 2009; Leki, Cumming, & Silva, 2008; Luke, 2009). An intersectional framework is, for Luke (2009), necessary for activist scholars who wish to outpace oppressive entities which can themselves "evolve" to "repressively tolerate diversity," enervating liberatory approaches that are unidimensional (p. 288).

Even when they acknowledge the need for an intersectional approach, however, some scholars still grant primacy to certain identity categories, such as race (Dyer, 1997) and class (Block, Gray, & Holborrow, 2012). Steven May (2008) offers a workable solution for such differences, arguing that each individual has many different facets of his or her identity, but that particular situations dictate the salience of each of these. May's argument that the salience of one's identity is dependent on one's local situation, in addition to being practical in its flexibility, is an acknowledgement that a postmodern resistance to the grand narratives of modernist colonialism cannot, in any specific way, claim for itself a unitary, grand narrative of resistance. It is for this reason that many scholars seek to legitimize local practices and locally produced knowledge in their efforts to combat the neocolonial effects of unbridled capitalism and racist and linguicist discourses.

One of the ways that scholars have expressed a need for more recognition of the "local" is by acknowledging that meaningful "context sensitive pedagogic knowledge" can only come from the classroom, and that it is "the practicing teacher" who is best placed to "produce and apply that knowledge" (Kumaravadivelu, 2012a, p. x). This move within TESOL mirrors scholarly efforts within

education more broadly to recognize and incorporate the classroom teacher as a producer rather than simply as a consumer of theory (Johnson & Golombek, 2002) and goes hand-in-hand with calls to break away from the fascination with methods-based ELT (Canagarajah, 2002; Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, and Mehdi (2005) have argued that the acronym TESOL itself, as a discursive artifact, is complicit in the othering of coloniality and in the imposition of a "coercive monologue" imposed by the powerful on the weak (p. 214). They propose instead TEGCOM (Teaching English for Glocalised Communication), a more dialogical framework wherein it is acknowledged that language teaching is a sociocultural act, a situated and potent local performance, influenced by powerful global forces, but not entirely beholden to such forces.[5]

Another way that scholars have been working for "the local" is by recognizing the larger cultural forces which work to interpellate students into potentially constraining, pre-existing identity categories (Ibrahim, 1999) and by offering students texts drawn from a variety of linguistic and cultural areas, especially those that are relevant to the students' own lives and those, like hip hop and youth culture, that are not normally valued in schools (Alim, 2007)—all in the interest of providing them with the resources to imagine and create more "empowering identities" than those which schools normally impose on students (Lin, 2008, p. 216).

A significant and expanding movement in recent applied linguistics scholarship has been the call to view language itself as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010). A number of partially distinct, partially overlapping terms have been offered to describe efforts to "disinvent" the commonsense notion of languages as static, discrete systems that exist outside of actual language use (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Young (2014) has promoted "code-meshing," Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue in favor of "translanguaging," and Canagarajah (2009) has pushed for a move to "plurilingualism." These approaches can all be considered aspects of "translingualism," an "umbrella term" (Canagarajah, 2013a, p. 9) that describes an approach to language that does not automatically view linguistic differences against a static, universal standard to assign correctness or error, but rather as sources for "meaning making" in diverse and particular circumstances (Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011, p. 303-305).

[5] I am ideologically in favor of TEGCOM but have chosen to use TESOL in this dissertation solely out of consideration for its common currency.

What is significant about much translingual scholarship for the purpose of this project is its activist motivations. Translingual approaches have been proposed, at least in part, to combat the social inequities that arise from the coloniality of monolingual language policies (Canagarajah, 2013b). A translingual approach is, at root, an attempt to make transparent and resist the "epistemic violence," or the denial of alternate ways of understanding language, inflicted on subaltern others by monolingual discourses (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). As such, the task of promoting translingualism is simultaneously also a project of decolonization, where priority is given to the needs of "individual language users and learners, rather than to those in power" (Bou Ayash, 2014, p. 127).

Ultimately, the emphasis on the local in TESOL is a corrective to the coloniality of globally potent discourses, but it cannot simply be a "naïve" celebration of "sterile forms of resistance" if it hopes to change the practical, discriminatory realities of ELT (Canagarajah, 2016, p. 75). Furthermore, as Canagarajah (2005) has observed, the powerful hegemony of the "global" is in fact merely the "local" forms of knowledge indigenous to European communities exported via the modernist project of spreading enlightenment (domination) around the world (p. 6) and the postmodernist response, as we have seen above with the co-optation of multiculturalism and plurilingualism, can become a similarly local, Euro-centric project which no longer suppresses difference, but which appropriates difference in a strategy to "carry out the interests of the status quo" (p. 8).

In the final analysis, no universal response can be given to address globalizing hegemonies in TESOL. Indeed, even postmodern (Canagarajah, 2005) and critical (Ellsworth, 1989) responses to inequity can themselves become a form of neocolonialism. Canagarajah (2005) suggests that instead of privileging local linguistic knowledge as a valuable product from within the existing, hierarchical episteme, a process that shifts but does not disrupt existing structures of inequality (Bourdieu, 1991), TESOL professionals who are interested in decolonizing their profession need to see local knowledge as a contingent and evolving "*process,*" a shift to locally relevant epistemology as well as to local knowledge (p. 13). This call is echoed by Kumaravadivelu (2012b) who argues that we need an "epistemic break" in TESOL (p. 14), a new understanding and "reconceptualization" of knowledge production.

Such an epistemic break, however, cannot be achieved through the efforts of isolated teachers and scholars. The measure of success in decolonizing ELT must be concrete results that go beyond the

passive "intellectual elaboration" of *traditional intellectuals* and in order to achieve this, there is a need for the collective action of *organic intellectuals*[6] (Kumaravadivelu, 2016). The need for greater social justice in TESOL is clear, and, as has been discussed above, the strategies for addressing this need are necessarily various. Whether one is working to center teacher knowledge, to offer more powerful identity options to the marginalized, or to promote translingual pedagogies, the "intellectual elaboration" of *traditional* intellectuals, a necessary first step, has progressed apace. The challenge now is to create the conditions for concrete, collective action. Second Language Teacher Education (SLTE) must therefore prepare teachers who can work actively and collectively towards greater social justice and the decolonization of TESOL. The following section will explain in detail how an attention to language teachers' narratively produced identities can contribute to this effort.

1.3 Second Language Teacher Education and Identity

Theories of Second Language Teacher Education, like theories of language, have, over millennia, shifted one way or another according to the influence of the general political and philosophical climate (Pennycook, 1989). Theories of second language learning in the 20th century primarily emerged from Linguistics, a discipline that has often taken a positivist stance towards the generation of knowledge (Crookes & Lehner,1998; Freeman, 2002). This disciplinary positivism has lent weight to the perspective that language teachers are best seen as technicians (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) who should pass along the truths divined elsewhere by disciplinary experts. This perception of teachers, which despite its disfavor in academia still retains widespread currency today (Freeman, 2002; Johnson, 2006; Morgan, 2007), resulted in a steady stream of expert-devised language teaching methods through much of the 20th century. From the 1940's to the 1970's, under the influence of behaviorist philosophies, language teachers in the U.S. were frequently educated into the audiolingual method, which emphasized "mimicry and memorization" (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 34). These techniques reflected and reinforced a "banking model" of education where students were imagined to be empty vessels into which teachers would "deposit" knowledge, a model of education which led to Freire's (2012) famous critique in

[6] Kumaravadivelu (2016) borrows the term "Organic Intellectual" from Gramsci (1971) to describe those intellectuals who are deeply interested in securing concrete changes for subaltern communities, in contrast to "traditional intellectuals" who are only superficially concerned with social justice.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed at the end of the 1960's. Such a system naturally had little consideration for the ways that students' and teachers' identities impact language learning and teaching.

However, the waning of behaviorist influences led, in the 70's and 80's to more research interested in what teachers themselves actually know, and how their "mental lives" influenced their practice (Borg, 2009). This research was self-accelerating, as the more that was learned about the role that teachers played in classroom learning, the more apparent it was that older, "cause-effect models of teaching methodology were inadequate" (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005, p.22). An increasingly postmodern understanding of the partial, contingent, and plural nature of knowledge fueled the interest in researching how language was actually taught in specific circumstances (Freeman, 2002) and the profound influence of an individual teacher's background, beliefs, and attitudes on his or her teaching practice (Woods, 1996) has been increasingly explored by researchers and teacher educators (Johnson, 2006).

At the same time, many scholars have moved from viewing cognition as a purely individual, psychological phenomena to viewing it as a distributed, social process (Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998). This move paralleled and overlapped with increasing scholarly interest in a poststructuralist conception of language, a conception wherein language is viewed, not as an autonomous system which exists separately from actual speech (a division that has been characterized as "competence" versus "performance" in Chomskyan linguistics and as "langue" versus "parole" in Saussurean linguistics), but as situated, social utterances (Bourdieu, 1991; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pennycook, 2010). The late 1990's saw increasing scholarly attention given to the sociocultural aspects of language acquisition (see, for instance, Firth & Wagner, 1997), and for the many scholars who subscribe to the notion that language use and learning are fundamentally social activities, the social characteristics of students and teachers (their gender, their race, their class-- in short, their identities) have now become a central factor in the language teaching and language learning process. This naturally indicates a similar importance for identity in Second Language Teacher Education (SLTE) (Danielewicz, 2001). Thus, a number of overlapping movements have led to the recent proliferation of identity research in language teacher education: a sociocultural turn in the research being done on both language and learning, and an increasingly popular, poststructural understanding of knowledge as locally situated.

A further consequence of this anti-positivist, Foucauldian understanding of language and knowledge as contingent, historical, social constructs is that we must jettison the notion of a pre-constituted, stable subjectivity to "account for the constitution of the subject within an historical framework" (Foucault, 1980, p. 115). If language (and therefore thought) does not transparently reflect an underlying reality but is instead dependent on difference in a network of signs and social contexts for its meaning, then one's very identity is, in great part, discursively constructed. In other words, the same theoretical underpinnings which make the construct of identity vital to language education research also entail a conception of identity as emergent, multiple, contextually dependent, and at times even contradictory.

Janet Alsup (2006) is a teacher-educator who embraces the multiplicity and ambiguity of poststructural subjectivity, and she argues that such a multiple and ambiguous perspective of oneself "can be acceptable, comfortable, and even essential" to a teacher's professional identity (p. 46). It is her contention that teacher candidates must be given the opportunity to engage in discourse that straddles their existing identity categories, what she calls "borderlands discourse," in order to better integrate or negotiate their previous selves with their future professional, teacher self. Similarly, Danielewicz (2001) finds hope "in this view of identity as malleable" because it means that she can "affect how students become teachers by paying attention to pedagogy, to ways of structuring activities and environments that facilitate social interaction" (p.4). The last two decades in particular have seen an enormous increase in scholarship on the topic of language teacher identities and a number of overlapping topics, such as teachers' emotions (Benesch, 2017; Reis 2014; Song, 2016) teachers' embodied experiences (Haught & McCafferty, 2008; Whitfield, 2003) and teachers' racialized (Amin, 1997; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Motha, 2014), gendered (Appleby, 2013; Nagatomo, 2014), and native-speakered (Aneja, 2016; Kamhi-Stein, 2009) identities.

1.3.1 Narrative and Identity in SLTE

Both Alsup (2006) and Danielewicz (2001) are among several teacher educators who have taken advantage of the tight relationship between language and identity, using teacher candidates' narratives as tools for research, activism, and for pedagogy. Likewise, Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013) uses narrative to examine two novice teachers to see how they make sense of their experiences, and to see how their

narratives, in turn, affect the development of their identities. Narratives have also been used to present research with a social justice agenda, for example, as a means to give voice to TESOL professionals marginalized by race (Curtis & Romney, 2006) or native speaker status (Braine, 1999). In yet another vein of narrative research, Johnson & Golombek (2002), in the introduction to their edited volume, *Teachers' Narrative Inquiry as Professional Development,* make the case that narratives can be an important pedagogical tool for educating both pre- and in-service teachers. Language teachers, they argue, through the "re-storying" of their past teaching experiences, are able to articulate and make sense of the complex interplay between theory, classroom events, and their personal beliefs about teaching (p. 133). Canagarajah (2016) offers another example of narrative used pedagogically, when he asks his teacher-candidates to write literacy autobiographies to help them develop habits of reflection and the ability to respond to each unique teaching system with localized pedagogy. Along these same lines, Morgan (2004) demonstrates for his teacher-candidates the potential of using a narrative expression of one's own identity as a way to expand the thinking of both students and the teacher, and disrupt automatic, stereotypical assumptions. Herath and Valencia (2014), writing from the perspective of teacher-educators in training, succinctly summarize the particular benefit of narrative for identity research, for "[u]nlike scientific knowledge, narrative knowledge accommodates ambiguity and dilemma that is central to human experience and more particularly identity construction and negotiation" (p. 90). Accompanying the disillusionment with and rejection of modernist certainties is the realization that new conceptual tools are required to explore a teaching environment revealed in greater complexity. Narrative has proven an effective tool in this regard.

1.3.2 Small story narrative research and SLTE

While narrative-based identity work certainly offers great promise for SLTE, both as a tool to assist in teacher-candidate identity development and as a set of research techniques for better understanding the language-acquisition process that is teacher-candidates' content knowledge, using narrative is not without its potential pitfalls. The social and interpersonal contexts that shape the production of oral narratives often go unacknowledged or, when acknowledged, given cursory treatment. As Pavlenko (2007) has noted, many narrative researchers have not given adequate attention to the way that "storytellers use language to interpret experiences and position themselves as particular

kinds of people" (p. 167). Similarly, SLTE programs which have teacher-candidates produce teaching philosophy statements, but which are inattentive to the social nature of such statements' production will likely "bracket out" social concerns in the interpretation of such statements (Crookes, 2015). In other words, such statements may be as much or more a product of the social environment in which they were produced than of an individual's putative philosophies. This is especially problematic when programs are attempting to use such statements as a transformative, pedagogical tool, as these statements may, in fact, "serve to solidify unexamined positions rather than encourage critical examination of ideologies and personal pedagogies (Alsup, 2006, p. 189). These concerns clearly apply to other narrative techniques as well, such as literacy autobiographies and autoethnographies. Furthermore, the conventions of narrative as a sociologically situated genre can invite a "confessional obligation" (Morgan & Clarke, 2011, p. 830) and a striving for coherence that may "smooth" out important inconsistencies (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p.10), and these and other influences highlight the importance of attending to wider social contexts in the production of the narrative data used in language teacher education.

Peterson & Langellier (2006) identify and lend their support to a movement in narrative research that seeks to attend to the above issues, a movement that they have called a "performance turn" in narrative studies. Following this "turn," narrative is no longer simply conceived of as a "making," but also as a "doing," an "embodied" performance, "constrained by material conditions," "embedded in and ordered by fields of discourse" and thus well situated to both "reproduce and critique existing relations of power and knowledge" (p. 173). This conception of narrative has invited attempts to "understand what speakers tend to accomplish when breaking into narrative," work which has been called research into "narratives-in-interaction," research into "narrative practices," or more generally "small story research" (Bamberg, 2012, p. 100).

Small story research serves as an "umbrella term" that covers a number of areas left unattended in traditional "big story" research, including not only ongoing, future, or hypothetical stories, but also "deferrals of tellings and refusals to tell" (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. vii). While traditional, "big story" research views narratives as "unmediated and transparent representations of the participants' subjectivities" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 378) and is typically focused on relatively lengthy, discrete turns of speech about "non-shared events" that took place in the past (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p.

123), small story research takes as its unit of analysis, not the story but the "story-in-context," includes "everyday talk in interaction" as a potential data source (Bamberg, 2011, p. 7), and acknowledges those narrative practices which may be at work, even when they don't result in stories *per se* (Bamberg, 2012, p. 121). Such an approach is not so much interested in uncovering the authentic self of the storyteller but rather in analyzing the storytelling "practices that are under joint construction" (Bamberg, 2012, p. 107). As such, small story research tends to take a more social rather than an individual perspective (Andrews et al., 2013, p. 8).

1.3.3 Taking a "Small Story" Approach to Language Teacher Identity Research

As has already been discussed above, the field of TESOL is fraught with discriminatory discourses and the history of ELT has been tightly intertwined with the history of European colonial expansion and its attendant racism, sexism, and general Eurocentrism (Motha, 2014; Pennycook, 1998; Ramanathan, 2006). The complex, unjust social relationships that are the legacy of colonialism and the product of more contemporary hierarchizing forces, such as neoliberal economic policies (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012) are often normalized in educational institutions and combating this hegemony requires the education of teachers who will maintain an activist agenda in their teaching practice. Such activist teachers, who have been described variously as "organic intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971), as "transformative intellectuals" (Abednia, 2012; Giroux, 1988; Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Shor, 1993) or as "transformative, agentive, and advocacy-oriented (TAA-oriented) teachers (Fairley, 2020), are central to the counter-hegemonic, decolonial project of increasing social justice in language education. Fostering such "transformative intellectuals" requires that teachers are educated to become critically conscious of the potential of education to increase or decrease social inequity and that they be given the tools to actively work for the latter (Santana-Williamson, 2000).

Adopting such an identity is difficult, however, for transformative intellectuals must, in general, be opposed to the conservative status quo of the institutions in which they work (Basturkmen, 2012; Johnson, 2006; Richards, 2008). SLTE programs must therefore carefully scaffold this identity, a process made still more difficult by the acknowledgement that identity is an intensely personal construct, involving not only one's cognitions, but one's emotions and embodiment as well (Alsup, 2006). A growing body of research maintains that educating second language teacher-candidates into new identities as teachers is

more significant and important for their future work than training them in Knowledge About Language (KAL) (Abednia, 2012; DeCosta & Norton, 2017; Kanno & Stuart, 2011), however *how* such identity work is accomplished is another concern, particularly as teacher-candidates often come to class with views resistant to change via coursework alone (Crookes, 2015).

While there has been significant research done on Language Teacher Identity (LTI), small story narrative analyses of oral-interactions with pre-service language teachers have only recently begun to appear in the literature (for example, Barkhuizen, 2010). A multi-level analysis of participants' narrative positioning like that conducted in this study, by attending to both the influence of macro-level (national/global) and mezzo level (institutional) discourses as well as to a given individual's agency in negotiating, resisting, adopting, and adapting to these discourses, attends to the notion that the subject is discursively produced as well as the idea that the subject is the grounded origin of discourse (Bamberg, 2011). The present study, furthermore, goes beyond the questions about "what" identity positions teacher-candidates are taking vis-a-vis the goals of their degree program, exploring also some of the interactive moments in which these positions are constructed, thereby beginning to answer the questions regarding "how" and "for what social purpose" teacher candidates are positioning themselves. Such questions are of obvious import for a teacher education program seeking to encourage certain identity positions (for example, that of a "transformative intellectual") over others (for instance, that of a "passive technician[7]" (Kumaravadivelu, 2003)).

Although MATESOL programs such as that at Cascade State University[8] have begun to respond to theoretical calls to make applied linguistics "more politically accountable" (Pennycook, 2008, p.798), a consistent obstacle to a more critical applied linguistics is the notion that critical applied linguistics is more focused on theory than practice and that it is simply impractical for some teaching situations (Akbari, 2008). Again, without extensive transformative identity work, many teachers graduate from MATESOL programs that emphasize social justice, only to find themselves upholding the instrumental status quo in their more conservative places of work, unable to translate theory to practice even when they wish to do

[7] Kumaravadivelu (2003) describes the "passive technician" teacher identity as a teacher who functions merely as a "conduit" through which pre-existing information and externally designed pedagogical practices are presented and enacted (p. 8).
[8] A pseudonym for the university where I conducted this research

so (Daniel, 2015; Nero, 2005; Richards, 2008; Seidlhofer,1999). Indeed, translating theory into practice was one of the most persistently expressed difficulties of the participants in this research (See Chapters 4 and 5). This study not only adds theoretical nuance to the study of language teacher identity development, but also, through the analysis of its various data, offers information about the dynamically evolving, shifting, and potentially conflicted identity constructions of pre-service teachers over a significant portion of their degree program. A better understanding of such identity constructions is vital to a more socioculturally nuanced praxis in the language classrooms of the future.

As Vasquez (2011) has observed, if we take seriously the need to contextualize and situate the identity expressions of language teachers, then small story narrative analysis has great potential in this regard, potential that has scarcely been pursued in TESOL and in SLTE. Not only is small story research more likely than other forms of narrative analysis to "make visible the inconsistencies" in participants' worldviews and reveal conflicting subjectivities (Ryan, 2008, p. 227) but it also draws increased attention to the role of the researcher in constructing and constraining research participants' identity positions. Where a number of studies acknowledge the role of the researcher in the construction of knowledge, the specific influence of the researcher is rarely explicitly discussed. Efforts are frequently made by SLTE researchers to "ground" their findings in the 'reality' of the data, but as Pavlenko (2007) observes in her critique of the naiveté that underpins some "grounded theory," the idea that themes and trends in the data arise on their own "obscures the sociohistoric and cultural influences on the researcher's conceptual lens" (p. 167). This critical ethnographic study, with its small story approach to narrative analysis, is an effort to answer calls to be more attentive to the researcher's role in identifying trends and themes (a role which I also attend to with my positionality description in the following section).

Finally, because a small story approach is well adapted to examining connections between the identities of tellers and the modes and contexts of tellings, it offers researchers a better perspective on how "certain stories become more legitimate and valued in certain contexts" (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 267-8). This process of legitimizing is of particular importance in advancing the cause of social justice in SLTE and is evidenced elsewhere in movements for greater social equity—for example, by the importance of counter-stories in Critical Race Theory (CRT) for legitimating alternative perspectives to mainstream, hegemonic stories. Indeed, Georgakopoulou (2015) values small story research in part

because of its ability to uncover the “counterstories,” those narratives which go against or do not fall neatly within hegemonic norms (p. 264). Failing to include attention to these “smaller” narrative details would have meant losing many key nuances which appeared in this study, nuances which revealed the confusions and frustrations that troubled the otherwise monolithic “big story” selves of my participants. With the inclusion of small story approaches to narrative analysis, this study contributes to research in SLTE and LTI, not only with the informational content produced through its analyses of specific moments in a language teacher education program, but through this important application of theory and methodology to better situate the informational content.

1.4 My Positionality

As briefly discussed in this chapter’s introduction, my initial interest in this project and in doctoral studies in general stemmed from my own experiences as a MATESOL student. As a white, straight, cisgender, middle-class, American male, I have benefitted and continue to benefit from linguistic discrimination, linguistic imperialism, native speakerism, and sexist, heteronormative, and racist language policies and standards. Despite the many intersectional advantages conferred on me by hegemonic norms in education and English Language Teaching, my exposure to counter-hegemonic scholarship, such as that found in several of the CSU MATESOL Program’s core courses, inspired me and helped me to articulate my nascent objections to injustices I had already witnessed and enacted as an English teacher in Bangladesh and Japan.

During my time as a MATESOL student, I was encouraged to reflect on my experiences teaching English. It was a simple matter to recall numerous instances where colonialism, racism, nativism, and neoliberalism (as well as any number of other discriminatory “-isms”) had shaped my own attitudes, beliefs, and pedagogical practices. Without a recognition of such influences, it would be difficult to explain my presence a decade earlier as a fresh-out-of-college teacher in a Bangladeshi secondary school, implausibly positioned as the arbiter of correct English and English teaching techniques for students and teachers alike. Despite my earnest intentions, it now seems hopelessly naïve to view my placement in such a position, where I had almost no understanding of the local context and only a ten-week crash course in TESOL pedagogy, outside the lens of colonialism. While I still feel that my time spent in Bangladesh and the cultural sharing that took place while I was there had many positives, it isn’t difficult

to pinpoint moments where my actions as a volunteer perpetuated colonial ideology and supported the concomitant neoliberal interest in securing and maintaining profitable markets for “former” colonial powers. In one such moment, I remember telling a student that his grammar usage was incorrect, only relenting when the student argued that the usage was current in the United Kingdom. It did not occur to me, and it may not have even occurred to my student, that a current Bangladeshi usage could be seen as correct on its own. It wasn’t until I had the opportunity as a MATESOL student to read critical theory and reflect on my experiences that I recognized that legacies of colonial power structures were behind the answers to the important questions: Who gets to decide which grammar usages are correct? Who, as Widdowson (1994) puts it, has “ownership” of English, and what is used to justify that ownership?

It is tempting to present the narrative of one’s life as a linear accumulation of knowledge which brings one closer and closer an ultimate truth (however contrived such an account may be), and indeed my participants and I regularly employed a sort of conversion narrative structure to our discussions surrounding social justice in TESOL, where we discuss revelatory moments where we have awakened to the need for greater social justice in TESOL (see, for example, Sync’s comments in Excerpt 3Q or Chiara’s comments in Excerpt 5A). Confronted with the need to analyze my own statements as well as those of my participants over the years of this critical ethnographic work, I have once again been painfully reminded that the struggle against colonial hegemony in TESOL is not simply resolved by a “waking up” to one, or even several facets of systemic discrimination. As my own comments in conversations like that in Excerpt 4N show, I am, despite my reflections and commitments detailed above, still susceptible to reproducing neoliberal and colonial ideology. I suspect that we all are, since the very flexibility of belief and identity that makes anti-hegemonic thinking and ideological resistance possible likewise make it possible to return again and again to the same pervasive, discriminatory ideologies, particularly in social situations where hegemonic ideologies are ascendant, which are, by definition, a majority of social situations.

I thus recognize that the work to make hegemonic discrimination more visible (and thus available for mitigation) is not only an ongoing and potentially never-ending challenge in society at large, but also in my own discourse and teaching practice. My peers in my own MATESOL cohort, however, and those in the cohorts before and after me have not all come to the same recognition. As one would expect, they

have responded to these critical discourses in very different ways. For example, I recall one of my "native-speaker" peers explaining that she felt like she was being told that she wasn't welcome to continue teaching English after listening to a presentation from her classmates on native-speakerism's deleterious effects in TESOL. One MATESOL student was rumored to have quit English teaching altogether because this person didn't feel as though it could be done ethically. Still another confided in me, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, that he did not really support the need to "politicize" English language teaching, but he took a social justice stance in his coursework as the path of least resistance, to "get the grade." My goal for this project was thus to better understand how the CSU MATESOL program portrayed certain discourses and promoted certain identity positions to its students (my participants), and in turn, how these students responded to these discourses and identity positions in oral interaction. I was not a disinterested observer, but rather was invested in the social impact and critical impetus of my research (Pennycook, 1990). My ultimate motivation was to better understand the ways that Language Teacher Education programs like that at CSU can coach teacher candidates into an awareness of the moral and ethical necessity of taking power and identity into account when teaching English so as to mitigate and ultimately work against current inequities in English Language Teaching. This motivation was also taken into account in the analysis and reporting of my data.

Although I was something of an outsider with regard to my participants insofar as I was a PhD student observing their coursework and teaching (and doing so only by invitation), I was also something of an insider insofar as I was a fellow graduate student who had also graduated from a MATESOL program just three years' prior in 2014. As the analytical chapters show, I positioned myself and was positioned at times as an in-group peer and at other times as a sort of upper-class mentor. Despite this familiarity, which generally increased over the course of the project, there were very few instances during which my position in the academic hierarchy (doctoral student, researcher, MATESOL graduate) was not salient in relation to the positions of my participants (master's students, research participants, current MATESOL students). I am also an outspoken supporter of social justice concerns in TESOL and my participants were aware of my views very early in the study. During the Winter Quarter of 2019, I taught one of the MATESOL core courses (English 501:[9] Theory and Practice of TESOL) to the following, 2018

[9] All course numbers have been changed to add an additional layer of anonymity.

MATESOL cohort, and although none of my participants were students in this course, as they were already in their second year of their program, some of them did share other courses with the first-year students in my class. My participants' awareness of my own relationship to the MATESOL program and the knowledge that their MATESOL instructors were also my mentors played a large role in our oral interactions and this also has been considered in my analyses.

Over the eighteen months of this critical ethnographic work, the borders between "the research field" and our regular lives became increasingly blurry. This research brought us all together, but we continued to live our lives as human beings, neighbors, and friends. I not only presented at a local conference with some of my participants, but I also helped one of my participants move, I went to a party hosted by my participants, and I offered myself as a reference for job applications. I took pictures at my participants' 2019 MATESOL graduation ceremony and shared them, not because it was research related but because I felt it was a friendly thing to do. While member checking my early chapter drafts in 2020 and 2021, I inquired about my participants lives, as they inquired about mine. Although my role in this MATESOL program research was not what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) describe as "complete participation," it tended much more towards this pole than what they describe as the "complete observation" of a total outsider. As I discuss at length in Chapter 2, my theorization of research-based knowledge production, rather than precluding observer influence, depends instead on taking this influence into account. So, while I, for the most part, observed my participants' classes silently from the periphery and encouraged my participants to give free-wheeling answers to open-ended questions during interviews, I also did not refrain from speaking when spoken to during classes and I regularly shared my own stories and thoughts during interviews. Straddling the line between participant and observer in this way did not "taint" the data, but it did affect the kinds of data I received and the way I subsequently reported it. For example, the fact that my participants knew my thoughts on the importance of decolonizing TESOL and about my own relationships with their instructors and mentors made moments where they share critical thoughts about their program more of a social risk (although they still occasionally did so, see Excerpts 4I and 4R, for example). Likewise, the fact that I made myself vulnerable to them, sharing my own past MATESOL assignments, experiences, and beliefs likely encouraged them to be more open with their own sharing than they would if I was a more dispassionate

and distant observer. As the research progressed, my participants shared increasingly personal information and more readily shared even “dispreferred” (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984) responses (see, for example, Kevin’s comments in footnotes 119 and 120, page 202).

When analyzing data, I always double-checked my ideas and phrasing with my participants. While this strategy of “member checking” is useful for ensuring the inclusion of emic perspectives on the data (Duff, 2008), it also supported the personal relationships we had developed and helped avoid hurt feelings or a sense of misrepresentation. Although this study, by convention, attends mostly to my participants’ responses and the implications of these for SLTE, the months and years separating me from my initial role in these conversations has made it easier for me to see moments where I too have aligned or misaligned my identity with that of a transformative intellectual or where I too have reproduced hegemonic, colonial discourse. It was thus not only important for the validity of the research to include my contributions to our collective conversations, but to highlight how I too am implicated in the more critical conclusions drawn from the analyses of these conversations (see, for example, my comments in Excerpts 4I and 4N). As I explain at greater length in Chapter 5, emotions, and in particular feelings of inadequacy, hypocrisy, guilt, and despair played a significant role in the identity performances of my participants vis-à-vis the critical theory they were attempting to put into practice. I want to make it clear from the outset that any supposed shortcomings of my participants regarding their roles as critical pedagogues were (1) also shared by me (and surely the majority of critically oriented second language teachers at some point in their careers) and (2) can more productively be viewed as the predictable result of caring, invested individuals having to confront, rather abruptly, the pervasive and persistent inequities of their chosen field.

My hope is that the analyses of the interactions I have selected for this report (which represent a small fraction of my collected data, which itself is only a very small fraction of the identity constructions performed by my participants during their degree) will, despite their necessarily fragmentary nature, nonetheless offer the reader some insight and expand our collective imagination of the ways we can more thoroughly and effectively integrate social justice in Second Language Teacher Education.

1.5 Outline of the Coming Chapters

In this introductory chapter, I have introduced my research site and outlined my research questions. I have surveyed the literature discussing the need for greater social justice and the

decolonization of the field of TESOL. I have likewise reviewed the literature making the case for narrative approaches in language teacher identity research and highlighted the benefits of incorporating a “small story” approach that attends to the form and context of narratives as well as to their content. Near the end of the chapter, I elaborated my own positionality, as this is an important consideration in evaluating my subjective influence on data collection, organization, and analysis. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 articulates my methodology in detail. In Chapters 3 and 4, I conduct an in-depth analysis of the extensive data set that was generated and collected for this project. Chapter 3 establishes the Key Program Discourses (KPDs) promoted by the CSU MATESOL program and analyzes moments where my participants express alignment with these in their oral or written interactions. Chapter 4 continues the analyses of Chapter 3, this time focusing on moments were my participants expressed frustration with or resistance to the KPDs. In Chapter 5, I begin with summative analyses of the identity work performed by each of my participants and then highlight several factors that this research suggests may serve as significant obstacles to educating novice language teachers into a more critical, decolonial practice. I discuss the implications of these obstacles and offer suggestions as to how teacher-scholars in the field of Second Language Teacher Education might take these obstacles into account in their efforts to improve equity in English Language Teaching. I conclude with my own reflection on the years I spent engaged with this study, offering one last situating narrative.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This research project can best be described as a critical ethnography in which I adopt a small story approach to interactional data. As I noted in Chapter 1, this project began with the assumption that English language teachers have an ethical imperative to account for the racist, colonial, and otherwise oppressive structures endemic to the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Reducing and eventually eliminating these inequities is thus a priority in the education of English language teachers and should be an ethical consideration for all TESOL teachers and researchers (Janks, 2010; Kostogriz, 2018). With the increasing recognition that teacher identity is central to language teaching, it behooves all concerned with language teacher education (teacher-candidates, teacher-educators, program administrators, etc.) to attend to the elements (both structural and agentive) involved in teachers' professional identity production as they relate to inequity in English Language Teaching (ELT).

However, if identity is conceived as a shifting, mutable thing, always a product of both societal structure and individual agency (Foucault, 1980; Giddens, 1986), situated in time and in the contexts of its production (Weedon, 1997), then Language Teacher Education (LTE) programs cannot hope to permanently instill in teacher candidates a "transformative intellectual" identity (Giroux, 1988)[10] or any other identity for that matter. An individual teacher's identity, so conceived, is, like the larger community of teaching practice in which it is embedded (Wenger, 1998), an "emergent structure, neither inherently stable nor randomly changeable" (p. 49). Yet, at the same time, it is the very flexibility of identity that makes it possible for someone to take on new identity roles (like that of a transformative intellectual), and LTE programs necessarily promote beliefs, attitudes, and group membership that on some level must be assumed to manifest as regular, sedimented practices in future teachers. In other words, all teacher

[10] A number of scholars have proposed a variety of labels to describe socially conscious, activist teacher identities. For example, such teachers have also been described as "organic intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971), or as having a "transformative, agentive, and advocacy (TAA)-oriented" identity (Fairley, 2020). Given its particular salience in my research site, I refer to this identity throughout this study as a "transformative intellectual" identity (Giroux, 1988).

education programs already involve some form of identity work as they implicitly or explicitly answer the question: What kind of teachers should our students become? The notion that learning enables and encourages students to think and act in some ways and not others is, after all, a fundamental premise of education. Although novice teacher's professional identities may be particularly unstable in the "discursive borderlands" (Alsup, 2006) of their early career, their identity expressions are not random. Teacher identities are embedded in influential social and material networks, and their expression likewise shapes the evolution of those networks. Thus, as Day et al., (2006) contend, the relative stability (or instability) of a teacher's professional identity is contingent on several important contextual variables, such as "life, career and situational factors" (p. 601).

Studies of Language Teacher Identity (LTI) construction in applied linguistics have been gradually responding to calls to take the contextual variables of oral narratives more into account, and examples of works which apply some measure of methodological corrective along these lines increasingly dot the literature (see, for example, Barkhuizen, 2010; Juzwick & Ives, 2010; Menard-Warwick, 2014; Vasquez 2007). However, such research is still in its incipiency, and scholars such as Vasquez (2011) have called for its increased application, particularly for the ability of a small story approach to offer "glimpses into the processes of professional development as they unfold" (p. 543). An approach to novice teachers' oral interactions that incorporates small story narrative analysis, like that reported here, thus contributes to this methodological push for a more nuanced understanding of identity construction. The addition of such nuance likewise complements the broader call to center LTI in the design of LTE programs (Varghese, Motha, Park, Reeves, & Trent (2016) as well as the call for LTE programs to better ensure that the LTI so centered is transformative, agentive, and advocacy (TAA) -oriented (Fairley, 2020). Heeding the presence of these lacunae in LTE and LTI research and incorporating the productive capacity of small story research for examining identity performance, the methodological framework of my study enabled me to fruitfully examine the intricate synergies between LTE and LTI.

This study adds to the individual contexts in which LTI has been investigated while continuing the push to broaden the methodological approaches used in these explorations. While the methods I have employed in this research are not themselves innovative,[11] at the time of this writing I know of no other

[11] For one recent example, Gray and Morton (2018) have similarly used an eclectic variety of research techniques to

work that has incorporated small-story narrative analysis into a degree-spanning, ethnographic exploration of MATESOL students' identity formation. The remaining sections in this chapter detail: the research site, including descriptions of the researched institution and the research participants; and the research design, including descriptions of the data collected, theorizations of each data type, the methods of data organization and the tools used in the analysis of the data.

2.2 The Research Site and the Length of My Engagement

This research was undertaken with MATESOL students at a large, public university in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. I refer to this institution by the pseudonym, Cascade State University (CSU). The MATESOL program at CSU is housed within the English department, and this disciplinary housing played a significant role in the development of the program, from the selection of faculty to the courses required for the degree. As Ramanathan (2002) has noted in her comparative study, the hosting department can play a large role in the development of a MATESOL degree program, and she found significant differences between a program housed in an English department and one housed in a linguistics department, as each was "deeply integrated" into its larger department (p. 62). As emerged in the analysis, participants in the study expressed in a variety of ways and in a variety of situations the feeling that there was an ideological distance between the MATESOL program and the CSU Linguistics department (see, for example, Chapter 3, Excerpt 3L, or Chapter 4, Excerpt 4E).[12]

At the time this study began, the CSU MATESOL program required its graduates to complete six, specifically designated "core" courses (including at least one foundational Linguistics course); two additional courses selected from a designated list of twenty-five English, Linguistics, and Education classes; one or two teaching practicum courses (depending on previous experience); one elective course from any English, Anthropology, or Linguistics course at or above the 400 level; and a foreign language requirement. The program had three full-time faculty who took turns teaching the practicum seminars as well as the bulk of the TESOL core courses. For this study, I have anonymized these faculty as

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perform small story analyses of teacher narratives. These authors present a variety of short-term research on in-service teachers rather than a longitudinal account of one group of degree-seeking student-teachers.

[12] It should be observed that this difference emerged despite the fact that the founders of the CSU MATESOL program both had completed their doctorates in the field of Linguistics, as one of them noted to me in a private communication.

Instructors A, C, and D. During either the Winter or Spring Quarter of their first year, most students would observe and student-teach in a mentor teacher's English language class in the affiliated CSU Intensive English Program (IEP). Historically, most CSU MATESOL students were fully funded their second year through a teaching assistantship, for which they would teach their own English language class (also usually housed in the CSU IEP). Full-time students could expect to complete the program in six quarters, although a five-quarter option was normalized during the course of this study and one of my focal participants (Sync) graduated in five quarters.

The main school year at CSU consists of Fall Quarter (September-December), Winter Quarter (January-March), and Spring Quarter (April-June). One of the first core courses taught, and thus a course generally attended by all first-year MATESOL students, is English 501: Theory and Practice of TESOL. My focal participants were selected from the English 501 course taught in the fall of 2017, and this course was also the site of my first several classroom observations. The other core TESOL courses at CSU are English 502: Methods and Materials for Teaching ESOL; English 504: Research Methods in Second Language Acquisition; English 505: Pedagogical Grammar (or Linguistics 406: Syntax); English 506: Testing and Evaluation in English as a Second Language; and Linguistics 411: Survey of Linguistic Method and Theory (or Linguistics 211: Introduction to Linguistic Thought).

My original research design involved spending Fall Quarter 2017 observing students' coursework and Winter Quarter 2018 observing their teaching in their practicum, while concurrently conducting regular interviews over both quarters. Subsequent data collection was entertained as a useful possibility. However, as the majority of my focal participants did not have their teaching practicum until the Spring Quarter of 2018, my observations were extended to that quarter as well. When a labor dispute between CSU's central administration and the teachers working in the CSU affiliated Intensive English Program (IEP) worsened in the Spring, my participants' practicum placements (which were all in this IEP) were terminated. This curtailing of my practicum observations, along with the fact that my initial data had led me to take an increased interest in my participants' teaching practices made observations of my participants' Fall Quarter, 2018 teaching necessary. These initially unforeseen extensions fortuitously resulted in a more longitudinal study that eventually spanned the entirety of my participants' coursework. My observations of my participants' teaching were completed during the Fall Quarter of 2018 and all

interview data collection was concluded during Spring Quarter, 2019, after which quarter all of my focal participants had graduated.

2.3 Participants

I recruited first-year MATESOL students for this study, as working with these students would allow me to observe their earliest interactions with programmatic discourses as well as their first experiences teaching as an assistant teacher in their practicum courses. Beginning with first-year students also offered me the possibility of observing their experiences as teachers of their own language courses during their second year (a possibility that became necessary with the early termination of some teaching practicums). I chose not to focus on second-year students in the study, as my identity-based research goals could be better met with a more intense examination of a few participants over a longer period of time than with a broader, shorter study of multiple cohorts. Students from the 2017 cohort would potentially be available to participate throughout the entirety of their degree and thus were ideal candidates. The MATESOL program at CSU typically welcomes between ten and fifteen new students each year, although at the time of this study these numbers had been trending downward as funding opportunities had been reduced.

During October of 2017, I contacted Instructor A, the MATESOL faculty member teaching English 501 at that time, and scheduled a class visit to recruit participants. Before this in-person visit, I composed an introductory e-mail for Instructor A to forward to her students and advise them of my research project. This e-mail included information about my own status as a language teacher and a former MATESOL student, information about my research goals (examining how teacher identities are constructed), information about the main kinds of participation I was looking for (interviews and classroom observations), the initial intended duration of the project (2-3 quarters), and my willingness to serve as a mentor and otherwise reciprocate my participants' help however I might (See Appendix A for a copy of this initial recruitment email).

I visited English 501 for the first time on October 24th, 2017 and invited the students in that class to participate. As my research questions could best be answered by working closely with a few candidate teachers, my initial goal was to recruit only four or five participants, but nine students expressed interest and shared their e-mail addresses with me. I sent these nine students a follow-up email including an

"informed consent" form I adapted from one provided by CSU's institutional review board (IRB). This form also included my proposed initial interview questions (See Appendix A). Of the nine students who showed initial interest, eight were able to grant me an initial dyadic interview. Of these eight, one was no longer able to participate fully after the first interview and one practicum classroom observation, and two did not take the practicum during the first year of this study, and I was consequently unable to observe their teaching. I refer to these three participants as "partial" participants and the remaining five became my "focal" participants.

In order to formulate a fuller, more emic picture of my partial and focal participants, and to ensure that they had a strong say in their identity descriptions, on February 8th, 2019, fifteen months into the study, I sent an identity characteristics table[13] to each of them to fill out as they saw fit. I wrote each of my participants individually, and I invited them to respond (or to not respond) to each category in whatever descriptive terms made the most sense to them. Soliciting this information later in the study, once I had already developed a relationship with each of my participants, likely increased the amount and personal quality of information that my participants were willing to share. The blank template for this table, as well as the full responses from my participants who were willing to share (some of which involved paragraphs-long explanations for given identity categories) can be found in Appendix B. For Tables 1 and 2, I condensed and curated the responses I received from "partial" and "full" participants respectively. These descriptions have helped inform, along with other moments of performative self-construction, the analyses elaborated in Chapters 3 and 4.

[13] A blank version of the table which appears in Tables 1 and 2, with only the bolded categories at the top filled in. This original document also asked my participants to respond to each category in two ways (1) as they perceived themselves and (2) as they felt others perceived them. For Tables 1 and 2, I only included information about the way they perceived themselves.

Table 1 *Partial Participants' Self-Reported Identity Descriptions*

Name	**Race Gender**	**Class**	**Age**	**Nationality**	**Languages** [14]	**Teaching Experience/ Proficiency**	**Religion**	**Politics**
Katie	White Female	Middle Class	20-30	USA	English	**Classroom instruction,** 3 years	[blank][15]	Liberal
Maggie	White Female	Middle Class	40-50	USA, Canada	English *Russian** *Uzbek** *French**	**Teaching Uzbek**, 1 year; **ABE**[16] **English**, 1 year	Lutheran (accepting of alternate spiritualities)	Left-end of the spectrum, Democrat/ Green
Su Zhang	Asian Female	Lower Middle Class	30-40	China	Chinese English	**Chinese teaching**: 3 years; **English teaching (post-secondary)**, 1.5 years	None	Unaffiliated, pro-education and pro-equality

Table 1 offers a summary of the identity descriptions provided to me by my "partial" participants. This category is comprised of those participants whose teaching I was not able to observe and who, incidentally, were unable to come to a majority of the nine group interview discussions (see the "Interviews" section below for more information on these group interviews). I have included some data from these partial participants when it proved useful in contextualizing the program as a whole or when it added nuance to the information from those who could participate more fully.

The five MATESOL students from the 2017 cohort whose teaching I was able to observe became my focal participants (See Table 2). These five participants each invited me to observe between two and five hours of their teaching, sat for at least two 90-minute dyadic interviews, and attended all or most of the nine, 2–4-hour, group discussions which I organized over the 18 months of the study. In addition to working with these five focal participants and the three other students from the 2017 cohort who participated partially in this study, I also recorded 60–90-minute interviews with each of the MATESOL full-time faculty, the MATESOL TA coordinator, and a second year (2016 cohort) MATESOL student who had shared several classes with my focal participants. I have included information about these interactions in the "Interviews" section below, but as these individuals were not part of the 2017 MATESOL cohort, I have not included them as partial or focal "participants."

[14] Italicized languages with a star (*) are those languages my participants indicated as less than proficient
[15] When a participant left a particular identity category empty, I have indicated this by inserting "[blank]" into the table.
[16] ABE Adult Basic Education

Table 2 *Focal Participants' Self-Reported Identity Descriptions*

Name	**Race Gender**	**Class**	**Age**	**Nationality**	**Languages** [17]	**Teaching Experience/ Proficiency**[18]	**Religion**	**Politics**
Chiara	White Female	Middle Class	50-60	Venezuela Italy Canada USA	Italian Spanish English French	**EFL**[19] Venezuela, 2 years; Canada, 1.5 years; USA, some experience	Spiritual & philosophical but not religious	Democracy over Plutocracy
Huck	White Male	Lower Middle Class	30-40	USA	English Japanese Spanish	**EFL** 3 years	None[20]	Peaceful, sustainable anarchy; votes pragmatically
Kevin	White Male	Middle Class	Middle -aged	USA	English French	**Veteran teacher**, lots of experience "on paper;" experience teaching "in the trenches" without outside support	Atheist	Liberal, leaning toward Democratic Socialism
Liz	White Female	Middle Class	20-30	USA	English, *Japanese* Korean**	**Little experience or proficiency**	None	None
Sync	White/ South Asian Female	Varied Upper class origins	20-30	USA	English, *Albanian**	**Low**	Not Religious	Mostly left-wing but increasingly cynical towards own beliefs

Although the focal participants I have featured in Table 2 were all able to participate to a greater extent than my partial participants, they all naturally had different schedules, commitments, and levels of comfort regarding what they were willing and able to share with me. Likewise, our relationships evolved considerably over the 18 months of this research, leading in all cases to more prolific sharing from my participants and more reciprocal support from me as time went on. A detailed look at the different text-based artifacts I was offered from each focal participant can be found in Table 4 later in this chapter in the "Written Artifacts" sub-section. The information found in Tables 1 and 2, (for instance, my participants' racial identification, ages, level of teaching experience, and other identity characteristics) was salient to

[17] Italicized languages with a star (*) are those languages my participants indicated as less than proficient
[18] On the original document my participants responded to, this category read: Teaching experience and/or proficiency as a teacher. Some of my participants simply listed their previous teaching experience, while others characterized their proficiency in descriptive terms.
[19] EFL English as a Foreign Language
[20] Huck and Liz both indicated that they had no religious affiliation of any sort, including agnostic or atheist affiliations.

varying degrees at different times, and I have commented on these characteristics throughout this study when they have proved relevant to my analyses. In addition to the condensed identity information I have provided in Table 2, I offer below a brief prose description of each of my focal participants in order to provide a bit more insight into their personalities and the way they interacted with each other over the course of this research.

2.3.1 Chiara

I first met Chiara in the Winter of 2016. Prior to enrolling in the CSU MATESOL program, she had been taking undergraduate courses at CSU. As a requirement for her English 407 "The Theory and Practice of Teaching Writing" course (a course which all of my focal participants took and which I later observed twice), Chiara needed to observe some composition courses and so I accommodated her request to observe my own teaching.

Chiara identified as a white woman in her 50's. Although she never made a point of it in our conversations, Chiara was quite cosmopolitan, with four different national identities and passports to accompany each. She spoke four languages fluently, although she noted in her identity characteristics table with her regular self-deprecating humility that she had mostly self-studied her way through French and therefore "read Marcel Proust with difficulty." She was very open to examining her economic and racial privilege, to the point where she viewed the British accent she acquired as a young woman while studying the English language in the United Kingdom through the lens of her privileged access to native speech, rather than as a burdensome necessity of her "non-nativeness." Nevertheless, Chiara was coded as a "non-native" by CSU, and thus required to undergo additional exams in order to secure a teaching assistantship during her second year.[21] Although she had years of diverse teaching experiences, Chiara often downplayed her own expertise and felt, even at the end of her MATESOL program with her truncated teaching opportunities,[22] as though she lacked sufficient practical experience.

Chiara was, like all of my participants, hyper-aware of the ways that our discussions of sensitive topics like white supremacy and colonialism could leave outside observers with a negative impression if

[21] See the description prior to Excerpt 3L in Chapter 3 for her terse and unfavorable description of this experience.
[22] Not only was Chiara's teaching practicum canceled in the middle of the term, but due to a combination of health issues and a lack of support, she was forced to give up the chance to teach her own English courses during her second year as a MATESOL student.

we said the “wrong thing.” Despite confiding this anxiousness to me, she talked eagerly throughout all of our group meetings and did not shy away from sensitive topics. She regularly offered to share additional audio-recorded meetings, syllabi, and coursework beyond what I had included in my requests. Her generous sharing of her time was matched by her generous sharing of gifts, and she regularly went out of her way to politely consider those around her. Chiara was, however, exacting when evaluating her own teaching, and sometimes engaged in unsparing self-analysis in furtherance of social justice concerns, which she noted had inspired her, “like a little fire,” (Excerpt 5A, line 7) to pursue more critical language teaching pedagogy.

2.3.2 Huck

Like Chiara, I had met Huck prior to this research. In this case, I had met with Huck during the Spring of 2017 at his request (through the recommendation of a mutual friend) to inform him more about the MATESOL program at CSU while he was still making his decision about enrollment. Huck referred to himself as a bald, middle-aged White man, but also noted that a friend of his had once described his personality as child-like without being childish, and I also find this to be an apt description. Huck’s enthusiasm and energy were infectious, and he compared his eagerness to teach and discuss socially just pedagogy to a puppy straining on a leash. Despite this admission, Huck was a very patient listener, and he observed to me on multiple occasions that he was very conscious about giving other people space to discuss their ideas. This consideration for others’ opinions was also evident in the way he acknowledged and supported other’s concerns, even when making a point that might otherwise seem contradictory or against the flow of conversation.[23]

Huck stated in his identity descriptions that he came from a family that was new to higher education, better off than some of the others in what he described as “the boonies,” but noticeably less wealthy than suburban or urban middle-class communities. Economics were frequently on Huck’s mind, and he regularly led his generally sympathetic and supportive listeners into conversations critiquing neoliberalism and society’s excessive focus on money and markets generally. Huck credits his ability to

[23] See, for example, the way Huck deploys a narrative (partially recounted in Excerpt 4B) that both acknowledges the difficulty of addressing classroom inequity (the topic under discussion) while also shifting the discussion to concrete examples of ways to successfully overcome such inequity.

disguise his "boonie" dialect as a significant factor in his escaping a home-situation that was economically (and in some ways culturally) undesirable.

2.3.3 Kevin

I met Kevin (as well as Liz and Sync) for the first time when I went to the MATESOL 501 seminar on October 24th, 2017 to explain my research and make an in-person request for participant volunteers. Kevin identified as a middle-aged White man who had already had a significant teaching career, despite commenting that he only identified as a teacher for the last few years of that career.[24] Kevin had studied for his CELTA[25] in Thailand, lived and worked as an English teacher in Russia and South Korea (as well as in the U.S), and would occasionally share tales of his many far-away adventures with us, his rapt audience. As can be seen in several of the conversational excerpts in subsequent chapters, Kevin had a way with words, and he would often slip a phrase or two into someone else's story that would capture the moment in a way that was humorous but also poignant (see, for example, his lines[26] near the end of Excerpt 4I, or his juxtaposing of his own brief narrative[27] with Sync's near the middle of Excerpt 4Q).

Kevin was often very candid about his professional and academic life, and he regularly drew on his extensive experience, both to indicate ways that he had successfully approached teaching dilemmas in the past and to indicate his ongoing concerns and worries regarding his teaching. He sometimes talked about how his sexuality as a gay man impacted his teacher identity in a world that is extremely homophobic. He would often take on the vulnerable role of admitting difficulty, normalizing the struggles of graduate school, and paving the way for others in the group discussions to address their own challenges. Kevin also opened his life outside of academia up to the group. He had been commuting from another city for the first part of his program, and when he finally found local housing nearly half-way through his degree, he accepted the offers from me and some of the other members of his cohort to help with his move. He subsequently threw a house-warming party, which I and most of the other participants attended.

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[24] See Kevin's evocative description of the process whereby he took on a teacher identity early in Chapter 5, pages 194-195.
[25] The Certificate of English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) is a standardized, short-term certificate program for English language teachers run by the University of Cambridge but offered at numerous institutes globally.
[26] Kevin: "No student has ever written on an evaluation, the teacher didn't use a translingual approach."
[27] Kevin: "Did you like When TA Coordinator said like forget all your little theories?"

2.3.4 Liz

Liz identified as a young White woman, and although she observed that others might find her teaching somewhat proficient, given her previous teaching experiences (which included time working in a language school in Japan), she chose to describe herself as having "little experience or proficiency" in teaching. Nonetheless, I and the others of her cohort who observed her teach found her to be a confident teacher, secure enough in her knowledge to answer most student questions and relaxed enough to transparently acknowledge when she could not answer a question.

Liz might be fairly described as the most reserved amongst a talkative group of teachers. She even joked about her reserve as a "survival strategy" after one dinner discussion where we had played a word game during which people were (unknowingly) eliminated for talking. Liz was nonetheless a very active participant, and attended nearly all of the group discussions, but she did choose her speaking moments with care. A film enthusiast and casual video game player, Liz would sometimes share media recommendations before our conversations found their way to language teaching. Liz and Sync were particularly close, but this did not mean Sync was given any mercy from Liz's sharp wit and occasional teasing.[28] Liz generally presented an unflappable attitude towards graduate school, bolstered somewhat, perhaps, by the advice she had received from her father, who had a PhD (albeit in an unrelated discipline) and whose descriptions of graduate school she would sometimes inject into our discussions.

2.3.5 Sync

Identifying as a young woman with White and South Asian ancestry, Sync acknowledged that others often coded her as simply "White," and she spoke frankly about the impact that her privileged, conservative background and her "half/half" racial identity had had on her overall identity formation. Despite regularly remarking on her anxieties regarding her teaching, Sync shared generously with me from her coursework, teaching journals, and reflections. Sync remarked during one of our group discussions that she needed to be "bold"[29] to answer my questions honestly at times when her thinking might run counter to that of the group or of the CSU MATESOL program, and indeed, one of the things that my research emphasizes is the weight that immediate social pressures place against "dispreferred

[28] See Excerpt 3W for a representative moment of Liz' teasing of Sync.
[29] See Excerpt 4R, Line 16

responses" (Pomerantz, 1984). Sync's conversational bravery and willingness to make herself vulnerable would serve as a catalyst for multiple group discussions, helping to make critical perspectives more socially possible and inviting more nuanced debates around social justice issues in language pedagogy.

Late in this research, Sync spoke with me of the impact that her parents' hiding of her autism diagnosis had had on her identity and how she had struggled with the interpersonal consequences that result from normative assumptions of neurotype. Sync often discussed her struggles for independence, both from the conservative politics of her immediate family members and her childhood, as well as from what she described as the ideological excesses of the progressivism that she had gradually come to adopt as an undergraduate. She disliked what she characterized as "group-think," and was determined to come to her own conclusions rather than simply going along wholesale with what she was currently reading or what the people around her were saying. Despite having taught for years as a volunteer for City Year and for the United States' Peace Corps, Sync regularly expressed ambivalence about her status as a teacher and had already, by the time she graduated from her MATESOL program in March, 2019, decided to change professions.

2.4 Methodology

In this section, I explain in detail the manner in which I collected, organized, and analyzed data. Within the Data Collection sub-section, I elaborate on the three main categories of data I collected for this project, written artifacts, interviews, and ethnographic observations. In this same sub-section, I also discuss the ethical considerations I took while collecting and handling data as well as the relations I maintained with my participant volunteers. Following my treatment of data collection, I discuss the manner in which I organized my data before explaining my approach to data analysis, elaborating in particular on my use of Discourse Analysis and Narrative Analysis.

2.4.1 Data Collection

As recommended by Chapelle and Duff (2003) in their guidelines for critical ethnography, I collected a variety of different data during my extensive engagement with the research site. This data can be divided into three main categories which map roughly onto Wolcott's (2008) categorization of the primary areas of focus in qualitative research: "examining" through archives of textual artifacts; "enquiring" through interviews; and "experiencing" through participant observation (p. 88). The textual artifacts I

collected included web-based programmatic documents, course syllabi, and homework assignments. I interviewed my focal and partial participants singly and in groups and conducted dyadic interviews with key faculty representing different aspects of the CSU MATESOL program. I also conducted several ethnographic observations of a variety of courses my focal participants attended as students as well as the courses in which they taught as teachers as they moved through their degree program. The following sub-sections provide detailed descriptions of these diverse types of data, including, where applicable, comprehensive theorizations of the data generating instruments.

2.4.1.1 Written Artifacts

My data collection began with the selection and examination of texts related to CSU's MATESOL program, and the collection and analysis of such written artifacts was an iterative process extending the entire length of the study. I collected a total of 45 separate documents, which I categorized as "Program Documents," "Student Syllabi[30]," "Teacher Syllabi[31]," and "Participant Coursework." The category of "Program Documents" consisted of the text-based materials that introduced or described the CSU MATESOL program which were available to my participants prior to or shortly after their enrollment. These included online descriptions of the CSU MATESOL program and its degree requirements as well as a printed "MATESOL Handbook that was given to my participants during their Orientation to the program, which occurred on the first day of their English 501 course (See Table 3).

Table 3 *Program Documents Collected for the Project*

Name of Document	Description	Date Accessed
CSU MATESOL Handbook (print)	A print-resource given to all incoming MATESOL students. Contents include degree requirements, MATESOL faculty details, tips for course selection and research, and professional resources.	11/20/2017
CSU Program Guide (online)	A description of the requirements of the CSU MATESOL degree (coursework, language requirement, etc.)	11/27/2017
CSU Degree Requirements (online)	A list of courses required for the CSU MATESOL degree	11/27/2017

[30] "Student Syllabi" or syllabi from courses my participants took as students
[31] "Teacher Syllabi" or syllabi from courses my participants taught as teachers

The remaining text-based documents were collected directly from my participants (see Table 4). As noted above, I have categorized these as “Student Syllabi” (the syllabi from the MATESOL coursework my participants were taking as students); “Teacher Syllabi (the syllabi from the English language courses my participants were teaching); and “Participant Coursework” (the projects that my participants were assigned and completed as part of their MATESOL coursework). In Table 4, I have included columns within the “Participant Coursework” section to indicate more specifically who shared which of four key identity-related assignments with me. These four assignments are: the Teaching Philosophy (TP), the Teaching Journal (TJ), the Language Learning Autobiography (LLA), and the Language Teaching Autobiography (LTA). For more information about each of these assignments, see also the section “Descriptions of Salient Participant Coursework” below.

As I briefly observed earlier, my first round of text-based artifact collection and analysis focused on the publicly available program documents described in Table 3, and soon expanded to include the student syllabus for the core course taken in my participants’ first quarter, English 501: Theory and Practice of TESOL. As each of my participants advanced through the program, I asked them to share with me any and all documents that they felt might have something to say about their identity as a teacher, giving examples of the kinds of assignments that I would find most helpful (for instance, teaching journals, teaching philosophy statements, autobiographical work, etc.) Each of my focal participants, with a few exceptions (see Table 4), shared parts of their Teaching Philosophy (TP), Teaching Journal (TJ), their Language Learning Autobiography (LLA), and their Language Teaching Autobiography (LTA), all of which were assignments given to them in required MATESOL classes. I made it clear that my participants were under no obligation to share work unless they were comfortable doing so, and some of them naturally chose to share more than others. I regularly reminded my participants of my interest in these materials during our group discussions and periodically sent out e-mail requests for documents, often as an addendum to a dinner and group discussion invitation.

Table 4 *Description of Focal Participants' Written Artifacts Collected for the Project*

Name	Student Syllabi[32]	Teacher Syllabi[33]	Participant Coursework[34]				
			TP	TJ	LLA	LTA	Other Coursework
Chiara	***English 407*** (Winter 2016)	***Listening and Speaking 4*** (Fall 2018)	X		X	X	Practicum Teaching Goals ***English 508:*** *Race, Empire, and TESOL* (Spring 2016) Final Paper ***English 504:*** (Winter 2019) Final Project Description
Huck	***English 407*** (Spring 2018) ***Asian 503*** (Spring 2018)	***Advanced Conversation*** (Fall 2018) ***English 103: Writing About Sources*** (Spring 2019)	X	X			 ***English 504*** (Winter 2019) Final Paper Discussed LLA and LTA with me during interview
Kevin	***English 407*** (Spring 2018) ***Asian 503*** (Spring 2018; Fall 2018)	***English 102: Critical Reading and Writing*** (Fall 2018)	X	X	X	X	***English 502*** (Winter 2018) Final Project
Liz	***English 407*** (Spring 2018)	***English 103: Writing from Sources*** (Fall 2018)	X		X	X	Practicum Teaching Goals
Sync	***English 407*** (Spring 2018)	***High Intermediate Grammar and Pronunciation*** (Fall 2018)	X	X	X	X	Practicum Teaching Goals ***English 501*** (Fall 2017) Final Paper ***English 502*** (Winter 2018) Final Project

All of my focal participants shared the syllabi from the five core (required) MATESOL courses[35] of their program as well as the syllabi from their two teaching practicum seminars. The practicum seminars

[32] My participants shared with me the syllabi from the courses they were taking. I refer to these syllabi as "Student Syllabi" to distinguish these courses from the ones my participants taught. My participants all shared the syllabi from their core MATESOL courses (English 501, 502, 504, 505, and 506) as well as from their teaching practicum seminars. All these syllabi are subsumed under this category.

[33] "Teacher Syllabi" describes the syllabi my participants shared with me from the classes that they were teaching.

[34] "X" indicates work shared with me; **TP**=Teaching Philosophy; **LLA**=Language Learning Autobiography; **LTA**=Language Teaching Autobiography; and **TJ**=Teaching Journal.

[35] English 501: Theory and Practice of TESOL; English 502: Methods and Materials for TESOL; English 504: Research Methods in Second Language Acquisition; English 505: Pedagogical Grammar; English 506: Testing and Evaluation in English as a Second Language. They did not share with me the core course taught through the linguistics department, Linguistics 411: Survey of Linguistic Method and Theory (or Linguistics 211: Introduction to Linguistic Thought).

were classes that met once per week with MATESOL core faculty and supported the MATESOL students in their language teaching. During the Winter or Spring Quarter of their first year, the MATESOL students took their first teaching practicum while they observed and taught in the CSU Intensive English Program (IEP) alongside an experienced mentor teacher. They likewise took another practicum seminar during the first quarter of their second-year teaching assistantship, and my participants all shared the syllabi they gave to their own students during this quarter (Fall, 2018).

All of my focal participants also took English 407: The Theory and Practice of Teaching Writing (a course I also observed) and shared this syllabus with me. As noted, Chiara took English 407 before enrolling as a MATESOL student at CSU, but the rest of my focal participants took this course at the same time (Spring, 2018). Huck and Kevin also shared with me the syllabus from their Asian 503 course, a seminar on the role of affect in applied linguistics, which course featured in several of our group discussions. Finally, I have indicated additional documents shared with me by my participants under the heading "Other Coursework," which category largely consisted of end-of-term papers or projects for various MATESOL courses. While most of these text-based documents do not feature directly in my analyses, they did all contribute to my larger understanding of how my participants were positioning themselves with regard to CSU MATESOL program discourse.

Descriptions of Salient Participant Coursework. While many of the written artifacts I collected served this research indirectly as background information, certain coursework proved more directly valuable in researching my participants' identity constructions vis-à-vis the social justice discourses promoted by the CSU MATESOL program. The following sections offer some brief commentary on the most relevant coursework shared by my participants.

Language Learning Autobiography. Each of my participants completed a three-page language learning autobiography as part of their coursework for English 501 early in their first quarter (due 10-3-2017) and submitted a revised (four-page) copy of this assignment near the end of this same quarter (due 11-30-2017). This assignment was worth 20% of my participants' final grade. The assignment prompt made an explicit connection between teachers "own positionalities and experiences" and their subsequent theorizing and practice.[36]

[36] See Appendix C for the full text of this assignment prompt.

Language Teaching Autobiography. During their second quarter my participants were asked to complete a three-page language teaching autobiography (due 1/9/18), similar to the language learning autobiography they completed the quarter prior in English 501. This assignment was worth 10% of my participants' final grade for English 502: Methods and Materials Development in TESOL. As was the case with the previous autobiographical assignment, students were asked to write in a reflective, narrative voice and explicitly encouraged to make connections between their past language teaching experiences and beliefs and the methods they would apply in their future language teaching.[37]

Teaching Philosophy Statement. The Statement of Teaching Philosophy (or Teaching Philosophy Statement) was an assignment given to my participants during their observational practicum (Winter or Spring Quarter 2018). It was a three-page assignment worth 20% of the grade during the Winter Quarter 2018 practicum (taken by Huck and Kevin), and a two-page assignment worth 10% of the grade during the Spring Quarter 2018 practicum (taken by Chiara, Liz, and Sync). Both versions of this assignment emphasized the importance of this document for employment applications and explicitly connected teachers' beliefs about language and their teaching practice.

Teaching Journals. My participants were asked to keep a reflective teaching journal during each of their practicum seminar classes. While their journal writing was not evaluated for a specific grade as were their autobiographical assignments, this writing was required as part of each practicum and they were asked to share the journals with both their peers and with their practicum instructor, who was, for my participants, always one of the CSU MATESOL program's three core faculty (Instructors A, C, or D).

2.4.1.2 Interviews

Interviews were a focal data source for this project and I conducted various types of interviews with the different groups of people who participated in this study. In order to efficiently present the details of these interviews, I have organized my discussion of this data into three sections, according to the category of participants involved. These categories are "Focal Participant Interviews," "Partial Participant Interviews," and "Faculty Interviews."

Focal Participant Interviews. I conducted a total of 10 one-on-one interviews and 9 group interviews with my focal participants, totaling just over 36 hours of interview time with this most important

[37] See Appendix C for the full text of this assignment prompt.

group. One-on-one, dyadic interviews with this group lasted 60 to 120 minutes, with most of them taking about 90 minutes. I offered my interviewees the choice of meeting location for dyadic interviews, and these were usually held at a variety of cafés on or near the CSU campus, although occasionally they took place at one of the campus libraries or in my office. My focal participants were also active in a majority of the group interviews, which I have categorized into two different types. Six of these group interviews were "Dinner Discussions," held for several hours around a meal at my home, and three were "Snack Discussions, which were held at a café or frozen yogurt shop and were held for about 90 minutes each. All interviews, dyadic and group, were recorded by both my digital voice recorder and my smart phone. Table 5 provides a summary of the interview participation from each of my five focal participants.

Table 5 *Focal Participant Interviews*

Name	**Dyadic Interviews**		**Group Discussions**		
	Number of Dyadic Interviews	**Total Hours of Dyadic Interviews**	**Number of Dinner Group Discussions Attended**	**Number of "Snack" Group Discussions Attended**	**Total Hours in Group Discussion (Dinner + Snacks)**
Chiara	2	2.5	6	1	18.75
Huck	2	2.75	6	3	22
Kevin	2	3	5	2	17.25
Liz	2	3	5	2	18
Sync	2	3.25	5	2	18

Note: Dyadic Interviews were conducted from November 2017-May 2018
Group Interviews were conducted from February 2018-April 2019

A few weeks prior to each group discussion, I would send out a digital poll to all of my student participants from the 2017 cohort, but scheduling conflicts and travel difficulties prevented everyone from coming to every meeting. Group Discussion interviews were attended by four to seven participants and regularly included partial participants as well as focal participants, as the "focal/partial" distinction was made only after reviewing the total amount of data I was able to collect from each participant.

Interviews with my focal participants were unstructured (with no predetermined topics or questions) at the beginning and end (when my participants and I held conversations on a wide variety of topics, many unrelated to teaching English) whereas the core of each interview was "semi-structured,"

with a script that included a list of possible topics and questions, but was treated as a guide rather than a strictly followed protocol (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The open conversation before and after each interview was a product of and contributed to the amicable relationships that my focal participants and I enjoyed. In several cases, these conversations offered valuable insights into our identity co-constructions and led to more personal discussions of MATESOL-related topics (this was the case, for example, with Excerpt 4E in Chapter 4). During the semi-structured portion of the initial individual interview with each focal participant, I asked a general set of questions about English language teaching (See Appendix A), and in subsequent individual and group interviews I created questions to expand on previous discussions and observations. All of these questions were intended to provide space for orally performed identity construction via detailed and interconnected narrative accounts (Riessman, 2008). I did not, however, confine myself to only the prepared questions, but I also frequently asked probing and follow-up questions (Richards 2003), not because I was necessarily interested in verifying my interpretations of my participants' answers in order to produce a "self-reliant" story within the interview itself that required little further explanation as Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) recommend - although I did, at times, check with my participants to see if I was understanding their meaning - but rather I asked these probing questions to extend and diversify our conversation, thereby providing a richer foundation for examining the ways we constructed our identities. In other words, although my methodology was not strictly opposed to moments of real-time interpretation of my participants' oral expressions, and there were indeed moments where my participants and I engaged in meta-analysis of the interview space during our conversations,[38] giving attention to the context and form of oral interactions necessitates significant post-interview analysis. These methodological goals did not allow for an understanding of interviews as "self-reliant" or as able to speak for themselves.

Partial Participant Interviews. As noted above, the interview format for participants who could only participate partially in this study was functionally identical to that of the focal participants, as the distinction between these groups was made after data collection had completed. The one exception to this is my interview with Elizabeth (see Table 6), who was a "second-year" MATESOL student from the

[38] For example, Sync's self-conscious meta-reflection on the dispreferred response she gives in Excerpt 4R, "I don't want to go on about other things that are I'm not sure if I agree with them or not because I just feel like (.) It wouldn't make me sound like the best person" (lines 50-52).

2016 cohort during the first year of my research. Most of my focal participants had taken courses with Elizabeth, and they had occasionally discussed Elizabeth and the 2016 cohort in general during our group discussions, so I asked Elizabeth if she would be willing to sit for an interview to help contextualize these discussions. Elizabeth agreed, and although I have not reported from this interview directly in this study, it has helped me form a more complete picture of my focal participants' experiences.

Table 6 *Partial Participant Interviews*

Name	**Dyadic Interviews**		**Group Discussions**		
	Number of Dyadic Interviews	**Total Hours of Dyadic Interviews**	**Number of Dinner Group Discussions Attended**	**Number of "Snack" Group Discussions Attended**	**Total Hours in Group Discussion (Dinner + Snacks)**
Katie	1	1	2	1	7
Maggie	2	2.75	3	2	12
Su Zhang	2	2.25	0	1	1.5
Elizabeth (2016 Cohort)	1	1	N/A	N/A	N/A

As can be seen in Table 6, my partial participants were unable to participate as fully as my focal participants and their availability for group interviews was particularly limited. This fact, in combination with the fact that I was unable to observe their teaching (beyond a single observation of Katie's practicum teaching) led to my decision to focus more centrally on the five participants who subsequently became the focus of this study. Nonetheless, the conversational excerpts I have included in later chapters do occasionally include references to or comments from these participants, and the data I received from Katie, Maggie, and Su Zhang, like that from Elizabeth, has been helpful in developing a fuller picture of the CSU MATESOL program and my focal participants' experiences in it.

Faculty Interviews. In addition to my extensive group and individual interactions with the focal and partial participants, I also conducted dyadic interviews with the core faculty members of the CSU MATESOL program as well as with the TA coordinator. See Table 7 for a concise account of these faculty interviews.

Table 7 *Faculty Interviews*

Title	Number of Dyadic Interviews	Total Hours of Interview
Instructor A	1	1
Instructor C	1	2
Instructor D	1	1
TA Coordinator	1	1

The interviews with Instructors A and C were held in their campus offices during March, 2018, the interview with Instructor D was held over the phone in November, 2018, and the interview with the Teaching Assistant Coordinator was held at a CSU cafeteria in February, 2019. The interviews I conducted with these faculty helped me to better situate their classroom discourse as I observed it and offered me another venue through which to examine the ideological constructions underlying their presentation of key program themes to my focal participants. Because these interviews occurred in the midst of my data collection, I was able to ask questions related to issues that had become salient amongst my focal participants and about things I had observed in my participants' coursework (see, for example, my question at the beginning of Excerpt 3F).

Theorization of Dyadic Interviews. As was discussed in Chapter 1, postmodernist shifts in epistemology and the ontological understanding of language have contributed to the rising popularity of qualitative research methods in general over the course of the anti-positivist "paradigm wars" of the 1970's and 1980's (Denzin, 2012; Polkinghorne, 2007) as well as a "narrative turn" in social science research (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013; Georgakopoulou, 2008). These changes have correlated with an increase in the popularity of research interviews. However, concomitant shifts in the theorization of interviews and understandings of the knowledge they produce have not often kept pace. As Talmy (2010) notes, despite a "proliferation of interview research in qualitative applied linguistics," there is a "profound inconsistency" in the theorization of interviews (p. 128). For Talmy, this inconsistency manifests most problematically when researchers either fail to theorize interviews entirely (Talmy, 2011) or when the theorization of interviews does not match the overarching theoretical framework of a project (Talmy, 2010). In both, cases Talmy lays the blame on the overwhelming tendency of researchers to conceive of interviews as neutral "research instruments" whereby factual data is directly transmitted, via the interview, from the participant to the researcher. This normalized conception of interviews acts as a

default in the absence of explicit theorization and regularly conflicts with studies otherwise formulated in a social constructionist frame. Talmy contends that researchers operating within a social constructionist framework should theorize interviews as themselves constituting a "social practice" wherein data are socially constructed "representations or accounts of truths" rather than straightforward "reports of truth" (2011, pg. 27).

Similar methodological complaints have been lodged over decades by a number of scholars, including Mishler (1986), Holstein and Gubrium (1995), Atkinson and Silverman (1997), Briggs (2007a) and Potter and Hepburn (2012). Mishler (1986) argues against the "context stripping" procedures of mainstream interview processes (p. 22) and calls upon researchers to view interviews as discursive, co-constructed, and contextually grounded "speech events" (p. ix). Holstein and Gubrium (1995) assert that an interviewer necessarily takes an "active" role and that interview responses should be analyzed "as products of interpretive practice" (p. 18) wherein both parties, the interviewer as well as the interviewee, are unavoidably involved in "meaning-making" and thus must both be considered in any analysis (p. 4). Atkinson and Silverman (1997) center their critique on the tendency of researchers to take at "face value the image of the self-revealing speaking subject" while ignoring that interview-collected narratives are the result of "socially organized practices" (p. 322). Briggs (2007a) likewise contends that interviews are shaped by "ideological constructions of discourse, production, circulation, and reception," or "communicable cartographies" (p. 551) that pressure interviewees to respond in certain ways, even while interviewees do have some agency in resisting or rejecting them. These methodological concerns have been persistent, leading Potter and Hepburn (2012) to lament that interviews are still "too little studied" (p. 555) on their way to aggregating these related methodological criticisms into eight challenges for researchers conducting interviews at both the stage of reporting and the stage of analysis.

Conceiving interviews as discursive speech-events, as I do in agreement with the above scholars, requires attending to the ways that the discourse of interviews is regulated by the normalized understandings of the community in which an interview takes place. We live in an "interview society" where interview discourse has been naturalized and thus often remains hidden (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Briggs, 2003; Richards, 2003). Researchers should therefore acknowledge that an "interview" carries with it a number of socially institutionalized characteristics, such as what the "task" of an interview

is, what the different roles of interviewer and interviewee are, and what kind of questions and answers are expected (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Sarangi, 2003). In addition to recognizing the prescriptive and "institutional" nature of interviewing (Sandhu, 2016), I have aligned my practice with scholars who call for reducing the power asymmetries between the researcher and participants (Briggs, 2007b; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015) and for recognition that the interview situation itself structures what is "intelligible and plausible to say" (Block, 2000, p.762). Failing to do so may lead to the uncritical recapitulation of the interview as a "personal confessional" and obscure the co-constructed nature of interview data (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997, p. 305).

In light of the above, the analyses I conduct in the subsequent chapters take interview data itself as the main object of analysis rather than treating such data as direct evidence of pre-existing social phenomena. In other words, I have refrained from granting the statements made by my participants (and myself) during interviews the status of unvarnished truth, whether such statements are about what Pavlenko (2007) has referred to as "life reality" (real events) or "subject reality" (experiences and feelings). Additionally, I have situated my analyses of interviews within the social circumstances of their production, including statements regarding my own positionality,[39] the discursively produced positionalities of instructors[40] and mentors,[41] and comments on how such positionalities would likely have affected my participants' interview responses.[42]

While acknowledging that interview data is always and necessarily a selective, subjective, and historically situated interpretation of a selective, subjective, and historically situated report does limit the certainty of claims that can be made about that data, I do not take this as a vindication of the strict focus on the text demanded by some Conversation Analysts (see Schegloff 1999a, 1999b). As I indicated in Chapter 1, the social constructivist paradigm I have adopted maintains that any given text, whether a conversation or an analysis of a conversation, is a socially situated product of all involved parties. I recognize, along with Billig (1999a, 1999b) that efforts to adopt an innocent, purely objective, or "naïve" approach in analysis may (and perhaps must) ignore the intrusion of the researcher's own

[39] See, for example, Chapter 1, page 33
[40] See, for example, my discussion of Excerpt 4H
[41] See, for example, my discussion of Excerpt 4Q
[42] See, for example, my discussions of Excerpt 3B, Excerpt 4Q, and Excerpt 4R

epistemological concerns. I thus maintain that an acknowledgment of one's ideological and epistemological preconceptions and a recognition of the ways they may have affected the collection, reporting, and analysis of data is a more robust research practice than attempts to maintain an obfuscatory and hapless objectivity. In line with this overarching research paradigm, I have conceived of interviews as social practices embedded in networks of influence, both material and social. The transcribed data from interviews is thus not a pure report on a pre-existing reality, but rather a researcher-mediated record of collaboratively produced oral interaction, uniquely situated in time and space, a product of the data and the conduct of the researcher (Briggs, 2007a; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Mishler, 1986; Talmy, 2011). The problem of "bias," then, becomes not one of mechanizing the researcher into an unchanging and neutral element of the research (an impossible task) but rather of accounting for the ways that the researcher has necessarily influenced the production and analysis of the data (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) and the ways that the interview is embedded in webs of social practices that circumscribe the behaviors considered "normal" within any given interview context (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

Yet even if, as Mann (2011) claims, it is now "well established" among qualitative researchers that "that interview talk is inevitably a co-construction between the interviewer and interviewee" (p. 9), the intellectual adoption of this perspective has been, to say the least, unevenly applied in actual research. It is relatively common for scholars to acknowledge the significance of their own role in the production of interview data without providing much or any indication of how this affected the analysis of that data (Talmy, 2010). And even amongst those researchers who do provide some analysis of their own role in the social performance of interviews, there can be disagreement over the nature of the truth claims so produced. For example, Atkinson and Silverman (1997) agree with Mishler (1986) that interviews should be treated as situated, interactional speech events, but contend that Mishler's ethical agenda, specifically his efforts to promote his participants' own insights into their lived experiences, constitutes a "romantic view of the person" that is methodologically out of line with a social constructionist perspective (p. 318). A number of researchers likewise dismantle or problematize the notion that interviews can give a "voice" to individuals (Talmy, 2010) or groups (Briggs, 2003). Conversely, others have valued interview-based research precisely for its ability to give "voice" to otherwise marginalized participants (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Mishler, 1986; Pavlenko, 2007). Similarly, Riessman (2008)

acknowledges and supports “developments” which “challenge ideas about a unitary and stable self that is simply *reflected* in language,” yet still offers sole ownership of narrative productions to participants, exhorting narrative researchers to “give up control” and follow “participants down *their* trails” (p. 24, emphasis in original).

As I made clear above and in Chapter 1, rather than consider an “ethical agenda” invalidating, lacking (or pretending to lack) ethical intent serves merely to deprive the research of the benefit of acknowledging one’s ethical interests. As to whose insights and narrative “trails” are here portrayed, my understanding that no statement from myself or my participants represents a unilateral description of truth should now be clear. However, this does not mean that I believe that such statements have no value whatsoever for a qualified understanding of real events, participant feelings and experiences, etc. While conducting this research, I have aligned myself with scholars like Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and Polkinghorne (2007) who acknowledge that while interviews are not transparent research instruments, this does not foreclose the possibility of their being of some value for understanding things outside the direct scope of the conversational moment. I have shown that, while my interpretations of the data are indeed subjective, they rise above the level of simple opinion and avoid collapsing into a “radical relativism” where any interpretation is as sound as another (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). While my interview data is not direct evidence of any empirical fact (other than perhaps that certain utterances were spoken), when the supporting ethnographic data suggests a certain likelihood, I have not refrained from elaborating on these suggestions.

Briggs (2007a) recommends that a researcher “address interview communicabilities and practices explicitly with interviewees” as a way of “opening up creative options” (p. 566) in spite of the inevitable restrictions of the interview space. Thus, in each of my initial interviews with my focal participants, I summarized the above understandings to indicate to them that I was approaching these events as a co-constructor of our conversation, albeit one with the particular privileges and status of a researcher. This practice was part of my general efforts to be as transparent as possible regarding my research goals and methodology. I concur with Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) in their assessment that the power differentials in interviews cannot be eliminated but that interviewers should nonetheless work to ensure the interview experience is an enriching and positive one for the interviewee and, in the eventual

written analysis, that researchers should “reflect on the role of power in the production of interview knowledge” (p. 38).

One of the major sources of power differences in an interview is the often-unspoken understanding that the interviewer controls the interview, asks the questions, and decides when to move from one topic to the next, as though he or she is hunting for and extracting valuable data from the interviewee. Even amongst those researchers who agree that interview data is co-constructed by the interviewer and the interviewee, there is a tendency to exhort the interviewer to take a much smaller role in the conversation itself (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Riessman, 2008), reinforcing the role differential between the participant (understood as an information-giver) and the researcher (understood as an information-receiver). However, while I certainly encouraged my participants to speak at-length, I placed no restrictions on my own participation during interviews and I encouraged my participants to ask me questions as well, as I felt that this was a useful way to reduce the interview power asymmetry, reciprocate the (sometimes very personal) sharing done by my participants (Athanases & Heath, 1995) and to encourage further and deeper sharing from my participants by making myself vulnerable as well (Behar, 1996). This approach sometimes resulted in a prolonged “reversal” of the traditional interview roles, with my participants asking me a series of questions about their program, the discipline of TESOL, their readings, or CSU life in general and me providing responses (for instance, the entire second hour of my initial interview with Liz, 11-28-17). Likewise, during group discussions, I encouraged my participants to ask questions of their peers and they regularly did so.

Theorization of Group Interviews. As is the case with dyadic interviews, scholars have noted that group interviews have often been undertheorized (McCracken, 1988). My own theorization of group interviews has much in common with the way I have theorized individual interviews. As with individual interviews, I view group interviews as social practices where the role of the researcher is that of an active participant and co-constructor of the oral interactional data, albeit still a special case participant with more institutional power and control. As was the case with the dyadic interviews, I analyzed the data produced from group interviews with particular attention to form and context in addition to its thematic content. The chief differences between group and dyadic interviews, obviously enough, arise in precisely

those differences in form and context produced by the number of people involved and the commensurately complex relationships among them.

My understanding of group interviews has also been influenced by the conceptualization of focus group research as it has been theorized in varied fields. Understandably, focus group research is conducted very differently in fields as diverse as Education, Anthropology, Medicine, and Market Research. However, Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook (2007) identify four "signature aspects" of focus group research that cross disciplinary differences in the application and analysis of this form of research. These aspects are: (1) a focus on a particular topic of interest; (2) an interest in the functioning of group dynamics and how these affect individual perceptions and decision-making; (3) in-depth data that goes beyond superficial answers; and (4) an emphasis on meaning rather than quantitative measurement. My use of group interviews in this project differed from much focus group research in that the "topic of interest" (the construction of teacher-identity over the course of a MATESOL degree program) was not particularly focused, and indeed, aside from the descriptions in a few early documents, such as my initial project proposal, I most commonly described these interviews, not as "focus group interviews," but as group discussions, dinner discussions or snack discussions.

Nevertheless, this group method of conducting interviews provided a number of benefits to my project that overlap with the advantages of more traditional focus group research. Hess (1968) has enumerated five advantages of group interviews over dyadic interviews, claiming that the former provide space for and encourage (1) *synergism* (an increase in the breadth of data); (2) *snowballing* (comments from one participant being built upon by others); (3) *stimulation* (the generation of excitement about a topic of shared interest); (4) *security* (the potential for a group to support individual responses); and (5) *spontaneity* (the notion that participants will be more "genuine" if they can choose more freely when to respond and when to remain silent (cited in Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996). My understanding of oral interaction as a social practice does not support the perspective that group interviews provide more spontaneous or genuine data, since in both dyadic and group interviews, all data is considered co-constructed, tailored to the particular contexts of its production, and not an unmediated report of a pre-existing truth, feeling, or emotional state. Likewise, the fact that a group has the potential to offer "security," or to be more supportive and comfortable for a given individual is balanced by the obvious fact

that a group also has the potential to be unsupportive and to make a given individual less comfortable. However, as both Hess (1968) and Stewart et al. (2007) have indicated, the fact that interviewing participants in a group offers dimensions of oral interaction that are distinct from those of dyadic interviews is particularly valuable to this project, given my interest in narrative inquiry, narrative analysis and identity construction. Indeed, there were several times where my participants pushed and probed each-other more intensely than I might have done (See, for example, Huck's comments in Excerpt 4R, lines 55-58[43]).

2.4.1.3 Ethnographic Observations

I conducted ethnographic observations of my focal participants from November, 2017 through November, 2018. I observed my participants first in their role as MATESOL students, and later also observed them in their role as language teachers in their practicum placements and in their teaching assistantship courses. In the following three sub-sections, I explain the observations I made of my participants as students, continue with my observations of them as teachers, and then offer a summative explanation of my approach to ethnographic observation more generally.

Observations of Participants as Students in MATESOL Core and Elective Courses. I observed a total of 13 hours of my participants' coursework: seven hours of English 501, one session each of the Winter and Spring Practicum seminars, and parts of two sessions of English 407: The Theory and Practice of Teaching Writing, an elective course attended by most of my focal participants. These observations were all audio-recorded and transcribed with the exception of my visits to English 407, as this was a larger class with numerous undergraduates from whom I had not obtained permission to record. To schedule observations of the classes my participants were taking as MATESOL students, I e-mailed the class instructor before my visit and, once a day was selected, sent an email to my participants (or to the instructor for forwarding) letting them know that I intended to visit, audio-record, and take notes on their class on that date. There were a few times when an instructor thought it best that I not observe a certain, sensitive class or when permission was not given to audio record, but in most cases I was able to

[43] At another point (unexcerpted) in this same conversation, Kevin asks Sync a question and acknowledges the change in interview dynamic, stating, "I'm taking over now TJ"

attend, audio-record, and take notes on my laptop throughout a given observation. Table 8 summarizes the relevant information from the class sessions I was permitted to attend.

Table 8 *Observations of Focal Participants' Coursework*

Course Title ***Instructor***	**Hours Observed**	**Dates Observed (Class Topics)**	**Focal participants** ***absent***
English 501 *Instructor A*	7	10-31-17 (Topic: Debate Preparation) 11-02-17 (Topic: The Great Debate) 11-28-17 (Topic: Non-Nativeness) 11-30-17 (Topic: Race in TESOL)	None None None None
Practicum Seminar *Instructor C*	2	02-19-18 (Topic: Teacher Identities)	Chiara, Liz, Sync
English 407 *Instructor B*	2	05-14-18 (Topic: Critical approaches to teaching writing) 05-16-18 (Topic: Final Projects)	Chiara
Practicum Seminar *Instructor A*	2	05-25-18 (Topic: Review of Practicum Course Goals / Chiara Teaching Demo)	Kevin, Huck

Of the instructors whose courses I observed, Instructors A and C were both MATESOL faculty, whereas Instructor B was faculty from the larger CSU English department. My focal participants were given their practicum placements at different times (see the section "Observations of Participants in their Role as Language Teachers" below), and so Huck and Kevin took their practicum seminar with Instructor C during the Winter Quarter of 2018 and Chiara, Liz, and Sync took their practicum seminar with Instructor A during the Spring Quarter of 2018. Likewise, Chiara had already taken English 407 during the Winter Quarter of 2016, so she was not in attendance during my observations of that course.

The ethnographic notes taken during observations, along with the research memos I recorded after most interviews and while working with the data, comprised the bulk of my field journal. This journal was essentially an archive of my observations, thoughts, and impressions taken in response to the many different research interactions. Observational notes were recorded primarily in Microsoft Word, whereas notes taken while reviewing the data were usually recorded in Microsoft OneNote, and later in MAXQDA, a popular qualitative research software (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 2015). Very occasionally, I

would speak a few thoughts into my voice recorder following a meeting and transcribe these later in the same fashion as I did interview and observational recordings.

Observations of Participants in their Role as Language Teachers. I also observed 14 hours of my focal participants' teaching, either in their role as a student-teacher in their practicum placement class, or as the teacher of their own course during their second-year teaching assistantship, or both. During the first year of their program, my focal participants were all given a practicum placement in an English language course being taught in the CSU Intensive English Program (IEP). MATESOL students in such practicum placements were required to observe an experienced, mentor teacher for 4-5 hours each week, gradually engaging in more student-teaching later in the quarter. These mentor teachers were the instructors of record in IEP courses who had volunteered to take on this role. As mentors, they observed the teaching of the MATESOL student-teacher, gave feedback on this teaching, offered suggestions for lesson planning, shared teaching materials and curriculum information, and served as a general model and resource for their mentees. As noted above, Huck and Kevin were given their practicum placements during the Winter Quarter of 2018 and Chiara, Liz, and Sync were given their practicum placements during the Spring Quarter of 2018.

As can be seen in Table 9, the language classes taught by my participants were generally broken down into different focal skills (e.g., reading, writing, grammar, etc.) and different levels (e.g., 1,2,3, etc.)[44] I observed between two and five hours of each of my participant's teaching, split between their first-year practicum placement teaching and their teaching of their own classes during their second year. As I mentioned previously, due to an ongoing labor dispute between my participants' mentor teachers and the central administration of CSU, the Spring 2018 practicum sessions were terminated a little over half-way through the quarter, eliminating additional observations with Sync, Liz, and Chiara.[45] I was able to observe two sessions of Chiara's practicum teaching before these cancellations. However, Chiara was unable to continue teaching during the second year of her program (beyond the first few days of class), and so I did not observe her teaching her own class. Likewise, Kevin invited me to his "main teacher"

[44] See Chapter 5, section 5.2.4 for a discussion of the ideological import of this kind of academic taxonomy.
[45] This labor dispute was frequently raised in our group discussions, as was an overlapping but separate dispute between the CSU administration and the CSU Academic Student Employee Union, of which I was a member. See section 5.2.4 in Chapter 5, for a brief discussion of the impact these labor disputes likely had on our identity constructions vis-à-vis the Key Program Discourse of "Neoliberalism."

course, but not to his practicum classroom teaching. Securing permission to observe my participants' teaching generally became easier as my participants grew more familiar with me. However, some of my participants were naturally more open to being observed than others, and none of them were comfortable having me in a class they were teaching beyond a few times per quarter.

Table 9 *Observations of Focal Participants' Teaching*

Focal Participant	**Practicum Placement Course Title**[46]	**Observations of Practicum Placement Teaching**		**"Teaching Assistantship" Course**[47]	**Observation of "Teaching Assistantship" Course**	
		Times Visited	**Total Hours**		**Times Visited**	**Total Hours**
Chiara	*Reading 3*	2	2	*Listening and Speaking 4*	0	0
Huck	*Grammar & Writing 2*	3	3	*Advanced Conversation*	1	2
Kevin	*Not Observed*	0	0	*English 102: Critical Reading and Writing*	2	2
Liz	*Grammar & Writing 2*	1	1	*English 103: Writing From Sources*	1	2
Sync	*Grammar 4*	1	1	*High Intermediate Grammar and Pronunciation*	1	1

To schedule observations of my participants in the language classes they were teaching, I asked my participants in-person during our group discussions and also sent e-mail requests. All such requests made it clear that my participants could choose any class session for my observation (or decline having me in class during any session). Once a session was selected, I would arrive a few minutes early to find a seat near the back of the classroom where I could observe most of the class. If given permission to audio-record,[48] I left my digital voice recorder on a desk near the front and set my smart phone to record where I was sitting in the back of class. The use of two recording devices was intended to avoid data-

[46] The "Practicum Course" here refers to the course my participants were assigned to as observers. The teachers of these courses were considered "mentor teachers," and my observations of these courses were always of special days set aside for my participants to practice teaching these classes with the main teacher present.
[47] "Teaching Assistantships" were, despite the name, courses that my participants taught as the sole instructor of record during their second year of their program.
[48] My two observations of English 407: Teaching Writing were the only observations I did not record.

loss through the failure of a single device. I took observational notes on my laptop in real-time while observing each class.

My classroom observations were the part of my data collection where I most closely approximated the role of a passive observer (Spradley, 2016), although I did interact actively when explicitly invited to do so (such as in clarifying a topic that the teacher knew I was familiar with or when introducing myself). As I was not regularly engaged directly in classroom activities, I was better able to observe and take notes on a range of appearances, events, interactions, and actions as they manifested in the classroom. My presence as an observer was, nonetheless, always felt in class, and this feeling was frequently manifested in my participants' comments on being observed. Some of my participants also wrote about my observations and the effects it had on their teaching in their teaching journals. For example, one of my participants wrote about having a "panic attack" the day of my observation, of the embarrassment of being observed, and of a need for better preparation to gain "redemption" in the classroom.[49]

Also, as was mentioned above, I was formerly an "active participant" in the CSU MATESOL program and was able to apply my understandings of this program from the perspective of an insider (Athanases & Heath, 1995). Having such insider knowledge can make it difficult to gain more profound ethnographic insights, as making a "familiar" scene "strange" is more difficult than making a "strange" scene "familiar" (Heath & Street, 2008). Ultimately, however, this was a relatively minor limitation, as my goal was not simply to describe the scene of the CSU MATESOL program, but to gather rich descriptions of the circumstances in which my participants were shaping, adapting, adopting, and resisting the discourses of their degree program and the manner in which their identities were co-constructed in the various environments, times, and circumstances that were part of this study. To this end, the concrete advantages of my quasi-insider status (access to faculty and mentors, ability to reciprocate participation with program-related advice, familiarity with courses and readings, etc.) almost certainly outweighed the more abstract disadvantage presented by the greater difficulty in stepping outside my own understandings of the program, hence my decision to pursue this research at my former institution.

[49] In some more sensitive instances such as this, I have deliberately refrained from referring to my participants even by their pseudonyms to better preserve their anonymity. The point here is simply to highlight the fact that my observations sometimes dramatically affected the atmosphere of the class, despite my "passive observer" role.

Several of my participants needed to observe other classes as part of their practicum coursework, and because of labor negotiations with the language teachers in the CSU Intensive English Program (which included their practicum mentors), some of them had difficulty in finding enough classes to observe. As part of my efforts to reciprocate my participants' making themselves vulnerable by inviting me to observe their teaching, I made my own class, English 105, a writing class for international students, available for observation and Sync, Liz, and Chiara – as well as a second-year partial participant, Elizabeth (see Table 6) – were all observers in my class at different times.

Ethnography Disambiguated. At a basic level, my ethnographic observations in this project align with much ethnographic research insofar as they were done to provide "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6) of my participants in select MATESOL courses, in their teaching practicums, and in the classes they are teaching -- descriptions which depict not only what is happening, but the "webs of significance" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5) in which those happenings occur and through which those happenings are understood in particular ways by my participants. This ethnographic approach allowed me to situate the oral interactions of my participants more firmly within the larger cultural ecologies of their degree program and their institution, a prerequisite for a contextually situated narrative analysis.

My project further approximated an ethnographic case study in a number of ways: it incorporated data from a range of sources, and analysis was not experimental but rather involved the interpretation of meanings and the implication of these meanings in local and wider contexts (Duff, 2008). Moreover, it was conceived and conducted with the notion that I, as the person designing, collecting, organizing, and presenting the data, was myself the "fundamental research instrument" with all the consequences that this perspective entails for the interpretation and understanding of any knowledge so produced (Duff, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Heath & Street, 2008; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Spradley, 2016). My collection and analysis of observational data, as with my collection and analysis of textual and interview data, was understood as a necessarily subjective processes and any knowledge produced treated as partial, situated, and mediated by my own positionality (Denzin, 1997). This understanding informed not just my ethnographic observations, but every aspect of the project, from research design to participant selection to data collection, analysis, and reporting.

Ethnography is, however, far from a unified approach to research. Indeed, as several scholars have observed, ethnography has a "variable and sometimes contested character" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 1) and disputes over its methods and goals are "frequently rancorous" (Snow, Morrill, & Anderson, 2003, p. 195). In response to the many disagreements regarding best practices amongst ethnographic researchers, I made methodological decisions that I felt were most consistent with the overarching, social-constructionist paradigm I had established for my project. My project differed from much ethnography insofar as I was selective in my data collection from the very beginning. Although I was open to new insights, themes, and ideas throughout, I had already been a "complete participant" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) in CSU's program a few years prior, and I was therefore more interested in what Spradley (2016) refers to as "focused observations" rather than the more open-ended "descriptive observations" that are generally the initial work of an ethnographer first entering the field (p. 128). Rather than attempt to view the scene of CSU's MATESOL program completely afresh, I began by looking specifically at discourses salient in the program and I allowed my pre-formed notions of what these discourses were from my own time in the program to guide the early stages of my study. This did not mean that I began with established codes and predetermined hypotheses, but my primary interest was in analyzing the production of language teacher identity in oral interaction and the collection of ethnographic data was of interest insofar as it would help me better contextualize these analyses - not primarily as part of a more thorough description of the CSU MATESOL scene. While I certainly did not refrain from open-ended description in my observations, and consistently worked to view my data through different organizational "lenses" (Athanases & Heath, 1995) in iterative rounds of coding and analysis, my goal was not to provide a comprehensive ethnographic account of the MATESOL program in general.

A major shortcoming of much ethnographic social science research is that the time allotted for research is often too short to allow for a nuanced understanding of the research scene, resulting in what some scholars have scornfully referred to as "smash and grab" (Pole & Morrison, 2003) or "blitzkrieg" (Van Maanen, 2011) ethnography. While this project was still conducted within the restraints of a graduate degree requirement, interviews and observations eventually spanned nearly the entire course of my participants' degree program, from the initial observations and interviews in the Fall Quarter of 2017 through the final group discussion during the Spring Quarter of 2019. The duration of this study not only

permitted the collection of data with significant diachronic depth, but added to the richness of my narrative analyses, since narrative forms are often “iterative” and connected significantly to participants’ shared history over time (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 258).

2.4.1.4 Ethical Considerations and Participant Relations

Scholars often disagree over ethical considerations in observing and interviewing participants. Even for something as common as participant pseudonyms, researchers have voiced different opinions about how these should be determined, or even whether they are a good thing in all circumstances (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). I designed this study to be as protective and supportive of my participants as possible, while still recognizing my own needs as a researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). For example, at the level of design, I worked to ensure that all participants were aware that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to participate or not as they wished in any part of the project. This information was given orally during my initial recruitment visit to English 501 and in writing on the informed consent documents that all of my participants read and signed. I was particularly careful to emphasize that a signature on the informed consent form was only an acknowledgment of their rights as a participant and did not obligate them to participate further in any way. Among other things, the informed consent form contained contact information for my supervisor should a participant wish to seek redress for any harm incurred through the study.

The human interactive element is always a concern in ethnographic and interview-based research, and in addition to taking steps to ensure that my participants understood what participation in my project entailed, I took a number of actions to raise the level of trust in our relationships, to reciprocate as best I could for their contributions, and to attend to the inevitable power dynamics in a researcher/researched relationship (Athanases & Heath, 1995). One of the ways I raised trust was by detailing multiple levels of confidentiality and anonymity. For example, in order to ensure confidentiality, research data was all kept in secure locations and participants’ self-selected pseudonyms were applied, even in transcripts, to better secure participant anonymity (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). I also frequently reminded them that I would erase anything that they did not want from the recordings, and I offered them the chance to read and comment on any analyses involving them before including such in the completed dissertation. Member checking in this way can further bolster the trust that participants have in the

researcher, serve as additional validation of the data (Richards, 2003), and diminish the power asymmetry in the researcher-researched relationship (Caretta, 2016), despite, of course, the risk that participants might disagree with the researcher's analyses (Duff, 2008).

Furthermore, given that my dissertation chair and committee members were also involved in the mentoring of my participants, no writing was submitted to these persons for review until my participants had either graduated, or were no longer in courses taught by the readers of my work. This was done as a further safeguard, since anonymity can only be carried so far when working within a relatively small group. The demographic information provided in this chapter and in Chapter 1, for example, could potentially be used to identify the participants in my study by those who already know them. My anecdotal sense is that some of my participants who may have been concerned about the sharing of their more candid remarks regarding the CSU MATESOL program grew less concerned after their graduation and over the passage of time.

Some scholars argue for giving less control to participants, since taking such protective steps puts the researcher's own needs at risk (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). While these precautions did indeed result in my not being able to use some of the data I had collected, I felt that not taking them would have been a disservice to my participants as well as to the collective process of ethnographic research. For, as most researchers rapidly discover, attracting participants is already a delicate stage in research (Richards, 2003), and publishing research that participants do not find fair can weaken trust in researchers and make subsequent research much more difficult (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Miles and Huberman (1984) have bluntly characterized ethnographic work as that which "makes public the private and leaves the locals to take the consequences" (cited in Heath & Street, 2008, p. 29). Respecting the trust of one's participants is thus an immediate and long-term necessity of ethnographic research and my project was more robust overall because I respected this trust, despite the short-term "loss" of some data.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) have noted, "pure sociability should not be underestimated as a means of building trust" (p. 70). During every interview I either cooked food for my participants or offered to buy them a beverage. This was at once direct material compensation and a relationship building process. Over eighteen months, we shared beverages and meals together and established a

stronger group rapport. As De Costa (2014) has recommended, I regularly and explicitly asked my participants how I might reciprocate the effort they put into participation. As a result, I ended up helping my participants in a wide variety of ways, offering my advice on the courses they were taking, giving feedback on their assignments, showing them how to use scholarly software, video-taping their practicum classes, advising them on the English department doctoral program, co-presenting with them at a local conference, writing recommendations for jobs and programs, and even, in one instance, helping with a move. In brief, while I was clearly not a member of my participants' academic cohort, my presence in their classrooms and our regular meetings insured that I and my research have been a significant part of their experience as MATESOL students at CSU. Some ethnographers advise taking a mostly passive, "non-intrusive" stance in interactions with participants (Heath & Street, 2008), and while I took steps to ensure that my presence was not overtly disruptive in their classrooms, I did not see any advantage in pretending that my research observations were not already a significant intrusion, and I did not view those times when I interacted more actively as polluting or corrupting the data in any way. My presence, active or passive, was always a significant intrusion into my participants' lives and my analyses were concerned with the manner and consequences of these intrusions, and not with the supposed level of purity of "uninfluenced" data.

2.4.2 Data Organization

The collection, organization, and analysis of my data was an iterative process in which each successive round of collection was informed by the organization and initial analysis of the previous round (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The three main categories of data collection roughly followed in order: from document collection to observations to interviews to additional document collection, observations, and interviews) although the actual process was considerably less straightforward, as materials and opportunities to observe and interview were all granted when my participants found the time to do so.

As mentioned above, I began data collection with those publicly accessible documents (the MATESOL Handbook, degree requirements, etc.) that might best help me answer my first research question regarding the manner in which salient discourses and related identity categories were offered to my participants by the MATESOL program and its instructors. I subsequently used initial analyses of these documents to direct my observations of my participants, and then used both document and

observation data in the generation of the questions I asked my participants in interviews. As data collection proceeded, each successive data source, whether document, observation, or interview, shaped the focus of subsequent data collection. Occasionally, these analyses prompted me to approach additional participants as well, as was the case with the 2016 Cohort participant (Elizabeth) and the TA Coordinator, who had both featured in several interview conversations. At the same time, however, this iterative focusing of my data collection did not mean that I stopped paying attention to things outside my focus. I continued throughout the project to keep a flexible and open attitude with regard to the data collected in my research.

After receiving each written artifact (or generating each artifact, as was the case with my field notes), I would back it up on my home computer and upload it to MAXQDA, a popular qualitative research software (Creswell, 2015). Once in MAXQDA[50], I would assign a document to a sub-category (for example, "program documents," "participant assignments," "MATESOL course syllabi," "language course syllabi," etc.) and code segments by concept in an initial, "open coding" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In line with the recommendations from many qualitative researchers, I did not begin with preconceived codes (Davies, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Richards, 2003), although I did, as discussed above, use my background knowledge of the CSU MATESOL program as a guide in generating research questions and in focusing my investigations.

Every interview and observation was recorded primarily on a digital voice recorder and secondarily on a smart phone. The double recording was intended as a technological fail-safe, and the secondary recording was ignored in transcription except in a few instances (such as the fifth dinner discussion) where the batteries had failed in the voice recorder or in cases where the audio from the voice recorder was too faint (the second recorder was always placed in a different physical location). The mp3 files of the recordings were transferred to my home computer, where I used an audio playback application (VLC Media Player) to listen to the recordings during transcription. I also used Google Voice software to assist my initial typing of each transcript. The rough transcripts and their mp3 source files,

[50] I switched from Microsoft OneNote mid project, purchasing a student license of MAXQDA because OneNote was increasingly slow in tagging and linking data. This switch was accompanied by a re-reading and re-coding of all data collected up to that point, about two-thirds of the total data for the project (October 19th, 2018). Prior to this date, I followed the same process for organizing my data using OneNote.

like the written documents and my field notes, were then uploaded into the MAXQDA software, examined and coded for themes of interest and themes that "emerged" from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), though I recognized that this "emergence" is itself a situated occurrence, with my own interests as a researcher actively controlling the themes that "emerged" (Pavlenko, 2007).

As I collected more data, I began to group related codes into categories, what Corbin and Strauss (2008) call "axial coding," but I did not then use these codes to develop, support, and explain a singular "core concept" as they suggest in their explication of "grounded theory." I was wary of oversimplifying causal connections in the data, opting rather to describe the rich networks of connections between the many different data points of my research, what Van Lier describes as an "ecological perspective" (Van Lier, 1997). Thus, I used these axial codes to categorize the various discourses present in our writing and speech and to help organize the different ways that these interacted with each other as they were taken up, adapted, adopted, and resisted – an important step in examining the complex ways that identity was co-constructed in our interactions. I regularly returned to previously coded written artifacts to update the coding in light of the current state of my analysis and to prepare for more targeted, future data collection.

This process continued until the majority of my planned data collection had been completed. At this stage (Winter Quarter, 2019) I used the coding system on MAXQDA to compile the data surrounding the most prominent discursive themes, which ended up being the themes of "race," "nativeness," and "neoliberalism." The selection of these three themes, which I would later codify as Key Program Discourses (KPDs), was driven by a number of factors, including the frequency and intensity of their representative instances. However, the ultimate selection of each key discursive theme depended on my own holistic assessment of its importance to my participants and its relevance to my research questions. For example, a discourse of the mental and physical wellbeing (or challenges to the wellbeing) of graduate students was frequently introduced both by the MATESOL faculty and by my participants and could easily have become a central focus for this study, but I did not make it such a focus, instead favoring discourses that present an even greater connection to social inequity in TESOL. It should be noted that my participants and I did occasionally introduce discursive constructions of gender and sexual identity in TESOL, and these could have been productively incorporated into the larger discussion of social justice in TESOL and teacher identity formation. However, discursive constructions of gender in

TESOL featured much less prominently in programmatic presentations (classroom lectures, readings, syllabi, etc.) relative to the other chosen discourses and as a result I chose not to include it here as a "key" category. The discursive invisibilizing of gender in TESOL is a widespread problem (Mojica & Castañeda-Peña, 2017; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001) and, like attending to the wellbeing of graduate students, is an area in need of additional research and therefore another lens through which I may view this data in future publications.

Once I determined each discursive theme, I revisited the data comprising that theme, this time through a narrative analytical lens. I gathered narrative constructions (whether complete moments of "big" storytelling with a beginning, a middle, and an end; or "small story" moments such as hypothetical imaginings or single-phrase references to shared group experiences) from each theme and chose those which were the most representative as well as those which were the most atypical for further investigation. These narratives were re-transcribed using a more refined transcription system and subsequently analyzed and discussed in relation to the larger discursive theme to which I had assigned them.

2.4.3 Data Analysis

While pursuing this research, I adopted a "constructivist paradigm" wherein discursive constructions are understood to be always and necessarily situated in time and space, and knowledge production is therefore always relative and subjective (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015). This paradigm correlates with the poststructural understanding that the symbols used in communication (i.e., language) do not transparently reveal or name an underlying reality, but rather bring that reality into meaning (Jäger & Maier, 2016). Language and the discourses realized through it are thus social practices and the content of any text (spoken, written, or otherwise) should be understood in relation to the form and context of its production (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). In an extension of this same poststructural reasoning, an individual's understandings and expressions of self are likewise mediated through symbols that are socially constructed and do not correspond directly to a fundamental, innate "self" (Weedon, 1987). I thus regarded "identity" as discursively defined (Hall 1996; Davies & Harré, 1990; Foucault, 1980), and subjects as historically situated (Giddens, 1986) and non-unitary (Bakhtin, 1981; Barrett, 1999; Loots, Coppens & Sermijn, 2013).

I likewise followed Foucault (1980) in reasoning, given the understanding that truth is situated rather than absolute, that the production of truth is always tightly connected to the exercise of power. This understanding has not only required that I attend to the ways that power is implicated in social networks, as well as in individual and institutional relationships in the organizing, collecting, and analyzing of data, but also to the ways that power is implicated in the design, execution, and presentation of my research as a whole. While some scholars maintain that the immediate goal of ethnography should not be systemic or political improvement (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), such a stance sits uneasily with my larger conceptual framework, wherein all studies are, one way or the other, always already politically implicated. Given the impossibility of simply accumulating "disinterested" knowledge for its own sake, I argue, following Behar (1996), that taking a subjective approach to ethnographic research is rather more transparent and critically self-reflective than leaving one's interests and subjectivity unexamined and pretending they do not exist. I would thus characterize my work as part of an eclectic body of critical scholarship - Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) – which seeks to make a principled intervention in, rather than merely describing, existing social relations (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

In this project, I analyzed discourse through attention to both concrete examples of language use as well as the situational, social, and institutional structures that simultaneously shape and are shaped by this language use. Yet, in line with my overall research paradigm, my analyses are ultimately dependent on my own perspectives and should not be considered complete or exhaustive, but rather remain "open to reinterpretation" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 27) or even to being discounted by readers who read the data differently (Wolcott, 2008). In sum, the "proof" of the quality of my project lies not in any replicable, verifiable, or universal truths discovered. Rather, the value of my project's findings lies in the extent to which I have been transparent with my methods, acknowledged my own role in the collection and production of data (while being open to new foci suggested by the data), and the appropriacy of the claims I make based on the data (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015). Thus, to borrow a culinary analogy used to describe qualitative research credibility, "the proof is in the pudding" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 301).

Given my understanding that the data collected for this project must be situated in the material and social circumstances of its production, it is fair to say that the process of data analysis began even before I had collected any data at all. After all, at a "higher level of abstraction," one's research design

and conceptual framework shapes not only the data itself, but the range and scope of any future analyses (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015, p.124). The methodological descriptions I have provided earlier in this chapter are an attempt to account for the analytical decisions determined by the research design, as the process of collecting data is itself an analytical step (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). For example, while taking ethnographic notes without a permanent audio recording, I necessarily selected and compressed a potentially infinitely rich scenario (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and a similar, though perhaps less obvious selection and compression occurred even when I was audio-recording. The vast majority of eye-contact, gestures, body positioning, and other visual and physical aspects of the situation were not preserved. A further stage of compression and selection occurred at the transcription stage, where I made subjective decisions regarding the manner in which the transcript would represent the recording (Richards, 2003). These shortcomings are inevitable, but it is important to acknowledge them and to account for them as a significant influence on the data-analysis process. All the data I have collected and its subsequent analyses must be understood through the limitations of compression and the subjectivity of selection.

2.4.3.1 Discourse Analysis

As has already been discussed, the speech and writing that I observed, recorded, and transcribed for this project was first analyzed for its discursive content in preparation for a subsequent round of narrative analysis. In some sense, the division between these two types of analyses is artificial, as my approach to discourse in general – as a social practice at the intersection of society and the individual – is much the same as my approach to narrative. Discourse analysis is valuable for its elucidation of the ways that language in a text simultaneously functions "ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole […] and tying texts to situational contexts" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6). As Silberstein (2011) puts it more succinctly, "the heart of DA is the interrelation between form and function in communication," with discourse analysts looking "at what is accomplished through language" (p. 274). The kind of narrative research I describe below is likewise concerned with what speakers are accomplishing through language—with the way narratives represent reality and position speakers and listeners relative to each other and to society. In any case,

the results of the narrative analyses were not seen as entirely distinct from or superior to the preceding round of analyses, but rather as an additional, refining, and complementary look at the data. Both sets of analyses informed each other in my discussion of the data and there was regular overlap between them as I worked.

My research questions led me to separate all data into two basic categories. Data collected from "institutional sources" (for instance, program website materials, course syllabi, faculty interviews, etc.) was analyzed to determine what discourses were prominently presented to my participants and how they were presented. I was interested in the patterns of thought and behavior that the different features of the CSU MATESOL program differentially promoted or discouraged. These Key Program Discourses (KPDs) are the focus of the first part of Chapter 3. Data collected from observations and interactions with my participants was analyzed to determine how these discourses were taken up, expressed, and used in our co-constructions of identity. These analyses feature in the second half of Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and parts of Chapter 5. It is also worth noting that macro-level, society-wide attitudes towards English language teachers and teaching were also attended to (see, for instance, section 5.2.3 where I discuss the relationship between national politics and perceptions of having an "agenda"), but no original macro-level data was collected directly for this study.

In determining the salience and importance of a particular discourse, I considered explicit and implicit evidence in the data, as well the absence of data. For example, a straightforward, explicit instance of the discourse of "nativeness" is Chiara's comment that "accent has played an important role in the subjugation of non-native speakers." An implicit example of the same discourse is Liz's commenting on her teaching: "a lot of what I did was pronunciation but now I (.) like after Instructor A's class I'm like well (.) should I really have been teaching that↑." In this comment, the discourse of "Nativeness" and the fallacious notion that all learners' goal is to speak like a "native" was, given the larger context, implicated in Liz's pedagogical concern with pronunciation. An example of a remarkable absence occurs when nativeness does not get taken up by my participants in our fifth dinner discussion, even after I tangentially refer to the topic.

In order to make claims about the functioning of the discourse of "nativeness," for example, I needed to approach each instance flexibly, in a manner attentive to the distinct contexts in which each

was situated and the different forms through which each was expressed. For example, in the above instances, Chiara's comment was written in her Language Learning Autobiography and was a response to a specific assignment prompt and to certain class readings, while the comment from Liz was made in her first individual interview with me (11-28-17). While I considered both cases to be socially situated linguistic performances, intended for certain audiences and made to achieve certain goals, the latter offered different dimensions of information for analytical consideration (for instance, tone of voice, the rapid interaction with an interlocutor, the constraints imposed by generic conventions of interviews, etc.) than did the former, which was slowly composed (and revised) written language, composed in the absence of an immediate interlocutor, and constrained by the generic conventions of academic writing, the goal of achieving a high grade, etc. Each analysis was likewise considered in the context of relevant data from the entire study, and I used descriptions of classroom actions from my field notes, quotations from written artifacts, and quotations from interview and observational transcriptions to support my analyses as was relevant and necessary.

2.4.3.2 Narrative Research

As was discussed above in my theorization of dyadic interviews, the anti-positivist "paradigm wars" in the 70s and 80s (Denzin, 2012; Polkinghorne, 2007) led to a major shift away from positivistic social science research, and the increasing use of narratives in social science research has been fueled by the rise of humanist, holistic, person-centered approaches to research that stand in opposition to "positivist empiricism" (Andrews et al., 2013, p. 3). The field of narrative inquiry, broadly speaking, is concerned with examining the contents of the stories people tell in order to better understand the "teller's self" (Higgins & Sandhu, 2015, p. 56). Given that qualitative research is increasingly interested in understanding subjective, situated, human perspectives on social realities, it is understandable that research that investigates narratives or uses narratives as a tool of investigation has blossomed in what has been called a "narrative or discursive turn in the humanities and social sciences" (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 164).

The very definition of what constitutes a narrative is, however, often in "dispute" (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013, p.1) and there is no single "blueprint" definition that can be used to distinguish narrative from all other forms of discourse (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 18). In this project, I have

not relied on an established, formal, structural understanding of narrative such as those forwarded by Vladimir Propp (1968) or Labov and Waletzky (1967), where emphasis is placed on distinguishing and explicating the elements of a narrative. Rather, I conceived of narrative as the means whereby we make "sense of our social reality" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 65), as a "discursive [way] of accomplishing something" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012, p. 7), and as a way to represent one's "self" and position that self in interaction (Wortham, 2001, p. xii). So conceived, narratives are "sites wherein nuanced, highly contextualized, multiple, and often conflicted identities are constructed" (Higgins & Sandhu, 2015, p.52).

Determining what is and is not a "narrative" is not the only source of tension in narrative research. The different ontological and epistemological understandings which have led to the different perspectives on and theorizations of interviews discussed above have, in a parallel fashion, affected perspectives on the goals and truth claims of oral narrative research. Although approaches to narrative are nearly as numerous as there are scholars doing narrative research, a rough distinction can be made between research that attends primarily to the content and composition of narratives, or "narrative inquiry," and research that extends its focus to how a story is told, or "narrative analysis" (Higgins & Sandhu, 2015). The proliferation of scholarship employing content-focused narrative inquiry has led to calls for a more nuanced and thorough methodological approach to narrative, an approach which attends to the form and context as well as the content of narratives (Pavlenko, 2007). Scholars have insisted that narrative should not simply be conceived of as a "making," but also as a "doing," an "embodied" performance (Peterson & Langellier, 2006). The expansion of such work has been dubbed the "second wave of narrative analysis" (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. viii) or the "performance turn" in narrative studies (Peterson & Langellier, 2006). This conception of narrative has invited efforts to "understand what speakers tend to accomplish when breaking into narrative," work which has been called research into "narratives-in-interaction," or into "narrative practices," or more generally "small story research" (Bamberg, 2012, p. 100).

"Big story" narrative inquiry examines the content and composition of narrative accounts that stand out from everyday conversation, as acts of creative reflection that can tell us about their author's self (Freeman, 2006). "Small story" narrative analysis expands the definition of narrative to include a number of "under-represented narrative activities," including even stories deferred or left untold

(Georgakopoulou, 2006, p. 123), and, more significantly, attends to context and form, refusing to treat stories as "unmediated and transparent representations of the participants' subjectivities" in the manner of much big story research (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008, p. 378). Despite the contrasting approaches offered by big and small story research, there is "much to be gained" from adopting elements of both (Higgins & Sandhu, 2015, p. 57). In this project, I maintained an interest in what the thematic content and the composition of a "big story" can tell us about the speaker's understanding of self, while attending also to how the manner and context of a telling can alter, trouble, or nuance such understandings. In other words, I also employ a "small story" approach.

Positioning Theory. I used an aspect of Positioning Theory as one of my tools in analyzing the narratives produced in my study. Positioning Theory is a method of analysis developed by Davies and Harré (1990) to add nuance and dynamism to the more static way that the concept of "role" had been used in narrative inquiry. Davies and Harré argue that the co-production of narrative involves each narrative participant's positioning themselves and others through speech acts that create meaning in the interactional moment. This positioning indicates both interlocutors' understandings of the immediate interpersonal social action taking place and their current understanding of the wider social narratives in which their conversation is taking place. Davies and Harré use Positioning Theory to better understand the diverse and even contradictory subject positions taken up by a single individual in oral interaction. Bamberg (1997) extends this theory, dividing the kinds of positioning that occur into three levels, the level of the narrative (how persons or characters within a narrative are positioned), the level of the narrating event (how the speaker and audience are positioned during and by the narration), and the level of the narrator's self (how the speaker uses language to answer the question "Who am I?"). Bamberg (2004) elaborates the notion further, noting that both the narrating subject and the world in which that subject is positioned are constructed simultaneously in oral interaction.

However, critics have observed that in practice, a number of Positioning Theorists have conceptualized a speaker's self-positioning (Bamberg's third plane, the "Who am I?" level) as a selection from a number of "culturally available subject positions" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012) existing independently of actual discursive context. This reification of stable, context independent identity categories does not sit well with postmodern conceptions of subjectivity. Sandhu (2016) avoids this

conflict, offering a different take on a third positioning plane. While characterizing the first two planes in more or less the same way that Bamberg (1997) has done, Sandhu theorizes a third plane of positioning that does not involve assigning a pre-existing identity category to a speaker's performance. Rather, Sandhu regards this third plane as the macro-level context in which all narratives are embedded, a plane consisting of society-wide discourses, structures, and contexts (p. 39). Analytical attention to this plane can help explain how speakers' performances on the narrative plane (the characters in the story) and the narrating plane (the speaker and listeners in the moment of a narrative telling) propagate or dismantle existing macro-narratives. In my analyses, I have adopted Sandhu's (2016) characterization of these planes.

Despite not featuring regularly or prominently in my analyses, these three planes served as a heuristic framework from which I could begin examining the relationships between the discourses of the CSU MATESOL program, the ways my participants oriented to me and to each other, and the teacher identities we co-constructed. For example, Positioning Theory underpinned my analysis of the way Instructors A and D oriented to me as a sympathetic mentee on the "narrating event" level (See Excerpts 3A, 3B, and 3C) and the way Chiara similarly oriented to me as a knowledgeable mentor in Excerpt 3M. Likewise, the distinction between these planes helped me analyze the differing discursive functions of "narrative-plane" Sync and "narrating-plane" Sync in the narrated passage excerpted in both Chapter 3 (Excerpt 3T) and Chapter 4 (Excerpt 4D). In this passage, while "narrative-plane" Sync (the Sync character in the story) experiences the frustrating coloniality and social awkwardness of Sync's classroom workspace,[51] "narrating plane" Sync (the Sync in the moment of our group discussion) is successfully fostering group solidarity around a shared investment in more socially just TESOL.[52] Examples of places in this study where the "macro-level" third plane became salient are found in the Chapter 5 during my discussion of society-wide discourses such as the Ivory Tower trope (Section 5.2.1.1) and the widespread notion that universities function as sites of left-wing political indoctrination (Section 5.2.3).

Interactional Devices. At the finest level of analysis, I also employed a series of

[51] Analyzed in the discussion of Excerpt 4D.
[52] Analyzed in the discussion of Excerpt 3T.

"interactional devices," primarily adapted from those employed by Sandhu (2016, p. 44-55), which I used to help interpret the situated meaning of my participants' and my own oral interactions. These interactional devices included stylization (the use of a socially marked linguistic style); conveying the words or thoughts of other individuals through reported, direct, or indirect, or quasi-direct speech; emotion-indexing devices; laughter and a laughing tone; lexical and syntactic choices (including hedging, preferred/dispreferred responses, and backchanneling); and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA).

Stylization. Building on Bakhtin (1981) and Rampton (2006), Coupland (2007) offers a detailed schematization of stylization. In brief, "stylization" describes when a speaker employs a particular, socially recognizable manner of speaking in order to project a separate persona and embed "another layer of social context" (Coupland, 2007, p. 154). A few of the most salient instances of stylization in my data appear in my analyses. For example, when I adopt a German accent in Excerpt 4E, I project the culturally recognizable persona of the oppressive, cold war East German government official to ratify the ongoing group understanding of Huck's narrative. Likewise, Sync alters her prosody to add another layer of social context to her exclamation "there is no correct way to speak English" (Excerpt 4Q), highlighting her ambivalence through what Coupland (2007) refers to as "strategic inauthenticity" (p. 154).

Reported Speech. Sandhu (2016) likewise departs from Bakhtin (1981) in her characterization of Reported Speech, categorizing instances where a speaker reports the words of a character in their narration as Direct Speech, Indirect Speech, or Quasi-direct Speech. Direct Speech is, as its name implies, when the speaker reports the words of their character verbatim. Indirect Speech is when a speaker paraphrases the words of their character. Quasi-direct speech is when a speaker uses direct speech to hypothesize the inner thoughts of a character. My participants and I regularly used various forms of Reported Speech to establish greater authorial intention for the characters in their narration. Reported Speech was the most common means whereby my participants created what Bakhtin (1984) has referred to as double-voiced discourse, where the authorial intention of a narrated character's speech is appropriated for the narrator's own intentions. For example, particularly salient examples of double-voiced reported speech are reported in Excerpt 4Q when Kevin reports the TA Coordinator saying: "Forget all your little theories" and in Excerpt 4D when Sync reports her mentor saying: "I will not tolerate that" in response to Sync's comments about Native American genocide. In both instances, the narrator

(Kevin or Sync) is reporting speech that appropriates the original speaker's words in order to illustrate more definitively a rift between the CSU MATESOL program's critical theory and the practical realities of the CSU Intensive English Program (IEP).

Emotion-indexing Devices. Although my theorization of identity performance in oral interactive data does not allow for direct claims about the authentic inner-self of my participants, my participants did regularly index various emotional states and I have analyzed these sounds (such as Sync's repeated sighing in Excerpt 4R) and language choices for the affective stances that they represent in their localized social context.

Laughter and Laughing Tone. My participants often laughed together in displays of humor and friendship. However, as scholars who have studied the construct of laughter in oral interaction have noted (Glenn, 2003; Jefferson, 1984), laughter is not always a sign of happiness or good humor. Depending on contextual clues, laughter can serve a variety of social functions, including as a way to index group solidarity, nervousness, or derision (Glenn, 2003). Laughter is also employed in "talk about troubles" (Jefferson, 1984) and can serve as an invitation to others to laugh (Jefferson, 1979). The use of laughter featured saliently several times in this study, for example when Kevin talks about his troubles regarding what to use in the absence of a "native speaker" standard in Excerpt 4G, or when my participants index their solidarity through laughter in Excerpt 3N.

Hedging. The use of hedged language, where a speaker reduces the certainty of claims (for example, "maybe," "possibly," "as far as I know," "in my limited experience," "it is just my opinion," etc.) has long been a feature of discursive analysis, given wide popularity as an analytical concept half a century prior to this writing (Lakoff, 1973). Kaltenböck et al. (2010) underscore the importance of hedging as an analytical concept in their summative, state-of-the-art volume. Kaltenböck et al. note that hedging can be accomplished through gestures, non-linguistic vocalizations, syntactic arrangement (for example, the "agentless passive") and other prosodic changes, in addition to lexical devices such as "I think" (p. 23). A salient example of "hedging" in my data occurs in Except 4R, where Sync begins her long turn on line 16 with numerous lexical (e.g., "I guess," "a bit," "I still feel that") and prosodic hedges (for instance, frequent pauses and vocalizations such as "um" that can be read as hedges given the surrounding context).

Dispreferred Response. One function of hedges is to soften the social disapprobation that may come from offering a "Dispreferred Response." The social context of a conversation determines what constitutes a preferred or dispreferred turn (Pomerantz, 1984) and hedging, such as in the example with Sync in Excerpt 4R cited in the previous section dedicated to "hedging," strongly suggests that a speaker is knowingly offering an assessment that the listeners may not agree with (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006). Given the importance attached to social justice in the CSU MATESOL program, many instances where my participants express frustration or criticisms of the program's social justice elements are rendered as dispreferred responses, even in situations like Excerpt 4R, where I am explicitly asking for accounts where teaching practice has not matched theoretical expectations.

Backchanneling. As Bavelas et al. (2000) have noted, the actions of listeners play a significant role in co-narrating a speaker's story, and even what the authors refer to as "generic responses" (for instance, the listeners' nods, "uhms," and "yeahs") in "highly asymmetrical dialogues" (p. 951) play a role in shaping the narrative (although, according to Bavelas et al., this role is less significant than that of "specific responses" which attend more directly to the events of the narrative). Although the concept of "backchanneling" is sometimes reserved for listener responses which indicate only "I hear you and please continue" (see, for instance, Gravano et al., 2007), the determination of whether a given "yeah," "okay," or "uh huh" should be read as neutral attention, affirmation, or otherwise is context dependent (Gravano et al., 2007). A few times in my data analysis, affirmative back-channeling became salient. I have analyzed these moments to show group solidarity around particular narratives (see, for example, Excerpt 4I) and to show how speakers are orienting to one another (for instance, see how my backchanneling in Excerpt 3B indexes my relationship with Instructor D).

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Simply put, speakers regularly place themselves and others into different categories (for example, "mother," "politician," "Canadian," "terrorist," etc.) First established by Harvey Sacks alongside his other pioneering work in conversation analysis, (Sacks, 1992), Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is a broad characterization of the diverse and varied efforts to explain the various ways that speakers make these categorizations as well as the significance of these categorizations within a given oral interaction (Hester & Eglin, 1997). Several times in this study, the work that my participants and I performed vis-à-vis membership categorization became relevant to my

analyses. For example, early in Chapter 5 I discuss Sync's categorization of her past work as that of a "tutor" or "mentor." She explicitly rejects the category of "teacher," and this rejection serves to indicate her lack of "true" experience and indicates her ongoing ambivalence towards her career choices.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodology I adopted to conduct this research project, detailed my research site, introduced my participants, and elaborated on my research design, the kinds of data I collected, my methods of organizing data, and my analytical techniques. In the following chapter, Chapter 3, I begin with an analysis of the discursive constructions provided to my participants by the CSU MATESOL Program. I use these analyses to establish the three Key Program Discourses (KPDs) that will serve as foci for my subsequent analytical work. The latter half of Chapter 3 examines the ways that my participants aligned their discursive constructions with the KPDs of the CSU MATESOL Program.

CHAPTER 3: KEY PROGRAM DISCOURSES AND PARTICIPANT ALIGNMENT

As I have noted in Chapters 1 and 2, my own experiences as a student in the CSU MATESOL program and the diverse reactions I observed in my classmates to the social justice concerns emphasized in the program was a major motivating factor in my decision to conduct this research. My artifact collection, interviews, and observations were intended to help me answer my initial research question: How do student language teachers respond to what I am describing as social justice discourses and how do these responses reflect and shape their beliefs about language learning and their identities as language teachers? My own time as a MATESOL student had left me with a sense of what discourses were particularly salient in the CSU MATESOL program, and my subsequent research enabled me to examine more precisely how certain key program discourses (KPDs) are presented to students in lectures, readings, and assignments as well as how these discourses are constructed by MATESOL core faculty in oral interviews.

As will be shown in the analyses below, the CSU MATESOL program presented my participants with a series of interconnected discourses that I will collectively refer to as “social justice discourse.” For my purposes, social justice discourse, at the broadest level, refers to any talk, writing, or other communication that emphasizes not only the importance of attending to the socially situated nature of language use and language learning, but also the need to bring about more equitable circumstances for language users and language learners. In addition to looking at generalized discursive constructions of social justice, I have focused much of my analytical attention on the discursive categories of “Nativeness/Native-speakerism,” “Race,” and “Neoliberalism.” While my participants, in their coursework, their teaching, and in their interviews with me, discussed numerous issues that might also be worthy of their own subcategory under social justice discourse (e.g., sexism, ableism, ageism, etc.), The three overlapping categories of Nativeness, Race, and Neoliberalism were more frequently and more emphatically present in both the program discourse and in my participants’ written and oral performances. These three categories are also tightly related to the expressed anti-colonial project of the CSU

MATESOL program faculty and the particular concern of the CSU MATESOL program with, as Kevin expressed it during our final group discussion, "combating or overcoming the colonialist roots of English language teaching" (Dinner Discussion 6- April 20th, 2019). Thus, I have focused my analyses in this chapter and the next on these three Key Program Discourses (KPDs) and on the ways my participants have taken up, reproduced, adapted, and, at times, resisted these discourses.

The CSU MATESOL program did not, at the time of this study, advertise or emphasize a curriculum concerned with social justice on the CSU English Department website. Potential applicants, including my participants, were shown only a list of degree requirements and a terse program description (See Appendix D). Indeed, this online information (which has since been changed) even made uncritical use of the phrase "native-speaker,"[53] a construct that was frequently targeted by the MATESOL faculty as contributing to inequity in language learning. However, despite the sterile tone and conservative implications of the language available on the website, the core MATESOL faculty regularly expressed, through their assignments, their lectures, their teaching materials, and their conversations with their students and with me, the importance of recognizing and taking into account in one's pedagogy the political and social dimensions of English Language Teaching (ELT).

I begin my analysis of the CSU MATESOL program KPDs with selections from the dyadic interviews I conducted with the MATESOL core faculty. In these dyadic interviews, we discursively construct understandings of language and language teacher education which promote these KPDs, and which my subsequent analyses show reemerged frequently in the classroom and interview performances involving my participants. In the first part of this chapter, I use selections from my interviews with the MATESOL faculty as well as an examination of their assignments and classroom interactions to establish the manner in which the KPDs were introduced to my participants. The second part of this chapter contains my analysis of the ways my participants performed alignment with these KPDs in their written assignments, classroom interactions, and in dyadic and group interviews.

[53] MATESOL students at CSU, according to the language on the website at the time of this study, could fulfill their program's language requirement through "approved professional verification of intermediate or *native-speaker* ability in another language" (emphasis mine).

3.1 The CSU MATESOL Program's Discursive Constructions

In this section, I present data that helps establish the discursive preoccupations of the CSU MATESOL program as well as the manner in which these discourses were presented to my participants. I present data first from interviews with core faculty, then data from the English 501 course syllabus (an introductory course generally required for all MATESOL students in the first quarter of their program) and end with data from observations of my participants' MATESOL program coursework.

3.1.1 MATESOL Core Faculty interviews

As one facet of my research into the discursive constructions of the CSU MATESOL program, I interviewed each of the three CSU MATESOL core faculty. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, I am receptive to arguments from scholars who wish to more fully theorize interviews (e.g., Block, 2000; Talmy, 2010) and I do not consider the interviews I conducted as necessarily yielding a transparent view into these teacher-educator's "true" beliefs or identities. I have instead theorized these beliefs and identities as flexible and evolving, realized through oral performances which are themselves always contingent on the circumstances of their utterance. Nonetheless, the interviews between these teacher educators and myself (a former MATESOL student of theirs) contribute valuable snapshots of situated identity performance that can serve as one reference point amongst many in an effort to understand the discursive constructions of the CSU MATESOL program and my participants' subsequent reproductions of and resistances to these constructions.

I interviewed the MATESOL faculty in March and November of 2018, while they were teaching some or all of my participants in either a core course (English 502: Methods, in the case of Instructor A) or a teaching practicum seminar (in the case of Instructors C and D). In these interactions (and in my observations of their teaching, to be discussed below), we consistently co-constructed English language teaching as something inevitably intertwined with racist and other discriminatory legacies of colonialism as well as the understanding that MATESOL students ought to be, at the very least, made aware of these legacies and their impact on the classroom.

3.1.1.1 Interview with Instructor D

On November 11th, 2018, I recorded an hour-long telephone interview with Instructor D, the director of the CSU MATESOL program at that time, and I asked her whether or not the goals for educating English language teachers have changed over her decades-long tenure as director. During the following interaction, Instructor D reframes the question, elaborating on some of the things that might stand in the way of such goals. She raises the importance of asking "better questions" (line 13), questions about whether or not we are reinscribing hierarchies, creating privilege, or contributing to language loss, racism, or empire:

Excerpt 3A

T=The researcher (Thomas "TJ" Walker) D=Instructor D

1. **T:** So the next few questions are about (.) um (.) you know the
2. goals of language education generally and I think you have
3. spoken to that a little bit (.) um (.) but the qu- I guess what I'd be
4. interested in hearing is (.) um (.) have (.) maybe (.) thinking back
5. to when you first began (.) um (.) educating language teachers (.)
6. and the goals and the environment that you were in (.) and now
7. (.) the goals and the environment that you are in (.) currently (.)
8. um (.) has any have have has the situation which has obviously
9. evolved somewhat (.) um (.) changed (.) your attitude towards
10. like the concrete goals for language education↑ or have those
11. mostly maintained the same and just adapting to the (.) to the
12. situation
13. **D:** I think we are asking better questions now (.)
14. **T:** Uh huh
15. **D:** Um (.) um (.) you know you know one of the questions that you
16. asked that we didn't quite get to (.) which is you know (.) um (.)
17. what are the things that (.) um (.) that undermine (.) goals that
18. you might have
19. **T:** Uh huh
20. **D:** um (.) you know and I mean I think (.) um (.) you know the
21. questions that we're asking about you know (.) does English
22. language teachi::ng help to reinscribe hierarchies
23. **T:** uh huh
24. **D:** you know (.) or (.) I think we always asked are you teaching the
25. privileged
26. **T:** right
27. **D:** but um (.) but um (.) are you creating privilege (.) through that
28. teaching
29. **T:** mm[m]
30. **D:** [you] know (.) and are are are you (.) creating hierarchies
31. **T:** mm
32. **D:** just (.) um (.) are you reinscribing the role of English (.) and is
33. that a good thing or not
34. **T:** right

35. **D:** um (.) you know (.) are you contributing to language loss
36. **T:** Yeah yeah yeah those [are]
37. **D:** [to racism] to empire
38. **T:** uh huh
39. **D:** um (.) I think that (.) um (.) you know (.) all of those issues about
40. (.) you know do you contribute to ((higher tone)) **institutional**
41. **racism** in the ways that you teach or or in what it is that we
42. teach

About six minutes after the above exchange, Instructor D recounts a story of her colleague, the founder of the CSU MATESOL program, and observes that the CSU MATESOL program has always asked what she describes as "the really hard questions" (line 33 below).

Excerpt 3B

T=TJ D=Instructor D

1. **D:** But at the same time as I said I think (.) who we hire (.) the
2. questions we ask the curriculum the way the curriculum is
3. structured (.) you know (.) a lot of that is different (.) because of
4. you know the world that we live in
5. **T:** Uh huh
6. **D:** Um (.) you know (.) and then the critiques I mean [a colleague of
7. mine] did this really important book early on (.) I think the first
8. leave he took from the program was to go (.) work in the
9. Philippines in refugee camps
10. **T:** Mm mmm
11. **D:** Um (.) and um (.) you know one of the things he (.) discovered
12. and wrote about was notwithstanding the good intentions of the
13. teachers there (.) the curriculum um (.) was (.) I'll give you the
14. example rather than characterizing it (.) I mean um (.) students
15. were taught that they always had to pay their rent on time (.) that
16. um (.) you know they always had to be on time to work et cetera
17. et [cetera they were taught]
18. **T:** [So this was like] basically
19. **D:** In the eighties
20. **T:** A capitalist work narrative
21. **D:** >yeah yeah< they were taught (.) what their responsibilities were
22. (.) these were going to be you know Southeast Asian immigrants
23. who were going to come here (.) but they were never taught
24. what their rights were (.) that you can sue a landlord (.) that that
25. you had to be paid the wage that you greed to
26. **T:** Yeah
27. **D:** that there were institutions that would help you (.) if you had
28. problems (.) um (.) and so you know he started writing about you
29. know that argument of um (.) you know why students were
30. students were taught that language and those values
31. **T:** Mm
32. **D:** and not other languages and other values (.) so I think from the
33. outset our program has asked really hard questions of ourselves
34. and of teachers

Content-wise, the above two excerpts are a representative example of the way that the program as a whole regularly produced an understanding of the goals of ELT through critical, anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-oppression discourse. Based on the list of questions posed by Instructor D in the first excerpt, the CSU MATESOL program is constructed as opposing the creation and preservation of privilege and hierarchies (lines 21-28), racism (lines 37-42), and a notion of "empire" which is, by its inclusion alongside these other inequities, discursively linked to them (line 37), although this link is not elaborated by Instructor D here. In the second excerpt, Instructor D, through her story about her colleague's work in the Philippines, evokes a CSU MATESOL program that has, after all, always asked the hard, anti-hegemonic questions, in this case critiquing the manner in which language learners were being socialized into what I describe in the moment as a "capitalist work narrative" (line 20), where they were being taught, in Instructor D's words, how to work well for others (e.g., paying their rent on time, showing up to work on time, lines 15-16) but "never taught what their rights were" (lines 23-24). In relatively quick succession, Instructor D, in response to my question about the CSU program's goals, invoked the KPDs that have become the focus of my research, the colonial legacies in ELT and their accompanying racial, linguistic, and economic frames of discrimination.

Context-wise, the relationship between Instructor D and myself, as well as the conventions of the interview genre (Briggs, 2007a) play an important role in the way that the KPDs identified above are constructed. Instructor D was my practicum instructor during my own tenure in the CSU MATESOL program. She guided me in the initial development of my teaching philosophy and assisted me with my PhD application. She is aware of my research interests and familiar with my stance on the issues we are discussing. It is likely because of this relationship that she, in Excerpt 3A, raises a series of topics in rapid succession with little accompanying explanation or justification (lines 21-37) and my role in co-constructing the narrative lies primarily in affirmative back-channeling (Bavelas et al., 2000) (e.g., "uh huh" lines 14,19, and 23; "right" lines 26 and 34; "yeah yeah yeah" line 36). A less familiar or more hostile audience might question what racism has to do with language or seek an explanation regarding why ELT is implicated in notions of empire or in the creation of privilege and hierarchies or even, perhaps why

hierarchy and empire are negative terms placed in parallel to "racism." Similarly, an audience unfamiliar with or unsympathetic to the goals of the CSU MATESOL program might not be expected to recognize why teaching immigrants about their work responsibilities and omitting any discussion of their rights in their English language classes could be problematic. In short, Instructor D has oriented to me as a sympathetic mentee and I have responded appropriately within this positioning.[54]

As was the case in all of my interviews, I do not maintain a pretense of passive, objective observation when speaking with Instructor D, but rather engage actively in our joint discursive constructions (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). This is particularly notable in Excerpt 3B, line 20, where I describe Instructor D's account as a "capitalist work narrative," supplying a characterization where she herself had forborne doing so (lines 13-14). Instructor D acknowledges but does not interact significantly with my interjection, instead continuing with her narrative which, over the course of its telling, indexes concern for workers' rights over the profits of employers and tenants' rights over the profits of landlords (lines 23-25) in opposition to the language curriculum of the refugee camps which, as she tells it, had prioritized the reverse. Instructor D's narrative posits an educational system which effectively trains refugees into filling the lower social and economic rungs that support capitalist production while neglecting education into their rights as workers, a discriminatory process that Apple (1999) sees as inherent in American schooling in general. Thus, in Excerpt 3B as well as in Excerpt 3A, Instructor D and I construct, without contestation, a reality where ELT is intertwined with global hegemonies and the CSU MATESOL program is exceptional for questioning these hegemonies.

3.1.1.2 Interview with Instructor A

Nine months prior to my interview with Instructor D, I met with Instructor A in her campus office on March 2nd, 2018. Instructor A, like Instructor D, was a member of CSU's core MATESOL faculty and was responsible for teaching the first two "core MATESOL courses" in my participants' degree program. Early in our conversation, I asked her about her motivation for teaching English language teachers which led to a discussion about her philosophy of teaching and the following interaction:

[54] This is an instance where I have used Positioning Theory (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990) as a heuristic for exploring the conversational context.

Excerpt 3C

A= Instructor A T=TJ

A: I think that it's really important if we're going to teach English as I mean you know me well enough to know this (.) I think it's really important that (.) we do it in a way that is really conscious (.) of the power of English (.) the role that English (.) plays in (.) reproducing (.) um (.) inequities racial inequities (.) um (.) colonial inequities um (.) national (.) inequities um (.) and I think people (.) are going to continue to teach English (.) so I **really** would like to see (.) or I should say (.) people are going to continue to **learn** English (.) so I would really like to see the people who are **teaching** English (.) um (.) have a (.) really solid sense of (.) the implications of their practice (.) and so that's why (.) that's probably one of the main reasons I remain (.) so engaged (.) um I just think it's really really important work (.)

T: Yeah (.) yeah I mean that's why I'm doing this (.) dissertation research too you know (.) um and obviously you have been (.) you know an inspiration to me

In this excerpt, as in the excerpts with Instructor D discussed earlier, we co-construct an understanding of the importance of acknowledging the inequities involved in teaching English, here framed as racial, colonial, and national inequities (lines 5-6). As was the case with Instructor D, our existing relationship precluded the need for instructor A to explain or make an argument defending her anti-hegemonic stance regarding the inequities produced through English language teaching. In fact, Instructor A explicitly indicates our relationship prior to listing the things that she sees as really important in English language teacher education (line 2) and I acknowledge that Instructor A's work regarding the potential reproduction of inequities in ELT has inspired me and influenced my dissertation topic (lines 14-16).

Later on in the interview, I pursue a series of questions about how Instructor A's students have responded to her teaching, she talks about how she met some resistance during her second year of teaching at CSU from students who felt that the "colonial history of the world" was "irrelevant" to future English teaching practice, and about how she (Instructor A) responded to this resistance in subsequent courses by talking more broadly about historical patterns and using "broader terms." This led to the following interaction:

Excerpt 3D

T=TJ A=Instructor A

T: I guess the question is (.) have you found that teaching racism as a structural effect (.) in addition to whatever individual racist ideas may be harbored by individuals (.) has made a difference in the reception↑ (.) of your students or (.) is that something that (.) um (.) like is that something that has (.) changed in your teaching or has it been there all along this idea that (.) you mentioned that you refined the (.) the (.) argument but did the argument change in any of its ways or (.)

A: I don't think so I think that I just (.) so it was a while ago so I may not be (.) capturing it accurately (.) but I think that I just assumed that students saw those connections (.) and then I realized that I needed to explain them (.) more (.) I just needed to do a better job of making those connections clear↑ (.) I couldn't just say (.) the (.) history of English (.) language teaching is sort of continuation of colonialism I needed to actually (.) demonstrate why that (.) mattered and how (.)

T: uh huh

A: you know I needed to give some evidence

T: right

A: right (.) so (.) I mean I must have been giving some evidence but I don't think it was a clear enough (.) well thought out enough argument (.)

T: Uh huh

A: um (.) and so (.) yeah I think I worked on that a little bit more it's a bit complicated though because I don't lead with that ever (.) except maybe in the Race and Empire[55] class which I don't get to teach very often (.) um (.) their first exposure really to any of this in their [501] class with me (.) and we don't talk explicitly about colonialism until the (.) end of the quarter (.) **but** (.) […] I work it in around the edges (.) like I give an example of an autobiography (.) it's an example of an assignment↑ (.) um (.) but (.) so I give them three autobiographies that are written by (.) published by scholars in the field (.) and two of them engage deeply with colonialism (.) so it's not me saying anything but the examples are there (.) and that's on the first day of class and then they have to write their own autobiography but (.) so it's ostensibly it's just a model for a genre but it does convey other (.) ideas that we then start working with later on (.) and then it comes up very sort of incidentally like we talk about heritage language loss (.) we talk about (.) um (.) in the context of language maintenance (.) we talk about Translingualism and through that conversation we are talking about the importance of (.) we are talking about language hierarchies (.)

T: mmm

A: we talk about nativeness (.) and hiring (.) equitable hiring practices

[55] English 508: Race, Empire and TESOL. This is one of the courses Chiara had taken prior to her official enrollment as a MATESOL student at CSU, and one of the courses that she argued motivated her, "like a little fire."

47. **T:** And so by the time at the end of the quarter (.) all of these
48. threads have been (.) yeah
49. **A:** And then we know each other we have been together for awhile
50. (.) um (.) they have a sense that I am not going to (.) you know
51. judge them (.) that we are all playing with ideas that are (.) that
52. are (.) difficult

In this excerpt, Instructor A, in response to my question about whether or not the arguments she uses to teach about racism in ELT have changed, offers a narrative about her evolving understandings of how to introduce MATESOL students to the racist and colonial legacies of ELT. As was often the case in both program discourses and in its reproduction by my participants, the discourses of colonialism, racism, and nativeness are here juxtaposed and interwoven. According to Instructor A, the argument for combating such inequities has not changed (line 9), but the manner in which she has shown the connections between colonialism and ELT has changed. Specifically, she states that she needed to make these connections more detailed and more explicit, that she "couldn't just say the history of English language teaching is sort of continuation of colonialism" (lines 13-15) but rather she "needed to actually demonstrate why that mattered and how" (lines 15-16). Instructor A and I are here constructing a world where the connections between ELT and colonialism, linguistic hierarchy, and racism are a given, but recognizing and responding to such a perspective can be "difficult" (line 52). This parallels Instructor D's observations in Excerpt 3B, where she notes that questioning the status quo is "really hard" (line 33). In the latter half of Excerpt 3D (lines 24-52), Instructor A tells a story about how she has changed her teaching practices to accommodate this difficulty. In her narrative, she doesn't ever begin her courses with a discussion about the colonial implications of ELT (line 25) except in a rare course explicitly dedicated to that topic (line 26). Instead, she works these implications "in around the edges" (lines 29-30), for example by giving her students genre models for the first assignment (a language learning autobiography) that "engage deeply with colonialism" (line 33-34).

Near the end of the interview, I ask if Instructor A has had students, colleagues, or administrator's pushing back on her teaching for being too political. Here is her response:

Excerpt 3E

A= Instructor A

A: Students (.) I would say no (.) there are um (.) you know of course people ask questions (.) and not all students (.) graduate (.) agreeing (.) um (.) that (.) the teaching of English is has problematic elements to it (.) and that's okay (.) I'm comfortable with that (.) I just want (.) those perspectives (.) in there (.) um (.) my really big problem is that (.) historically the industry has (.) continued without any kind of flags to (.) alert students to what is going on and then they graduate and (.) you know that's it (.) then they're out there teaching so (.) I mean if students go through our coursework and they're like (.) no there's absolutely no problem with this and they (.) that's fine (.) that's okay with me

In Excerpt 3E Instructor A responds in the negative to my question about whether she has experienced resistance from students who feel that her courses are "too political," but she does also acknowledge that students don't always align with the KPDs, specifically not "agreeing that the teaching of English has problematic elements to it" (lines 2-4). Instructor A then expresses her affective response to this situation – She is comfortable with this disagreement (lines 4-5)—before moving on to assert that her "big problem" is an "industry" blind to the problematic elements, an industry which, she implies, provides little or no space for teachers to uncover these problematic elements (lines 6-8). This oppositional stance to a hegemonic industry characterized a number of the classroom interactions I observed (see Excerpt 3I) below, for another salient example) and this conflict between industry and critical pedagogy was likewise reproduced by my participants and me at length on various occasions (see, for example Excerpt 3Q)

3.1.1.3 Interview with Instructor C

My interview with the third and only other core MATESOL faculty member, Instructor C, took place a few days later in her office on March 5th, 2018. As was the case with Instructors A and D, Instructor C was already at the time of our interview quite familiar with my work and my attitudes towards English language teaching. Over the course of my interview with Instructor C, the KPDs are as evident as they were in my conversations with Instructors A and D. Instructor C shared with me several narratives detailing how colonialism, race, and nativeness have impacted her own experiences in language teaching. After hearing her recount some of these experiences, a few of which I had observed her sharing

with her practicum students a few weeks earlier, I asked her about the institutional and global contexts that may work against her theoretical ideals and about the identity possibilities she would like to make available to her MATESOL students.

Excerpt 3F

T=TJ C=Instructor C

T: I remember in the practicum class (.) you know (.) it was a very nuanced (.) uh (.) section where you were talking about how you've been in so many different environments and you are well aware of the many (.) institutional like (.) interpersonal and sort of global context that (.) work against (.) some of these ideas that (.) in theory sound really wonderful (.) um (.) and (.) perhaps you could speak a little bit about (.) how you see your role (.) you know now as an educator (.) what what sort of identity (.) would you (.) crea- obviously you can't (.) you're not responsible for ((laughing tone)) ***creating an identity*** for people but what sort of identity possibilities would you like to make available for your students (.) uh and I guess even more importantly beyond that would be (.) how do you see your role in the classroom as (.) um (.) in in (.) in in doing your job as an English language teacher

C: See no matter how hard I try I cannot really (.) take away (.) the fact that I have been there in the trenches so to say for such a huge part of my life I think that drives me my experiences in (.) of teaching in India in Oman (.) I taught in England I also taught at the University you know (.) after I graduated for a summer before I moved to London (.) and then I taught in Honolulu um (.) in IEP kind of settings for a couple of years before I started doing undergrad teaching (.) and then here as a teacher educator (.) so my experiences being (.) doing practical stuff are always at the forefront (.) so no matter how critical (.) the field might be and what I might have my students read (.) I under**stand** that out there in the real world (.) one has to (.) uh (.) make decisions (.) um (.) about what **can** be accomplished in certain settings (.) and (.) what are the limitations and constraints (.) what might be the possibilities of changing those constraints if there are any such possibilities (.) what might be some support networks to do that (.) and (.) also of recognizing where (.) it might be (.) dangerous (.) to engage in a lot of critical pedagogies (.) or critical practical practices and then (.) the choice ultimately has to be with each person (.) right (.) so I see my job as (.) opening them to these critical (.) possibilities of engaging with and trying to dismantle (.) the various inequities that are present (.) in English language teaching and in the world per se you know (.) but at the same time (.) I (.) don't want to make them feel (.) that if they make decisions where they are unable to do that in their practical experiences that they're (.) these awful people

In Excerpt 3F, I frame my question through a characterization of Instructor C's teaching as I observed it.[56] I make a contrast between theory and the institutional and global pressures that constrain the application of that theory and imply that theory may not always be easily applied in practical situations (lines 4-6). Instructor C extends this contrast, explaining that she has spent much of her life "in the trenches" (line 16) before listing a number of places where she has worked as a classroom teacher (lines 18-21) and where she has been "doing practical stuff" (line 23). This "practical stuff" is contrasted directly with the critical nature of the field and the reading she assigns to her students (line 24-25) which are, in turn, contrasted with the "real world" (line 26). The analogy of working "in the trenches" not only foregrounds the potential dangers of teaching (which Instructor C comes back to in lines 31-33) but builds on the discursive separation, initiated by my question, between "theory" as an intellectual pursuit associated with reading in an artificial classroom setting and "practice" as an imperfect, "real world" and therefore constrained venture. Nevertheless, Instructor C's narrative, as was the case with those narratives excerpted from my interviews with Instructors D and A, constructs, in conversation with me, a reality where it is a given that "various inequities" are present in English language teaching (lines 36-37) and that dismantling these inequities is a desirable goal (line 34-36).

This excerpt is particularly noteworthy for Instructor C's emphasis on the limitations of applying critical pedagogy in certain circumstances and her stated refusal to judge students who cannot engage in critical practice (lines 38-40). Instructor C emphasizes her understanding of practical constraints, bringing extra emphasis to her enunciation of "understand" (line 25) and similarly emphasizes the word "can" (line 27) and by doing so implies that not all of one's theoretical goals can be accomplished in all circumstances. When Instructor C comments that she does not want students of hers who do not adopt a more critical pedagogy to feel "that they're these awful people" (line 40), she is stating that not adopting a critical pedagogy does not make one awful and implying at the same time that there is at least the threat that such teachers may be viewed as awful, a threat which several of my participants also expressed feeling.[57]

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[56] See the "Classroom Observations" section below for a more detailed discussion of this observation.
[57] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of instances where my participants expressed feeling this threat.

Thus, both Instructor A and Instructor C, during their interviews with me, constructed the critical instruction they give their students as frequently in conflict with "real world" practice and expressed that they were both comfortable with[58] and understanding of[59] MATESOL students who disagree with this critical impetus, who feel unable to take critical action, or who choose for their own reasons not to take certain critical actions in their classrooms. I will discuss some of the implications of the "real world" vs "academy" dichotomy we have constructed in these conversations as well as of the conflict between restrictive, hegemonic institutions and social justice ideals at greater length in Chapter 5.

3.1.2 The English 501 Syllabus

As was noted by Instructor A above in Excerpt 3D (lines 27-28), my participants' cohort was introduced to the social dimensions of ELT in their first "core" MATESOL course - a survey of the major theories and concepts in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and the ramifications of these theories on classroom practice. In this course, which I will refer to as English 501, Instructor A taught my participants the theoretical ideas that formed the foundation of their coursework in the CSU MATESOL program.

The 2017 iteration of the English 501 syllabus places a heavy emphasis on the need for critical language teachers to recognize and work against the discriminatory socio-political aspects of ELT. Reading topics progress from a troubling of the cognitive bias in Chomskyan linguistics; to polemics against monolingual understandings of language; to the centerpiece of the course: two-weeks dedicated to "The Great Debate," where students use readings from the late 1990's to argue whether or not the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) needs to more thoroughly recognize the importance of social circumstances in language acquisition. The course organization falls clearly in favor of such recognition, as it concludes with a series of readings on critical applied linguistics, critical media analysis, and how the concepts of "nativeness" and "race" require careful consideration in all aspects of language study, teaching, and use. Representative examples of readings include Norton and Toohey (2001), Lu and Horner (2013), Kubota (2016), Harklau (2003), Firth and Wagner (1997), Gass (1998), Block (2003),

[58] Instructor A, Excerpt 3E, line 4
[59] Instructor C, Excerpt 3F, lines 25-33

Pennycook (1990), Benesch (2006), Canagarajah (1999), and Motha (2014). The vast majority of these readings support the need for socially conscious teaching of and research on the English language. Gass (1998) is representative of a handful of readings which maintain that the exclusion of socio-political concerns can, in some cases (such as second language acquisition research), be acceptable. As I will show below, readings such as Gass (1998) were consistently introduced in a manner that highlighted the problematic aspects involved in their exclusion of social concerns.

The 501 syllabus also describes a two-part "Language Learning Autobiography" assignment where students are asked to reflect in writing, first on their own language learning experiences, and then later on how they might situate these experiences among the readings they have done for the course. In the assignment description, students are offered two example readings for this assignment, Vandrick (2002) and Canagarajah (2012), which draw attention to the colonial legacies of and discrimination against "non-native" speakers in ELT. Additionally, the advice given in the syllabus on how to properly integrate sources uses examples from scholars who critique the "individualistic and mechanistic" nature of SLA (Block, 2003) and the biases against "non-native speakers" (Cook, 1999), thus contributing to the overall emphasis on social justice concerns in language learning and teaching. These examples are what Instructor A was referring to in Excerpt 3D when she said that she "works [colonialism] in around the edges" (lines 29-30) during the early portions of the course.

3.1.3 Classroom Observations

During my observations of English 501, Instructor A frequently presented her students (five of whom were my focal research participants) with counter-hegemonic, anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-oppression discourse. For example, in anticipation for the "Great Debate," the class was broken up into four smaller groups and each met in a different study room at a campus library to prepare for their side of the debate. One side worked to construct arguments in line with scholars like Firth and Wagner (1997) and Rampton, (1997) who argue that the field of SLA needs to take social influences on language acquisition more seriously. The other side, following scholars like Gass (1998) and Long (1997), would argue that the field of SLA could operate well without making such a shift. When I observed Chiara's group, they were discussing Gass (1998), an article that argues for the legitimacy of investigating

"language as an abstract entity that resides in the individual" (p. 88). Chiara's group was tasked with defending the position, contrary to Gass (1998), that the field of SLA should include greater attention to the social circumstances of language use. Instructor A, who was visiting each of the rooms in turn, arrived during this discussion and, after offering her students a summary of Gass (1998), observed, following another reading assigned to my participants (Firth and Wagner (1997), that severing social concerns from SLA leaves important assumptions about language unexamined, generally defaults to a "native-speaker" standard, and thus produces a deficit model of language education, where faults in communication are always assumed to be the "non-native" speaker's responsibility.

During this same session, in response to Chiara's question about what strategies she can use to defend her debate stance, Instructor A characterizes the importance of attending to social concerns in ELT in the following way:

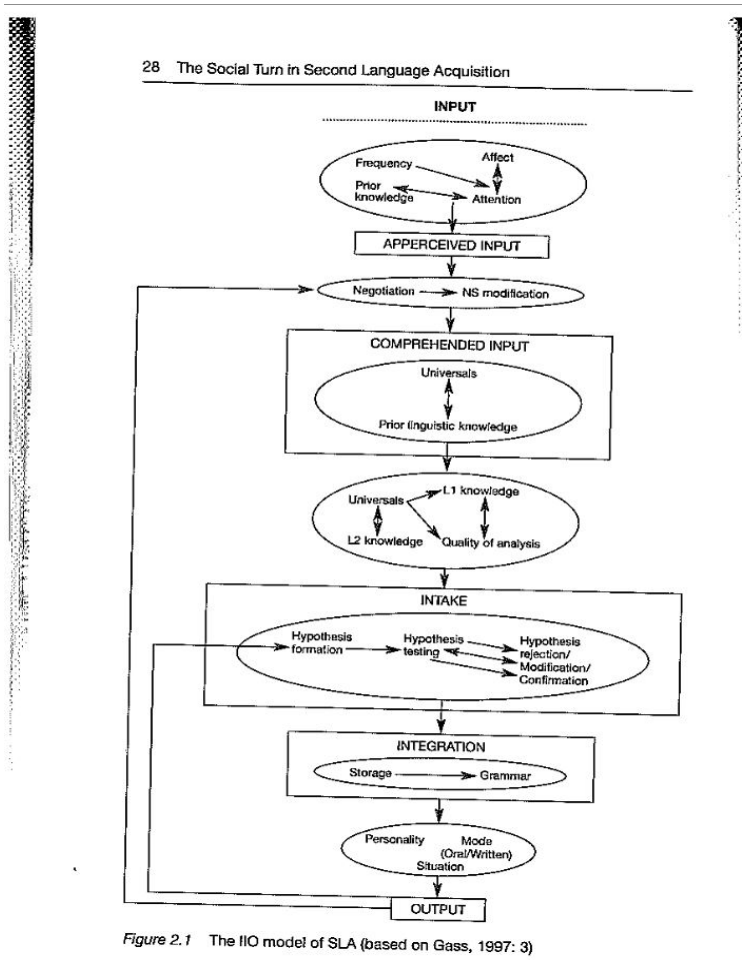
Excerpt 3G

C=Chiara A=Instructor A

1.	**C:**	Even in Rampton's article where he talks about Belize↑ (.) a new country (.) and how (.) um (.) if we allow people to (.) build it with (.) if we start (.) um (.) getting people to just to follow one (.) linguistic path
2.	**A:**	Uh huh
3.	**C:**	[undecipherable]
4.	**A:**	Yes
5.	**C:**	Belize has (.) a lot of ethnic groups
6.	**A:**	Yeah
7.	**C:**	and so (.) uh (.) the consequence of (.) someone like Gass would
8.		actually (.) create problems (.) sooner or later
9.	**A:**	So just think about I mean you've just started your program so
10.		there's a lot more that you are going to learn (.) um (.) and
11.		particularly the stuff about social context is in the last (.) third (.)
12.		of the class so (.) much of it you haven't had but you've (.) had a
13.		taste of it because (.) most of the topics we have looked at you
14.		had at least one current (.) article (.) to read like the
15.		translingualism work or (.) but just imagine if your entire (.) um (.)
16.		coursework which (.) in the mid-90s this was true (.) this was
17.		what you studied ((holding up an Input-Interaction-Output (II/O)
18.		model flow chart copied from Block, 2003 p. 28)) (.) If you
19.		remember I handed around the Selinker book no the Ellis book
20.		(.) it was full of stuff like this (.) so if you as a teacher this is the
21.		basis of what you learned (.) and then you were put into a
22.		classroom (.) without thinking about (.) multilingualism or (.)
23.		power (.) or race (.) or globalization (.) or any of those (.) themes
24.		(.) and you (.) this is was your interpretation (.) of (.) um (.)
25.		second-language acquisition (.) this is what you had to know in

order to teach (.) learners English (.) you know (.) English
learners (.) kids (.) adults (.) community college learners (.)
people in the IEP (.) if this was what you had to know in order to
understand what it means to learn English↑ (.) if this was the
extent of it↑ (.) and other theories that look like this↑ (.) how
would you be a different teacher (.) from the teacher that you are
or (.) so I think the consequences are enormous (.) and really
important to think about
C: And we can talk about that (.) in the debate↑
A: Yeah yeah yeah (.) that's why (.) I mean that's why we are doing
the debate (.) because the consequences are so huge

Figure 1 *The II/O chart Instructor A copied from Block (2003) and shared with my participants*



In excerpt 3G, Instructor A offers a hypothetical narrative to her students, asking them to imagine what the exclusion of social concerns would mean for who they might become as teachers. As was often

the case with my participants as well, Instructor A uses the shorthand of “social stuff” (here “stuff about social context” line 11) to quickly capture what she later nuances as issues of “multilingualism,” “power,” “race,” and “globalization” (lines 22-23). She implies that this social stuff would be given much less attention by teachers whose programs continue to adopt the Long (1997) and Gass (1998) side of the debate, which is also associated with the past and by implication outdated (lines 15-17) as well as insufficient for educating language teachers (lines 28-30). The hypothetical teacher constructed here by Instructor A is ignorant of the impact of multilingualism on language studies, as well as the role that race and power play in the classroom and the effects of globalization on English language teaching and learning. The “huge consequences” she speaks of in line 36 are thus constructed rhetorically as negative consequences should one not learn about the “social stuff” (e.g., monolingual ideology, power inequities, and racism). Not only is Chiara’s question about using these social consequences in the debate answered in the positive, illuminating these consequences is explained by Instructor A as the very reason for the debate (lines 35-36). On the day of the great debate, I observed Instructor A again reminding all of her students about the stakes of this debate and explaining how the investments people have on each side might lead to a “bloody war at conferences” (11-2-17). In summary, the above excerpt is an example of how my participants were regularly presented discourse on the complex, controversial, and weighty issues that attend the teaching of English—particularly those issues surrounding the role of nativeness, race, and neoliberal influence that I am defining as Key Program Discourses (KPDs). These KPDs, and more generally “social stuff,” were presented as vitally important, contested, and consequential elements of ELT.

In 2017, my participants’ English 501 course culminated with the last full week of readings and class-time dedicated to discussing how the constructs of race and nativeness have discriminatory and de-professionalizing effects on the field of ELT. During these classes, which I observed, Instructor A presented her students with popular discourse from job advertisements where nativeness is treated as a virtue and the role of race in ELT is obscured and ignored. Instructor A presented a sustained critique of these discourses and invited her students to join this critique. For example, in a classroom discussion on “nativeness” (11-28-17), Instructor A offered the following explanation as an answer to students’ questions about the best terminology to describe language ability:

Excerpt 3H

A= Instructor A

A: What terms do we use (.) from my perspective the reason that the terms are so problematic is because (.) they conceal or support underlying ideologies that are problematic (.) um (.) so we don't **have** a good term like (.) I mean they're all problematic (.) multilingual is problematic for (.) a variety of reasons (.) which we will talk about (.) I'm putting up a parking garage up here on the blackboard and we'll talk about it (.) L2 is problematic but I mean (.) underneath all of it I think is the fact (.) that it's problematic to be thinking of people in these (.) in these (.) uh (.) static (.) linguistic categories (.) because languages are not (.) bounded in static ways (.) so (.) the whole enterprise of finding new language can't happen until we (.) are able to change our frames of mind↑ (.) which is so hard to do because we've been you know for (.) as individuals (.) for decades we've been thinking along these lines and also as a society (.) we (.) the (.) those kinds of conceptual shifts can't happen overnight (.) you can have eureka moments but for the whole world to change their way of thinking about something so fundamental (.) takes time

This excerpt and earlier excerpts are representative of the critical content that was regularly shared with the CSU MATESOL students during my observations of their coursework. What I am interested in with this excerpt and with the remaining excerpts in this section is to focus more precisely on *how* the critical discourses and specifically the KPDs were presented to my participants. In the above excerpt, Instructor A is responding to a larger discussion that resulted when she asked students to share their thoughts on the construct of "nativeness." She frames the problem with finding proper terminology as a symptom of a larger societal attitude towards language, an attitude that is characterized as ideological (line 3) and discordant with the facts (lines 8-11). She frames the critical impetus of the CSU MATESOL program in opposition to an older, more-widespread, traditional frame of mind (lines 11-13) in a manner similar to the way she framed the social side of the Great Debate as newer and better informed than the old standards represented by the other side. The change to new ways of thinking is also here conceived as a difficult one, both for individuals and for society (lines 13-16), particularly because of the momentum that traditional ideals hold across time (line 16) and across large numbers of people (lines 17-19). Indeed, at various times throughout my study my participants themselves expressed their difficulties with these

same terminological, ideological, and frame-of-mind conflicts and these expressions are given particular attention in Chapter 4.

One further observation of this interaction in Excerpt 3H: Instructor A here almost exclusively uses the first-person plural "we," which has the effect of placing herself alongside her students in discussions of the difficulties involved in making the terminological and perceptual changes to result in a more accurate and less problematic field of ELT. This solidarity was regularly exhibited in Instructor A's discursive constructions of the KPDs. For example, in this same classroom discussion on "nativeness" (11-28-17), Instructor A asked my participants to free write about their past language teaching and learning experiences in relation to the construct of "nativeness," and noted that "it's really easy when ***we*** think about this topic to get really far removed from the classroom and actual pedagogy" (emphasis added). When Maggie confesses during the same class session that she knows she's been "guilty of saying well (.) an American would say it this way," Instructor A responds, "me too." This is one of several instances where I observed Instructors A and C modeling vulnerability in solidarity with their students, acknowledging the ongoing challenges in bringing about greater equity in ELT. Such modeling will be discussed in Chapter 5 as relevant to part of my third research question: What are the most significant contributing factors in the CSU MATESOL students' discursive alignment with the KPDs?

On February 9th, 2018, I observed a class session from Instructor C's practicum seminar. Among my focal participants, Kevin and Huck were present.[60] During this class session, my participants were responding to the assigned reading, the first chapter from Kumaravadivelu's (2003) *Beyond Methods*. In this chapter, Kumaravadivelu draws on Giroux (1988) and other scholars influenced by the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire to argue that teachers should take on the role of "transformative intellectuals." According to Kumaravadivelu, such teachers need to be both "socio-politically conscious and to be assertive in acting upon their sociopolitical consciousness" in a "socially contextualized" way (2003, p. 14).

My observations of this practicum seminar session revealed a similar approach to the "social stuff" and KPDs already discussed above. In other words, social context is constructed as important in

[60] My other focal participants, Chiara, Sync, and Liz, took their practicum seminar the following quarter

ELT and as often in conflict with traditional or hegemonic norms. For example, in the following excerpt, Instructor C explains that neoliberal market pressures present an obstacle to the use of more locally contextualized materials in the way that Kumaravadivelu advocates:

Excerpt 3I

C= Instructor C

C: And also you know the whole industry of uh publication in our field (.) It is an industry (.) It's it's it's a business (.) and then (.) if you are going to contextualize (.) uh (.) teaching writing or taking the experiences [undecipherable] experiences of students across the globe (.) you need so many more writers you need so many more authors (.) you need you will have smaller markets (.) you have to publish (.) uh uh publicize in those markets (.) it would be so much more costly than to produce generic books that are you know by so-called (.) experts in the field who have already become experts because they have (.) you know (.) they are out of this Western world […] so there is this whole economy (.) which is kind of also (.) preventing (.) the use of contextualized materials

In this brief excerpt, Instructor C constructs textbook publication as an "industry" and as a "business" where the profit-motive stands in opposition to more socially conscious and locally relevant textbooks. The hierarchies in this business, dominated by what Instructor C refers to as "so-called" experts, here map onto and perpetuate the colonial hierarchies between the "Western World" and the non-Western.

In this class session, as in all of the sessions of English 501 I observed, conflicts over social concerns in the field of TESOL are highlighted, and being aware of and attending to such concerns was given a high priority in the assigned readings and in instructor lectures. When some of the CSU MATESOL students, including Kevin, voice some uncertainties over taking on the role of a transformative intellectual (uncertainties which are discussed in greater length in Chapter 4), Instructor C responds in the following way:

Excerpt 3J

C=Instructor C K=Kevin

1=A student who agreed to be observed but who did not participate in this study

C: Okay (.) so (.) what would (.) would somebody like to respond to

this very real concern that Kevin has voiced (.) about (.) you know student expectations↑ and fulfilling (.) um (.) institutional requirements of what you are supposed to teach and how you are supposed to teach it↑

1: You know you can still do it I mean you can (.) maybe just be sneaky

All: haha[haha]

1: [but you] could have examples or representations of inequality (.) like (.) I'm not sure how hard you want to push it but you could give an example of like a country where women can't drive […] questioning assumptions is not pushing your agenda but just occasionally […] asking a question and making students think (.) and stop and pause (.) and kind of reflect on why we automatically do something a certain way

K: it's funny that you mention that specific (.) and I'm not (.) against (.) hahaha

C: [no no no]

K: [not against] (.) transformative (.) [agency (.) hahaha]

C: [And I am not pushing] anybody to be one or the other or the third (.) I just want to encourage a dialogue

K: yeah

C: because this is a practicum class right↑ (.) we're dealing with the practicalities of trying to transform some of these ideas into our pedagogy (.) right↑ and you're voicing very legitimate concerns and I thought [1's] (.) uh (.) example was also a very good way of trying to (.) you know actually operationalize what it means to be a transformative intellectual and (.) in my opinion at least extending your example further (.) it doesn't mean that we're not doing our job as teaching of teaching you know linguistic skills (.) it could be (.) you know something about the content we bring into the class (.) which (.) again without a specific agenda because that might (.) um (.) encourage students to re**sist** our teaching (.) again so it's a questioning attitude (.) asking them to question assumptions that they might have taken for granted (.) but again (.) in a gentle way (.) without seeming to (.) push ideas (.) especially if you are not part of the same (.) country the same ethnicity the same (.) what have you as our students (.) it could be (.) resisted really badly by our students

In Excerpt 3J, Instructor C responds to Kevin's concerns by validating them as "very real" (lines 1-2) and invites responses from the rest of the class. Student 1 raises the possibility that one can still function in a transformative and critical way by being "sneaky," (line 7) despite potential student and institutional objections. This response resembles Instructor A's descriptions of how she works notions about the colonial impact into her class "around the edges" and again constructs critical discourse as something prone to elicit resistance, a notion that is here amplified by Instructor C (lines 34 and 40). Instructor C takes some care to explain that being a transformative intellectual does not mean discarding

the practical work of teaching "linguistic skills" (lines 30-31) and she differentiates, following Student 1, between inviting students to adopt a questioning attitude (lines 35-36) and having a "specific agenda" (line 33). She emphasizes that the encouragement of such questioning of past assumptions should be done in a "gentle way" (line 37).

Perhaps most significant here is the connection between Instructor C's teaching method and the meta-discourses that serve as both the model and the subject of her teaching during this class session (a connection that I also observed in Instructor A's teaching). By this I mean that Instructor C is here both introducing her students to an understanding of critical pedagogy where one invites one's students to question assumptions and to share in knowledge production[61] and simultaneously modeling this form of teaching, encouraging dialogue rather than proscribing belief.[62] Of course, the very notion of encouraging a dialogue can trouble normative understandings, and some of my participants, despite their alignments with the KPDs as detailed in the latter portions of this chapter, also expressed in their individual and group interviews the feeling that the CSU MATESOL program and its faculty did have a specific agenda, despite the efforts, like that in Excerpt 3J, of CSU MATESOL instructors to stave off such characterizations. The pressures felt by my participants to conform to this perceived "agenda" will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, and the implications of "having an agenda" in teacher education more generally will be taken up in Chapter 5.

The opening half of this chapter has established the manner in which the three overlapping discourses of "Race," "Nativeness," and "Neoliberalism" were presented to my participants as interconnected aspects of colonial legacies in English language teaching. Although social justice discourse was often categorized in very broad terms (e.g., "social stuff") by instructors and my participants alike during oral interaction, attention to social discourse was most frequently viewed through the lenses of these three "Key Program Discourses" (KPDs). The core faculty of the CSU MATESOL

[61] For example, this is the *content* of Instructor C's instruction in lines 35-37 where she states that teachers should encourage amongst their students a "questioning attitude," but "without seeming to push ideas" and "without a specific agenda" (line 33).

[62] For instance, Instructor C's turning of Kevin's question back to the rest of class (lines 1-4) and her clarification that she is not "pushing anybody to be one or the other or the third," but rather intending to "encourage a dialogue" (line 22). This style of teaching is central to the "problem-posing" approach that Freire (2012) recommends for critical pedagogy.

program presented these discourses in their interviews with me and in their classroom speech as vital to the field of TESOL, but also as challenging, difficult concepts that go against much received wisdom and cannot always be put perfectly into practice. The core faculty were also concerned with the affective fallout of these discourses and commented on their desire to shield their students from negative emotions associated with the recognition that their teaching practice may be complicit in discrimination and from the negative self-assessments that might accompany difficulty in practically applying the theoretical commitments that emerge from these discourses. In the second half of this chapter, I examine the ways my participants aligned their oral and written discourse with these program discourses.

3.2 My Participants' Written and Oral Reproductions of Key Program Discourses

All of my focal participants, over the course of their degree, expressed alignment with the discursive themes that were presented to them in their early coursework as MATESOL students at CSU, although this alignment was expressed to varying degrees and occasionally alongside some form of reservation or resistance (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of these latter responses). Here in this second half of Chapter 3, I discuss examples of the ways my participants aligned themselves with the CSU "Key Program Discourses" (KPDs) which I delineated in the first half of this chapter.

3.2.1 General support for social justice

My participants regularly expressed support for the broader social justice orientation that underpinned the CSU MATESOL program KPDs. An early example of this support occurred during our first group dinner discussion on February 16th, 2018, where Kevin shares a brief narrative which indirectly constructs his MATESOL cohort as supportive of social justice concerns.

Excerpt 3K

K= Kevin S=Sync T=TJ H=Huck

1. K: I know (.) I guess he's not (.) I don't know if I (.) I won't name
2. names but you'll know (.) who I [mean]
3. S: [haha]
4. T: [I actually] don't know the
5. second (.) the cohort above you so
6. K: Well this person (.) again it is kind of gossip a little bit just I heard

7. from someone that (.) um (.) one person (.) who (.) I think most of
8. us know but is not in the MATESOL program but is sort of in a
9. similar thing was in Theory last year (.) and (.) um (.) was really
10. kind of a contrarian (.) like (.) was very um (.) conservative and
11. really kind of pushed against the social justice elements
12. S: ((Loudly whispering)) Against the [social justice haha]
13. K: [and things like that] you know
14. T: So they were for social injustice
15. ALL: Hahaha[haha]
16. H: [Exactly yeah]
17. K: [right]

In this small story (Georgakopoulou (2007), Kevin (after several others have already answered) responded to a question of mine about his MATESOL cohort's relationship with the cohort one year ahead. Kevin places the subject of his narrative in a sort of liminal space, acknowledging that this person is technically "not in the MATESOL program" but rather in a "similar thing" that nonetheless results in his attending the "Theory" class, English 501, with the 2016 cohort of MATESOL students (line 9). The subject is established with quasi-anonymity, referred to as "one person" instead of by name, but with the caveat that he is someone whom "most of us know" (lines 7-8). This anonymity serves to further heighten the sense that this person's actions are worthy of some censure, as Kevin assures his listeners that he won't "name names" (lines 1-2). We can assume that with this reassurance, Kevin is implying that going so far as to name this person directly would constitute an unfair, behind-the-back attack on his character. The core of the story links this person's behavioral trait ("contrarian") with his political preference ("conservative") and his behavior (pushing against the social justice elements).

This story prompts responses from Sync and from me. Sync repeats the core action of the story in a loud whisper ("against the social justice") and then laughs. This repetition and immediate laughter serve to further highlight Kevin's claims about the subject as noteworthy or odd. I then state a corollary proposition as a joke: if one is against social justice, then one must be for social injustice. While almost no one would define their own position as "for social injustice," a point which we make moments later in the larger conversation, my comment and its warm, positive reception indicate the group's performance of alignment with the social justice discourse of the CSU MATESOL program in this moment, a performance established further through Huck and Kevin's exclamations of assent in lines 16 and 17. This story functions within our larger discussion as a series of interrelated membership categorization devices

(Hester & Eglin, 1997; Sacks, 1992), as the cohort of my participants is assumed to be categorically unlike this "contrarian," "conservative," proponent of "social injustice." My participants and I express our solidarity with each other in our universal disapprobation of Kevin's "conservative" subject, and likewise perform our shared commitment to the overarching social justice concerns which, in turn, inform the KPDs.

It is worth noting, however, as I will discuss at greater length in Chapters 4 and 5, that the binary, "right versus wrong" framing we have here aligned around (exemplified by my own comments in Excerpt 3K about the contrarian classmate being "against social justice") leaves little room for the inevitable and necessary nuances of practice. Dichotomous thinking such as this offers a reductive understanding of socially just pedagogical practice, with its "all-or-nothing" perspective limiting possibilities for positive change and potentially setting early-career teachers up for a sense of failure and disappointment. Indeed, later on in this same discussion, Sync expresses her discomfort with what she describes as a pressure to completely conform to the "Nativeness" KPD, which she implies makes her feel "like a bigot or something" if she retains any notion of standards in her language teaching (See the discussion of Excerpt 4R in Chapter 4).

Leaving a more detailed discussion of the problematic elements of our conversations to the later chapters, I examine in greater detail, over the following three sections of this chapter, some of the representative instances where my participants and I aligned our discursive productions with what I have categorized as the key discourses of the CSU MATESOL program: "Nativeness," "Neoliberalism," and "Race."

3.2.2 Alignment with the KPD of "Nativeness"

As established in the first half of this chapter, the harmfulness of the construct of "Nativeness" or "Native Speakerism" was a regular feature in the CSU MATESOL program discourse, and my participants were repeatedly informed in class lectures and in their assigned readings about the ways that the construct of "Nativeness" lacked firm linguistic meaning (Cook, 1999) and promoted inequity (Canagarajah, 1999). In the following sections, I analyze instances where my participants aligned their own discursive productions of "Nativeness" with those of the CSU MATESOL program. I begin with a

discussion of how nativeness featured in my participants' written work, before moving to a similar discussion of their oral interactions in classroom observations and during interviews. I conclude this "Nativeness" sub-section with a brief look at how this key program discourse was intertwined with the discourse of "Race" in my participants' discursive productions, an intertwining that also featured in the CSU MATESOL program discourse.

3.2.2.1 Written Work.

My participants shared with me a number of their assignments, beginning with an autobiographical account of their language learning experiences and subsequently, in most cases, their teaching philosophies and teaching journal excerpts.[63] Some participants continued to share pieces of their work with me until the final quarter of their program (for a detailed list of written artifacts shared with me, see Chapter 2, Table 4).

One thing that was immediately evident upon review of these written artifacts is that the discourse surrounding the discriminatory effects of the construct of "nativeness" was relatively common in much of my focal participants' writing (particularly in their language learning autobiographies), while direct expressions on the other "KPD" themes of neoliberalism and race were nearly absent in collected written materials. This may have been because almost all of the written artifacts I received were assignments focused on language teaching and learning experiences, and the notion of nativeness may have been, for my participants, more intuitively and directly connected to language teaching and learning issues than are the concepts of race and neoliberalism. Nativeness, after all, remains a very visible and, in many places, a common and accepted form of discrimination (Ruecker & Ives, 2015) despite the fact that it has been repeatedly shown to intersect with and serve as a proxy for less socially acceptable discrimination along racial lines (Amin, 1997; Motha, 2014; Rubin, 1992; Swan et al., 2015).

My participants' first written assignment for English 501 (Fall 2017) was to write a personal narrative of their experiences learning a language or languages and then later to reflect on these experiences in light of their readings for the quarter. All of my participants except Huck shared this

[63] All of my participants were required to compose reflective teaching journals as homework for their practicum courses.

assignment with me (see my evaluation of Excerpt 3U (pages 140-141) for a discussion of Huck's unorthodox method of completing this assignment) and they all took up the discourse of native speakerism in different ways. For example, Kevin distances his current self from his past self in the process of re-framing his erstwhile belief that native speakers were "essential to learning a language." He writes that "[i]n retrospect, it may be more accurate to say I was in search of authentic interaction with the French language, which could have taken the form of conversation practice with a proficient native or non-native speaker" (Kevin, Revised Language Learning Autobiography[64], 11-30-17). In this instance, Kevin integrates programmatic critiques of the preference for native speech by re-naming and adding nuance to his past desire for native speaker teachers. Kevin characterizes the problem of his desire for "nativeness" as a sort of taxonomical inaccuracy or misunderstanding. By locating this desire specifically in the past and by providing what he describes as a "more accurate" description, Kevin aligns himself with the KPD of "nativeness" as it was presented to him and the rest of his cohort, namely that "nativeness" is not a useful descriptor and should be substituted with less problematic terms (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999).

Chiara, the only one of my focal participants who learned English as a second language (or, more accurately, as a third language), reproduces in her language learning autobiography a central element to the KPD of "nativeness," stating that "accent has played an important role in the subjugation of non-native speakers." Interestingly, Chiara chose to focus on the role that native speakerism played in her own advantage, rather than on the role it may have played as an obstacle. She writes about her success in employment following an English language study abroad program in London, "I believe that my English Certificate from England and my newly acquired British accent played an important role in getting these jobs" (Chiara, Revised Language Learning Autobiography, 11-30-17)

Along similar lines, Liz states in her Language Learning Autobiography that learning about native speakerism has changed her understanding of one of her own long-held goals for language learning, a

[64] Each of my participants completed a three-page "language learning autobiography" as part of their coursework for English 501 early in their first quarter (due 10-3-2017) and submitted a revised (four-page) copy of this assignment near the end of this same quarter (due 11-30-2017). For the revised version, students were encouraged to incorporate several course readings from English 501 in their reflections on their "own positionalities and experiences" learning languages.

goal related to what she calls her "attitude regarding accurate pronunciation." Liz argues, following the readings that she has done in English 501 (e.g., Cook, 1999), that her goal of becoming a native speaker is "impossible" and "unrealistic," since it would require one to "go back in time and grow up speaking the language." (Liz, Revised Language Learning Autobiography, 11-30-17)

Although Sync performs alignment with the KPD of "nativeness" elsewhere (See, for example, her comments in the "Oral Interactions" section below), the problematizing of "nativeness" that is fundamental to this KPD is not reproduced in her early written assignments, such as her Revised Language Learning Autobiography (submitted 11-30-17). In this assignment, Sync writes about her successful language learning while in the Peace Corps and notes that a mix of textbook study and the opportunity to "interact verbally with native speakers of a target language" are two key components of her ability to learn a language relatively quickly. It appears as though Sync was at this time still processing the ramifications of the "Nativeness" KPD and about six weeks later, during our first dinner discussion (2-16-21), she additionally expressed some frustration regarding certain aspects of the KPD of "Nativeness." These and other moments where the written and oral performances of my participants did not fully align with the KPDs will be treated in greater length in Chapter 4.

3.2.2.2 Oral Interaction.

My participants also regularly performed alignment with the KPD of nativeness in their oral interactions during the classes I observed and in their interviews with me. For example, Liz, in her first interview with me (11-28-17), in response to a question of mine about whether she felt that she had ever been the target or perpetrator of linguistic discrimination, states, after describing herself as "technically a native speaker of English," that "the discrimination would be against other people and be in favor of me." In this brief response, Liz recognizes the contested nature of the term "native speaker," qualifying her use of it with the adverb "technically." Her use of the term "technically" allows Liz to invoke the concept of nativeness as others might apply it to her, while avoiding an uncritical subscription to native ideology that might be implied through a more straightforward naming of herself as a "native speaker." Liz's response indexes her understanding of the KPD of nativeness, and she deploys this understanding in the manner

of an axiom ("the discrimination would be against other people and in favor of me") rather than with a more specific recollection of an instance of native-based discrimination.[65]

On March 10th, 2018, we held the second of our nine group discussions and my participants gathered at my house for a meal of homemade pizza and a loosely scripted discussion of TESOL-related issues. As I discussed in Chapter 2, I was eager to reciprocate my participants' support of my research and feeding them was one way I did so. Although this was only our second time meeting as a group, the atmosphere of sociability created by building our pizzas and eating them together surely played a large role in reducing the social barriers to personal sharing that are more significantly present during formal interactions (e.g., in a MATESOL seminar).

Early in this discussion, my participants began talking about their chances of getting a teaching assistantship the following year. This led to some discussion about the contradictions in the CSU program between the theoretical discourse around nativeness and the practical disadvantages that teachers labeled "non-native" still experience at CSU. After Chiara shared her "not very pleasant" experiences having to pay money and take a language test in order to make herself, a "non-native" English teacher, eligible for a Teaching assistantship, Liz shares the following story about the use of "nativeness" in her Syntax course:

Excerpt 3L

L=Liz S=Sync H=Huck T=TJ C=Chiara K=Kevin

L: What bothered me in my Syntax class was that (.) I mean I liked
my teacher but she kept referring to native speakers (.) man I
just kept wanting to tell her you know that's a contested term (.)
and then sh- everyone else in the class started using that term (.)
and it's like I had never even heard of the term native speaker
when I was taking language classes so why is this suddenly
S: Wait then what were you using (.) center speaker↑
L: Nothing (.) I didn't use anything
S: Oh
L: I didn't have a term (.) I just said someone who speaks it fluently
(.) that's

[65] This is one example of the numerous moments where my participants and I recognized our own complicity in linguistic discrimination. Here, as in most instances, we employed strategies to distance ourselves from this discrimination. In this case, Liz is generalizing "native-speaker" discrimination rather than recalling a specific moment where she personally benefited from it. Another common strategy we employed was contrasting our past, discriminatory self with our present, more enlightened self (e.g., Kevin's comments in his Language Learning Autobiography that his previous understandings about "nativeness" were inaccurate, see page 118.)

H: Yeah
L: I didn't have a term for it (.) so
S: oh
L: The way I feel is that you don't need a term I have lived most of my life without having this (.) term that isn't helpful (.) so I really wanted to tell her that to (.) stop
H: This packet of research be like hey (.) check this out
T: Yeah
H: Talk to me later
T: Kumaravadivelu 2006
S: [Hahahaha]
H: [Hahahaha]
T: Cook 1999 Pennycook 1998, 1999, 2003, 2004
H: All of Pennycook
T: Yeah
L: Well the problem (.) I feel like (.) they would (.) at least in the Linguistics department they would probably (.) I don't know cuz so much of their research relies on (.) native speaker intuition (.) but at the same time I feel like they are the same people who (.) are (.) kind of against prescriptivism because their research proves that (.) language (.) doesn't have clear boundaries
T: Yeah that's [really interesting]
L: [So]
T: That's a good point
L: I don't understand (.) why they still use things like (.)
H: Are you referencing like their the projects that have research for (.) making databases for languages that are dying out (.) that research↑
L: In terms of (…)
H: Using Native Speaker as a term
L: It's (.) more like in Syntax I think (.) determining whether something is grammatical or not (.) they rely a lot on (.) native speaker intuitions for that
K: That is so odd to me because it just seems like such an unhelpful term because
H: Yeah
L: It is
K: Because as we know (.) even (.) even (.) a native speaker (.) you know has (.) different ways of (.) different kinds of syntax (.) I guess haha
L: Yeah especially for English and (.) I mean I did my project on that last quarter (.) and it is actually really racist (.) and people who (.) aren't (.) like even people who are white but aren't native speakers of English people will still think they are native speakers because they are white
H: uh huh
L: And then people who **are** native speakers of English
K: mmm
L: but aren't white people will think that they aren't native speakers (.) so (.) I have a problem with that term (.) and it made me really upset that she was using it but (.) I can't really see myself telling her to stop using it haha
C: haha
T: Yeah (.) the hierarchies in the classroom are always (.) yeah like (.) I mean I assume it is the professor or instructor of the class

67. **L:** yeah (.) I mean it is her field and (.) her field relies on that
68. distinction so

In the above exchange, we are co-constructing alignment with the KPD of nativeness. In this instance, Liz shares a short story from her Syntax class[66] where her instructor used the term "native speaker" uncritically. Liz observes that the term is "contested" (line 3), unnecessary (line 15), and "isn't helpful" (line 16). Liz's narrated-self aligns perfectly with the English 501 discourse on the topic (exemplified in several assigned readings, e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Motha, 2014), which, as discussed above, maintains that the construct of "nativeness" is linguistically meaningless and reinforces discriminatory and unnecessary linguistic hierarchies. Huck immediately ratifies Liz' alignment, offering a hypothetical narrative solution where Liz delivers a packet of scholarly research to support her stance to the instructor of her Syntax course (line 18). This move imagines the MATESOL cohort as informed by research and implies that the Syntax instructor is correspondingly ignorant and uninformed. In line 21, I begin citing a list of scholarly works that could be included in such a packet, citing author's names and years in a manner that matches the APA citation practices my participants have been immersed in for the past two quarters of their degree program. My extension of Huck's hypothetical scenario makes use of knowledge particular to this group, knowledge which presumably is not possessed by the public generally or Liz' Syntax instructor specifically. In this way, Liz, Huck, and I index our shared understanding of the KPD of nativeness in a manner that contributes to overall group inclusion (if you are aware of this privileged information you are a part of our group) and which, through its assumption of scholarly consensus on nativeness, further establishes the implication already set forth by Liz, namely that those who uncritically accept the construct of nativeness are working in contradiction to research-informed best practices. Liz makes this contradiction explicit in lines 27-32 when she argues that a reliance on native speaker intuition is at odds with linguists' own understanding that languages do not have clear boundaries.[67]

[66] It should be noted here that the Syntax course Liz is discussing is required for the MATESOL degree, but is taught by faculty from the linguistics department, a department which was constructed by my participants as in ideological disagreement with the CSU MATESOL program (See, for example, Chapter 4, Excerpt 4E).
[67] This complaint about this inconsistency in Linguistics is essentially the same complaint made by Bourdieu (1991)

While Liz is in the process of clarifying her thoughts on the Linguistics department at CSU, Kevin reiterates nearly verbatim the same alignment with the "Nativeness" KPD as expressed by Liz, namely that "nativeness" is an unhelpful term and that it is odd that the linguistics department seems unaware of the problems associated with this term (lines 45-46). When Kevin notes that even native speakers clearly have different syntax, this prompts Liz to elaborate and extend her alignment with the KPD of nativeness by noting that the construct of nativeness is linked to the construct of race and therefore implicated as well in racial discrimination (lines 52-56). These later assertions from Kevin and Liz shift the discussion from whether or not "native speaker" is a useful descriptive term to a discussion of the ways that who qualifies as "native" is determined, at least in part, by race. While this latter point potentially reifies the notion of nativeness, it does so for the sake of exposing the way that the term does not function as the simple, ahistorical, objective descriptor proposed by its defenders such as Gass (1998) and Long (1997) whose work was read by my participants in preparation for their first-term in-class debate. As was discussed above, the programmatic presentation of the KPDs and the manner in which these were taken up by my participants exhibited considerable overlap. The connection between nativeness and race reproduced here in the Excerpt 3L performances of Liz and Kevin, for example, was a key component in the presentation of these KPDs in my participants' English 501 course.[68]

Chiara initiated the portion of our conversation transcribed in Excerpt 3L with a personal narrative account of the additional testing she had to perform as someone labeled "non-native." Liz and Kevin both state directly that the construct of "nativeness" is unhelpful, and Huck and I both imply that the weight of research is in line with this perspective. There is thus a certain momentum to the group's conversation that makes voicing an alternative point of view more socially risky. In the first dinner discussion (2-16-18), Sync had expressed some frustration and uncertainty over what she expressed as pressure to refer to people as "center" or "periphery" speakers rather than as "native" or "non-native" speakers. In that discussion, I, along with other participants, explicitly encouraged the sharing of moments where one's

[68] For example, in an un-excerpted moment from my observations of the 501 class session dedicated to "Nativeness" (11-29-17), Instructor A discusses how certain for-profit language schools encourage teachers to exaggerate their "whiteness" (e.g., dyeing their hair blonde and wearing blue contacts) in order to present potential students with a commodified "White Native-Speaker" teacher, and thereby directly associating "Whiteness" with "Native" English speech—while also highlighting the neoliberal market pressures behind such actions as well.

own beliefs were in potential conflict with the discourses of the CSU MATESOL program (See chapter 4 for a more extensive discussion of this side of our first dinner conversation). Here, during this second dinner discussion, the group is oriented around support of Chiara's unpleasant experiences and the KPD of nativeness. This change in circumstance was thus far less inviting for counter-argument, and although Sync does interject when Liz states that she had never used the term "native" before (line 5), saying, "Wait then what were you using (.) center speaker↑" (line 7), she accepts Liz's explanation that Liz had never felt the need for a specific term beyond saying that someone "speaks it fluently" (line 10) without further comment. Liz' comment in lines 61-63 that her instructor's use of the term made her "really upset," but that she still couldn't see herself "telling her to stop using it" indicates not only her alignment with the "Nativeness" KPD but also the potential for frustration in not being able to put her thoughts about nativeness into practice, which frustrations will be given closer examination in Chapter 4.

I found instances of alignment with the "Nativeness" KPD at even the earliest stages of my research. For example, when Chiara told me in our first interview (11-12-17) at a busy café that she had studied English abroad in London, she offered the following account to explain the good reputation of this London school amongst families from her hometown:

Excerpt 3M

C=Chiara T=TJ

1.	**C:**	The owner of the (.) no the (.) director of the school was a
2.		Spanish (.) woman (.) and then we had (.) so I am telling you
3.		about a little bit about the school (.) we had teachers (.) most of
4.		them were British but some of them were (.) I remember there
5.		was a woman from the Philippines (.) and uh (.) and probably
6.		another one (.) from somewhere else (.) but they were all (.) like
7.		native (.) you know (.) you could f-(.) you could f- (.) you know (.)
8.		they were all just (.)
9.	**T:**	They were all highly proficient in English
10.	**C:**	Highly proficient in English

In this brief excerpt from our first interview, Chiara describes the nationalities and language abilities of the teachers at this school. She notes that some of the teachers were not British but asserts that they were all "like native" before several starts and stops which I interpreted as her searching for a more appropriate description. I supply an alternative way of describing their language abilities ("highly

proficient in English," line 9) which she repeats decisively, signaling her satisfaction with the phrase. This interaction is an example of the way my participants regularly indexed alignment with the CSU MATESOL program's problematizing of "nativeness" and also offers a glimpse of the confusions and uncertainties that they sometimes performed when grappling with the construct of nativeness.

3.2.3 Alignment with the KPD of "Neoliberalism"

As was the case with the KPD of "Nativeness," my participants generally aligned themselves with the KPD of "Neoliberalism" in the classes I observed and in the interviews I conducted. For this study, I broadly characterized any discussion of privatized education, the pressures of industry, or market influence on teaching and learning as part of the "Neoliberal" KPD. As I showed in the first half of this chapter, neoliberal policies and market influence were regularly presented in unfavorable terms by the CSU MATESOL instructors.[69]

During their first quarter in the program, for their English 501 course, each of my participants was assigned a role to perform in a "Great Debate." This was a debate about whether or not there was an urgent need for language acquisition research and language teaching to involve more widespread attention to the social (as opposed to more strictly cognitive) aspects of language learning. The following excerpt occurs during a 501 class session immediately after this great debate where my participants were involved in a tangential discussion surrounding the commodification of the English language and the intrusion of business norms into language teaching.

Excerpt 3N

A=Instructor A L=Liz H=Huck SZ=Su Zhang S=Sync K=Kevin

2=A student who agreed to be observed but who is not a participant in my research

1. **L:** There are auctioneers in my family (.) I could get you in touch
2. **H:** I hate selling things (.) it just never (.) [selling]
3. **L:** [Really↑] (.)
4. because that's [exactly what you were doing]
5. **2:** [That's what you're kind of doing]
6. **H:** [True]
7. **L:** [That's what we're selling an idea]

[69] For an additional example, one of the earliest instances where neoliberalism was presented in a negative light to my participants was the reading assignment for October 17th, 2017, which included Kubota (2016), an article that is unflinching in its excoriation of neoliberal influence on language teaching.

8. **H:** [hmmmm] Fate
9. **L:** That's what debates are
10. **H:** Yeah (.) um
11. **SZ:** Yeah I [feel]
12. **L:** [and that's] why I hate them
13. **SZ:** Yeah (.) I feel [Huck speaks so fast]
14. **A:** [That's what academia is too] I am afraid to say
15. **L:** I know it is horrible (.) like why can't we just listen [to each other]
16. **S:** [I used to think]
17. that the idea of getting a PhD was a lot more romantic than this
18. **A:** It's because [of the stakes]
19. **2:** [As a teacher I hate] like framing it like oh it is an
20. easier sell for the students if we teach the concept in this way
21. and I'm like **we are not SALESMEN**
22. **All** hahahaha
23. **A:** Oh I kno::::w and I think that's a change (.) I think we are
24. becoming more (.) more that way
25. **2:** Yeah where we have to be very explicit about explaining to our
26. students okay here are the stakes and the value of this thing
27. [that we are offering rather than saying]
28. **S:** [Drink the Kool-Aid I don't know]
29. **2:** **You are my students do what I say**
30. **K:** Especially cuz like I work in a for-profit establishment so I am
31. absolutely [selling]
32. **H:** [yeah]
33. **K:** a product both my- (.) the language and myself you know
34. **H:** Uh huh yeah

In this collective exchange, the speakers are releasing nervous energy from their relatively high-stakes, graded performance in the debate, and are talking over one another in their excitement. Huck's rapid speech during the debate was a source of amusement amongst his classmates, and Liz compares his speech to that of auctioneers. This comparison prompts Huck to admit that he hates selling things. Liz then makes the claim that debates are essentially selling things and asserts that this is why she hates them. She asks, "why can't we just listen to each other?" (line 15), implying that a sales motive precludes such listening. Student 2 (who agreed to be observed but who is not a participant in my research) extends this line of reasoning to a more explicit complaint about the discursive incursions of business into the field of education with his emphatic declaration "we are not salesmen" (line 21), which sentiment elicits laughter from many of the others. Instructor A sympathizes with this complaint with a drawn out, sympathetic exclamation "Oh I kno::::w" (line 23) before stating that this unwelcome influence is becoming more common. Student 2 contrasts what he implies is a pedagogically preferred technique (being transparent in explanations to students) with the dispreferred technique of simply ordering students,

which he places in parallel to marketing perspectives on education (lines 25-29). Kevin, accompanied by Huck's approving "yeah" and "uh huh," highlights the commodification of language (and of himself) that takes place in his "for-profit" educational establishment (lines 30-34). Over the course of this interaction, Huck, Liz, Student 1, Instructor A, and Kevin all take turns voicing their distaste and pedagogical dissatisfaction for a market-mindset in education, in line with the key program discourses on this theme, what I refer to in this study as the "Neoliberalism" KPD.

Kevin and I would later revisit this critical take on the commodification of language teaching during our first interview at a busy CSU campus café on 2-8-18, about half-way through his second quarter in the CSU MATESOL program. I asked all of my participants about their past teaching experiences, and Kevin begins to tell me about the different teaching positions he had held in South Korea.

Excerpt 3O

T=TJ K=Kevin

T: Were you there for like ten straight years?
K: No (.) umm I (.) well so I went to Korea the first time in 2002 (.) and I stayed two years and did two different jobs (.) one was in a small town called Gimcheon which is kind of right in the center of the (.) of South Korea and the other I was in Incheon which is you know [just outside of Seoul]
T: [Yeah that's where that's] where my wife's family is from is from (.) Incheon]
K: [Okay] (.) Alright (.) and um (.) so I (.) They were both (.) like they were both hagwon[70] (.) jobs the first one was really young kids the second one was a little bit older like some middle school students but still mostly (.) mostly elementary um yeah older elementary and middle school (.) um (.) I (.) they were both (…) how can I describe them (.) like (.) not especially academic if you know what I mean um (…)
T: Kind of selling the idea of like having conversations with a Westerner↑
K: Yeah
T: Yeah
K: yeah [like]
T: [Kind of a] chic (.) its not just about (.) yeah I kinda get what yo- I mean that was definitely like common in Japan as well like it wasn't all about (.) making sure your grammar was perfect [or]
K: [right]
T: I mean there was that element but

[70] "*Hagwon"* is a Korean term for a private, for-profit school.

26. **K:** uh huh
27. **T:** um it was kind of like selling an idea
28. **K:** uh huh
29. **T:** in some ways
30. **K:** Like the people running them (.) neither of them were educators (.)
31. especially (.) and um (.) they didn't give me any particular (.) thing
32. to teach
33. **T:** They were like the business
34. **K:** Yeah
35. **T:** Yeah
36. **K:** Yeah exactly it was a business (.) I was a product I was a
37. commodity very much
38. **T:** Yeah wow

While the theory of interview interaction that I have adopted maintains that all interview data is effectively co-constructed (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), the above exchange is a particularly overt example of this collective work. Kevin's responses are not only tailored to my questions but refined and articulated cooperatively with me. When Kevin is working to describe his first two hagwon jobs, he states that they were "not especially academic" (line 14) and, rather than clarify this vague expression himself, he offers an invitation for me to help clarify- a long pause after "if you know what I mean" (line 14). I suggest that the hagwon jobs were also about interacting with someone "Western" (line 17) and "chic" (line 21) rather than just about learning the language, here synecdochally represented by "grammar" (line 23). Kevin accepts each of my suggestions before adding more description of his own in lines 30-32: there was no curriculum (no "particular thing to teach" line 31) and the people in charge were not "educators" (line 30). At this point, I summarize this context by describing it as a "business" (line 33), a characterization which Kevin accepts and extends, arguing that he was both a "product" and a "commodity" (lines 36-37).

In this exchange, terms such as "business," "product," and "commodity" are placed in opposition to terms like "academic," and "educator." Kevin and I here reproduce the key programmatic discourse that business perspectives often detract from educational goals. As noted above, this discourse is found in the 501 course readings (Canagarajah, 1999; Kubota, 2016) and was likewise reinforced through classroom interaction such as that between Sync and Instructor A discussed later in this section (where Sync mentions Chinese advertisements for tall, White, blue-eyed, and blonde-haired male English teachers) and through Instructor C's comments about textbook publishing (see Excerpt 3I). Although

Kevin and I do not here explicitly mention “race” or “nativeness,” these too are bound up in the notion of the Westerner, and these intersections had also been discussed in the readings for English 501 (e.g., Kubota & Lin, 2006; Motha, 2014) and in the English 501 class discussions I observed.

In my second interview with Liz at a CSU campus café on May 8th, 2018, we also, albeit more obliquely, co-constructed a negative representation of neoliberal interference in ELT. In the following excerpt, Liz and I move from a discussion of online teaching to an unflattering characterization of online language-teaching companies:

Excerpt 3P

T=TJ L=Liz

T: So one of the things we talked about in the first interview was (.) that you did your TESOL certificate with a mostly online course (.) and I just (.) I wanted to hear your thoughts on like (.) the pedagogy and the practice of being a student in an online course (.) and then if you would like what are your thoughts on online teaching generally (.) and like if you ever think you might end up working as an online instructor at some point

L: I actually have tutored online and (.) I really like it (.) because (.) I mean I don't know if I would teach a class online but I like the one on one interactions so (.) I don't know if I could make a **career** out of that because most (.) online stuff is kind of (.) like run by some (.) [company or]

T: [University of] Phoenix or something like that or

L: Um (.) Well like for English teaching its (.) usually just some company in Asia or something that hires random English-speaking people and doesn’t pay them very much cuz they know that they are not (.)

T: They [are exploiting]

L: [professionals]

T: their native speakerism

L: Yeah I mean that that basically is it (.) I **would** do that if I had like a (.) reputable (.) thing going but (.) um I like (.) doing one on one teaching um

In this excerpt, Liz associates online teaching with a more personal, one-on-one style (lines 9-10), which she states that she really likes. However, she has reservations about making a career out of such teaching because most of it is “run by some company” (line 12). This statement presumes a reality where “some company” is already a less than ideal place to work as a teacher. I supply an example of a mostly online, for-profit higher education company (The University of Phoenix), which, given Liz’ statement that

she wouldn't make a career out of online work, can be read as a criticism of The University of Phoenix and similar institutions. Liz does not take up my suggestion, instead describing the kinds of companies she is thinking of in more detail, those "in Asia" that hire "random English-speaking people and don't "pay them very much" (lines 15-17) because these companies know that their employees "are not professionals" (lines 18 and 20). Our conversation here connects back to the discourse surrounding native-speakerism's deprofessionalizing effect on the field, which I observed in Instructor A's comments to Liz and all of my focal participants during the English 501 class on November 28th, 2017. Our dialogue in Excerpt 3P presumes that the companies under discussion are "exploiting" the native-speaker status of what Liz has characterized as "random" English-speaking employees (lines 16-17). Liz accepts (line 22) the exploitive characterization I offer her and notes again that she would teach online if she had a "reputable thing going" (line 23). Thus, between the two of us, we have linked the privatized practices of neoliberal educational ventures to native-speakerism and the exploitation of teachers and characterized work for companies engaged in such practices as disreputable. Liz' inclusion of "Asia" in her description of these companies likely stems from her experiences working for an Asian company (as she explains during the third dinner discussion[71]) and also implicates race in this discussion, particularly given that many of the examples of native-teacher exploitation shared by Instructor A and other students in the classes I observed were in an Asian context. This characterization of companies exploiting Asian desires for White, "native speakers" to enhance their profits similarly parallels Kevin's articulation in Excerpt 3O that he, as a White, American male, was a "product" and a "commodity" while working at a private language school in Korea as well as with Sync's sharing in English 501 that she had heard that "in particular China often seeks like tall white males with like blonde hair and blue eyes" (English 501 Observation, 11-28-17).

The connections that my participants narratively constructed between neoliberal markets, racialized desire, and the English language align startlingly closely with the arguments of scholars like Appleby

[71] "I tutor online through one of those companies that I complained about our first quarter. So I am a complete hypocrite, but you know who isn't? But it was difficult for me to get students since they didn't send me any students for a long time because of the time difference between here and Korea or China" -Liz, Dinner Discussion 3, April 14th, 2018.

(2013) and Piller and Takahashi (2006), who have traced the problems that emerge when for-profit English language schools seek to commodify (and thereby promote) an existing social desire for White, English-speaking men. As Appleby (2013) notes, emphasis on the "White masculine body" over teaching ability de-professionalizes male teachers (p. 144) and, as Piller and Takahashi (2006) observe, promoting an obsession for Whiteness and Nativeness dooms Asian English learners to failure at the impossible task of becoming a White native speaker. The problematic blending of profit-motive with existing social inequity was a regular sub-text in the CSU MATESOL program discourse (see for example, the way both Instructor A and Instructor C comment on "industry" in Excerpts 3E and 3I) and my participants often reproduced this critique in their own discursive productions.

The discourse of unwelcome business influence in language education in general was persistent throughout my research, and during my second round of dyadic interviews I raised this topic directly with Sync. Near the end of her first year as a CSU MATESOL student, Sync and I met at a café near campus for our second one-on-one interview (5-23-18) and discussed the relationship between what I termed "the economy or the market" and language teaching. In her response, Sync reflects on our coincidental joint-participation in market research for a large publishing company.

Excerpt 3Q

T=TJ S=Sync

T: Well we talked about this a little bit already a little bit but just
given that like (.) uh it is almost inextricable the connection
between teach teaching English and uh uh a job and like the
market and being paid and economics and it comes up
constantly and I guess I just wanted to hear your take and
>you already talked a little bit about this even just this
Interview< but like just hear your take on what do you think
the ideal relationship between language teaching and like
the economy or the market should be (…)
[It's a really big question]
S: [Language teaching and the economy] I feel like we already
tackled that when we went to {Large Publishing Company}
T: hahahaha
S: Yeah obviously I think we know what we both believe on this
like obviously it would be ideal if these companies (.) you
know were not operating from a framework of white
supremacy um I mean they don't think they are that's the
thing they don't know that that's what they're doing and you
know before I came into this master's program that's

probably what I was doing too you know I don't think anyone
is perfectly not racist but people are afraid to say that but the
thing is you have to be willing to look at yourself and be like
oh man I I kind of screwed up but without like making it all
about your guilt and your feelings but just enough to think all
right how can I change this you know to make things better
for others (.) yeah obviously if these major publishing
companies that are publishing like these books for ESL
students and ELLs if if they really were open to the ideas
from ((breathy high tone)) <u>such progressive MATESOL
students and graduates</u> I think that they would be
practicing some ((low tone)) <u>great corporate responsibility</u>
(…) Social
T: Check that box
S: responsibility hehehe yes
T: Third quarter pro↑fits check
S: [Oh man hehehehehe]
T: [corporate responsi↑bility check haha]
S: that's how we should frame it to them that's a a framework
they'd understand oh my God that's an ideal world where we
would change the world
T: right yeah [yeah]
S: [haha] oh God I'm cynical

In this instance, as in the above excerpt from my interview with Kevin, I, as the interviewer, play a major role, not only in framing the discussion, but in collaboratively producing the resulting discursive constructions. As Sync claims in her first and second turns, this is not the first time we have discussed this issue (line 11-12) and she has a pretty good understanding of my own sentiments on this relationship (line 14). After hours of in-class observations and group interview discussions, at this stage in the research we are now quite familiar with each other, and this familiarity affects everything from the kind of information being shared to the casual manner in which questions are asked and answered. In the above excerpt, Sync indexes this shared relationship by referencing both our visit to the Large Publisher and our previous discussions about that visit.

This shared experience and shared reflection on that experience allow her to respond to my question through an imagined response from both of us: "Yeah obviously I think we know what we both believe on this" (Line 14). Sync uses the adverb "obviously" three times here, first to indicate that she is reiterating a stance that we not only share, but that we both know the other shares (Line 14), and later twice more to indicate the redundant nature of her account of our stance on Large Publishing Company (lines 15 and 26). At no point do I contest her inclusion of me in her narrative construction of our stance

and I implicitly support this stance, first with a warm laugh (line 13) and later by extending her stylized (Bakhtin, 1981; Coupland, 2007) rendering of a business mindset vis-à-vis social justice concerns. By adopting a lower-tone and exaggerated up-beat prosody in line 31, Sync takes on the stylized persona of an imagined corporate patriarch, enthusiastically concerned with only a very narrow conception of social responsibility that centers good public relations rather than the humane relations that can instrumentally boost public perceptions. I build this stylized performance from Sync into a hypothetical narrative (lines 33-37) where I position myself also as an imaginary executive, reducing social responsibility to the mechanical checking of boxes on a to-do list.

Although this same conversation exhibits moments of discursive "misalignment" with the KPDs,[72] for the present discussion, I want to focus my analysis on how Sync is here aligning with the key program discourses around race and neoliberal influence on education. First, as already mentioned, she aligns herself with me, a former MATESOL student working with the CSU MATESOL program for my doctoral research, a person who has regularly voiced personal support for the KPDs. Second, she directly invokes the racist hegemony influencing companies publishing in the field of TESOL (lines 15-17), a stance which reproduces the substance of class discussions from several of my class visits to English 501 as well as my visit to Instructor C's practicum seminar (as noted in the discussion of Excerpt 3I). Third, she constructs a sort of conversion narrative, recognizing that "operating from a framework of white supremacy" was "probably what [she] was doing too" (line 20) before coming to the master's program at CSU. Finally, although not without significant ambivalence, Sync suggests co-opting existing business discourse to promote "great corporate responsibility" (line 31) as a way to combat the racism endemic to global capitalism from within a neoliberal framework. In short, Sync and I have co-constructed a narrative where acting against white supremacy is unintelligible within the usual operating framework of large corporations, but corporate self-promotion in the form of advertising one's successful social responsibility to shareholders via an imagined corporate executive checking boxes (lines 33-37) would be an intelligible framework. This move functions as a reverse of the warning from Kubota (2016), assigned to my

[72] See Chapter 4 for an extended discussion of how Sync's use of stylized discourse in this conversation (i.e., lines 29-30) and elsewhere also fits into a pattern of ambivalence towards the key program discourses as well as towards her own beliefs.

participants in English 501, that neoliberal frameworks can co-opt and remove the activist influence from social justice concepts like “multiculturalism.” In other words, our narrative posits a circumstance where social justice activists can co-opt self-serving, neoliberal buzz words like “corporate responsibility,” and use them for actually making conditions more equitable.

Another salient moment where my participants and I perform alignment with the CSU MATESOL programs discourse of “Neoliberalism,” occurred during our third dinner discussion (April 14th, 2018). For this discussion, my participants again came to my home and we discussed TESOL-related issues over spaghetti. Late in our hours’ long conversation, I ask my participants if they had jobs outside the university, and Huck mentions that he is teaching SAT preparation classes. The following interaction shows how we again co-construct a narrative in alignment with the “Neoliberalism” KPD.

Excerpt 3R

T=TJ H=Huck L=Liz S=Sync K=Kevin

T: And the SAT class (.) has anything like (.) come up (.) you know
in that (.) that like resonated or (.) what would be the opposite of
resonated↑ (.)
H: Dissonance (.) [dissonance]
T: [dissonated haha]
H: Consonance and dissonance yeah
T: Yeah anything dissonate (.) or resonate in that class with
anything that you have been doing studying in the program↑
H: Yeah (.) I think a lot of just the basic standardization things↑ (.)
um (.) even just in the English the Standard English (.) um (.)
concept is a problem (.) they write the essay of course is like (.) I
mean (.) all of these kids that come to these classes from me like
they are very intelligent (.) and they come to class because they
are intelligent (.) they are worried about their SAT grades
T: Right
H: They write really well I always have them write me an essay (.)
before like they do the practice ones and I say like your essays
are great (.) and here is how you need to write for the SAT (.)
and like I get (.) that (.) this is a terrible (.) format (.) this test is
bullshit (.) but (.) if I am gonna help you (.) if I am going to get
paid to help you
L: hahaha
H: Then [we will]
S: [undecipherable]
T: [I’m gonna do it by] (.) **by gum**
H: Yeah right like like so I make it very explicit that I am not telling
them that this is how to write (.) I am telling them that this is **not**
how to write (.) but it’s how to pass this test
K: Yeah absolutely (.) that’s a good distinction
H: And that’s why they are there (.) for the very short class they

31. take with me and that is why I get paid
32. **T:** Uh huh yeah
33. **H:** And (.) they get it (.) like they are all brilliant sixteen seventeen
34. year-old kids

As was established in the first half of this chapter, one of the key discursive productions of the CSU MATESOL program is the understanding that former colonial relations have influenced current economic relations which propagate, through the seeming objectivity of the market, neocolonial, asymmetric relations between social groups.[73] In other words, colonial hierarchies are maintained through sedimented economic and political relations even after more overtly militaristic colonial control has been withdrawn. In the above passage, Huck tells the story of his work in SAT preparation as an example of something that does not resonate with what he has been learning in his MATESOL coursework. More specifically, Huck notes that it is the concept of "Standard English" that is a problem before telling a short story about how he introduces his students to the writing required for the SAT. Huck constructs his students as "very intelligent" (line 13) and as already writing essays that "are great" (lines 17-18) even before they receive his instruction. He then explains that the writing required for the test is different from their already great writing (line 18), and that the test itself is a "terrible format" and is, in fact, "bullshit" (lines 19-20). In this manner, Huck frames the SAT test as an illegitimate assessment of students' writing ability, and one that requires them to pay for the privilege of learning a poor way of writing, a poor way which is nonetheless necessary for them to adopt in order to be successful on the test. Kevin enthusiastically expresses his agreement with this characterization (line 29). It is particularly noteworthy that Huck emphasizes the economics of his own role in helping his students ("I am going to get paid to help you" Lines 20-21; "that is why I get paid" Line 31) and that this emphasis invokes supportive responses from Liz and me. I read these moments as Huck acknowledging his own complicity in an ethically compromised system, his refusal to promote the hegemonic standardization favored by that system, and also his commitment to the material needs of his students to meet their short-term goals within that system. I interpret Huck's discussion of his role in SAT preparation during our third dinner discussion in light of his comments months earlier, made during his first dyadic interview with me, when

[73] For example, this is the implication of Instructor C's comments in Excerpt 3I

he said that "no matter what you do (.) you will have to come to terms with the potential social violence that you are enacting (.) everything (.) that's life (.) but you also have the chance to work with the positive things and I think that there is definitely something to that" (11-20-17). Such an approach may have helped Huck in his successes integrating the theoretical call to resist inequitable systems with the practical needs of a given situation. These successes will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

3.2.4 Alignment with the KPD of "Race"

My participants' discursive performances were, as has already been seen above in the discussion of the KPDs of "Nativeness" and "Neoliberalism," often a straightforward reproduction of the CSU MATESOL Program's Key Program Discourses. This was also the case with the KPD of "Race." For example, during the English 501 class dedicated to Race in TESOL (11-30-17), my participants were asked to write questions that they had about race in TESOL and then to discuss these questions in small groups. Chiara wrote on the board "How can we break apart the concept of white saviorism" and then in her small group discusses the colonial narrative taught in the country of her birth, stating:

> "I was talking about being born in […] and learning how the Spanish saved the country (.) how Columbus discovered the country and then how […] saved the […] people from the Spanish, and it's all lies right (.) but these are lies that have been going on for centuries (.) so maybe the question is how do we break that (.) how can we break apart the concept that has been taught for so long"

Here Chiara is taking up, in interaction with her classmates, the anti-colonial and anti-racist perspective on the hegemonic history of New World colonialism in a way that aligns with the readings she had been assigned that day (i.e., Kubota & Lin, 2006; Motha, 2014). She asserts her alignment forcefully when she claims that the popular but discriminatory Eurocentric perspective is false ("it's all lies") and she likewise implies a shared understanding that concepts like white saviorism need to be broken apart.[74]

[74] The question she poses about how to actually break up such concepts is part of a recurring confusion or frustration amongst my participants regarding the difficulty in finding practical application for the theoretical goals presented in their coursework and will be addressed in Chapter 4. Indeed, as I note in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, even rooting out the influence of a concept like "white saviorism" from our own thinking was an ongoing process, as this notion persisted in its influence on our discourse long after our expressed agreement that it should be, as Chiara noted, broken apart.

My other participants similarly reproduced the interwoven KPDs of "Race" and "Nativeness" in their in-class interactions. For example, Sync, in the English 501 class session dedicated to examining the construct of "Race" in TESOL (11-30-17), linked the concept of nativeness to racism and racialization in small group discussion, stating:

Excerpt 3S

S=Sync

S: and maybe (.) you know (.) I want to acknowledge as well (.) how different (.) because we've been talking about multi-competence right (.) so we could talk about that in the classroom saying (.) keep in mind there is more than one way to speak this language in a competent manner you don't have to sound exactly like someone who was born and raised in America or England (.) so you could say racism (.) is (.) a reason why (.) maybe you don't feel even at your very best (.) ability (.) as a non-native speaker that (.) you know you'll never be good enough but that's not true (.) like (.) it's because of racism that you have to (.) remember that ((higher tone)) no (.) you (.) you are competent (.) you are competent in English in a different way than other people are (.) everyone has their own way of (.) of showing competence as long as we can all understand each other (.) yet we all bring different skills and abilities to the table (.) racialization is a factor

In this passage, Sync references terms from the readings she had been recently assigned (e.g., "multicompetence" (Cook, 1999) and "racialization" (Kubota & Lin, 2006) while reproducing one of the key takeaways that Instructor A and the assigned authors for the day had emphasized: the notion that the construct of nativeness is firmly interwoven with racism. Sync presents this perspective as a way to encourage "non-native" speakers in the language classroom, constructing their frustrations as arising, at least in part, from raciolinguistic discrimination.[75] While this particular performance is closely aligned with the programmatic discourses of nativeness and race, like all of my focal participants, Sync would perform her understanding and acceptance of these discourses in different ways under different circumstances.[76]

[75] Raciolinguistic discrimination has been garnering increasing interest, and scholars have noted that efforts to address "Racism" or "linguicism" separately are neglecting important intersectional overlaps between the two, with major ramifications for the teaching of language and writing (Alim et al., 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015).

[76] See, for example, Excerpt 4R in Chapter 4 for an instance where Sync expresses her initial frustration with the KPD of Nativeness.

A salient moment where my participants collectively aligned their discursive performances with the KPD of “Race” occurred during our fourth dinner discussion. On May 11th, 2018, my participants and I again gathered at my home for a chili dinner and another wide-ranging discussion on life as a CSU MATESOL student. About halfway into our three-hour recorded conversation, Sync relates a moment of tension between her practicum class mentor and herself over the issue of the racialized history being taught to the students in Sync’s practicum class.

Excerpt 3T

S=Sync L=Liz H=HuckC=Chiara T=TJ

S: She was like alright (.) go to the homework assignment they had
on Lewis and Clark (.) and I’m like well (.) alright (.) fine so (.) we
were going over that and then there's a comprehen↑sion check
(.) statements that are true or false↓ and (.) so the first one (.) um
(.) it's like (.) true or false President President Jefferson (.) was
mainly interested in learning about Indian culture and lifestyle (.)
and the student answered true↑ and the class simultaneously
went ((very low tone)) <u>false</u>
All: Hahaha[hahahahahahahaha]
H: [ohhh that’s good (.) That’s good]
S: [hahahaha (.) it was great (.) yeah] (.) yeah and I was
just like oh how benevolent it would have been if you **really**
cared to get to know them instead↑ the white man just wanted to
kill off all the Native Americans (.) and then she was like ((sharp,
breathy tone)) <u>Sync I will not tolerate that that is unacceptable in
this</u> ((laughing tone)) <u>classroom (.) Haha and I was like</u>
H: Really?
S: yeah she said that

This same passage is explored at greater length in Chapter 4 as evidence of the frustrating gap between the colonizing ideologies of my participants’ practical workspace and the anti-colonial perspectives promoted by their academic coursework. For the purposes of discussing alignment with the KPDs, this excerpt offers another example of the collective meaning-making performed by my participants in alignment with the KPD of “Race.” More specifically, the loud and universal laughter that occurs in line seven shows a communal understanding of the implicit message being conveyed by Sync, namely that White settlers, with Lewis and Clark and President Jefferson as exemplars, most decidedly were not primarily interested in Indian culture and lifestyle. Sync then makes explicit comment on the White supremacy and genocide that resulted from the United States’ colonial interactions with Native Americans

through a direct report (Bakhtin, 1981) of her own speech (lines11-14) and drives home the main point of this narrative (illustrating the ideological gulf at her practicum) by adopting the censuring voice of her mentor (lines 14-16), again stylizing her voice to project a separate persona and embed “another layer of social context” (Coupland, 2007, p. 154). By directly reporting first her own speech and then later the speech of her mentor, Sync draws attention to the details of the interaction, presenting her narrative as a verbatim account of the exchange while maintaining control over all of the characters in her story. The words and speaking style that Sync chooses emphasize the swift and strict manner in which she (the Sync of the narrative) was reprimanded. In this fashion, Sync and her vocally sympathetic audience have co-constructed a narrative in alignment with the notion that White supremacy was not only foundational in the colonial expansion of the early U.S., but also remains at work in English language teaching through, among other things, mass-produced textbook materials (such as the ones used in Sync’s class) and teacher attitudes (like that Sync ascribes to her mentor).

3.2.5 Transitioning to Confusions and Frustrations

While my participants were, at the broadest levels of understanding, all in support of social justice and the CSU MATESOL program KPDs, they each had different levels of previous exposure to social justice concerns. The amount of time someone has had to grapple intellectually with a new concept clearly affects their relationship to that concept, and the CSU MATESOL program was oriented most directly towards students who had little prior knowledge of the inequities endemic to the field of TESOL. Thus, my participants were given, in the first few quarters of their program, a foundational set of anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-native speakerist and other critical texts and asked to reflect on how the ideas in these texts impacted their understandings of language learning and language teaching.

However, in the interviews that I conducted with Huck, social justice concerns were constructed, not as new information requiring extensive consideration, as was the case for some of my other participants, but as something long since integrated into his life. In our second interview (5-8-18), Huck and I construct a narrative where his long-term alignment with the critical and social justice concerns promoted by the CSU MATESOL program are behind his choice to alter one of the early self-reflective assignments, writing letters to Instructor A rather than a more typical autobiographical essay.

Excerpt 3U

H=Huck T=TJ

H: it just has to do with (.) regurgitating (.) half-digested information (.) and like that's the form that people want it in (.) for education (.) so to be in academia (.) to be an academic (.) the idea is like (.) at several stages along the way we want you to like (.) periodically regurgitate (.) half-digested things (.) to prove that you are learning (.) right (.) and I didn't want to do that

T: [Yeah]

H: [so I did it] for the first (.) like the original one you sent in (.) but then for the draft we did later at the end of the quarter that's (.) but like ((breathy voice and higher tone)) <u>now now go back (.) and now that you've learned all these things (.) like (.) revise yourself with your new light</u> *(.)* and it just felt really disingenuous (.) and for some people it might be like (.) **the thing** (.) that is really good at that moment for them (.) and that's awesome

T: Right

H: but it wasn't for me and so (.) I basically (.) thought like well how (.) how can I be (.) how can I honor the feeling that I want to be like sincere when I'm writing (.) and also like (.) like you know (.) cooperate (.) because like I don't want to be not cooperative […] but just looking at my life what really stands out (.) letters (.) of course letters (.) for someone like myself (.) my family has (.) lived very far from the rest of the family my whole life and so we have always (.) had letters to go back to each other (.) and letters are a big part of my (.) bonding with people (.) so as a gesture of my sincerity which can only be understood after reading the letter (.) instead of (.) turning in a paper (.) I just wrote Instructor A a letter (.) which still kind of like addressed all of the things that needed to be addressed (.) but it was in a letter form (.) and so I felt like ah (.) okay (.) so I don't have to like feel like (.)

T: This is legit

H: [Yeah]

T: [like it] is a real thing

H: Exactly

In the narrative of this excerpt, Huck asserts that the expectation for the language learning autobiography assignment, which he describes as a sort of conversion narrative, asking students to revise themselves with their "new light" (lines 11-12), felt really disingenuous to him. He describes his changing of the assignments genre as a decision made out of his desire to cooperate with the expectations of the class (lines 17-19), to address the things that need to be addressed (lines 27-28), and to also be sincere (line 25). Huck vividly characterizes the assignment process as the regurgitation of half-digested information for institutional learning assessment, a process which he is explicitly

uninterested in performing (lines 5-6). While the stylized (Bakhtin, 1981; Rampton, 2006; Coupland, 2007), over-earnest tone he adopts in lines 10-12 when describing the reflective aspect of the language learning autobiography could be read as mockery, Huck takes care to qualify his criticism, observing that such an assignment may be what "is really good at the moment" for other students (lines 13-14). While he does not say so directly, his later comments imply that the sense of "coming to the light" of social justice that he describes as the goal of the Language Learning Autobiography does not work well for him because he has long since "come to the light."

A few minutes later, I ask Huck if he would be willing to share anything from his letter to Instructor A, and Huck shares a story (which he says wasn't actually in the letter but "could have been in the letter") about his middle-school experience reading Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and how the power dynamics of colonialism in that work have influenced his understanding of the power dynamics involved in teaching English.

Excerpt 3V

H=Huck T=TJ

H: so yeah (.) basically:: (.) to cut it short (.) um you know there's
the massacre (.) right (.) and then they bring the survivors to a
church (.) right (.) and it happens to be around Christmas (.) so
it's around it's near Christmas (.) um (.) and like the iro- it's like
(.) yeah (.) they bring them to they bring the survivors to a church
(.) and um (.) like the banner it's Christmas in the church it says
(.) you know peace on Earth (.) like goodwill to men (.) and that's
what (.) that that was what was like you know welcoming these
people who had survived the massacre at Wounded Knee (.) that
hadn't starved to death (.) or frozen to death (.)
T: Yeah
H: right (.) so that's like (.) ((snaps fingers)) that's how the book
ends
T: Yeah
H: and um (.) that (.) I carried that into my (.) language learning (.)
from (.) because basically it was like seventh eighth grade we
had like (.) Spanish and German where we took a quarter of it in
that (.) that year (.) and it was like (.) uhh you explore it right and
then you choose in high school what you want to study for
language (.) and so when I started doing (.) more in-depth
language learning in Spanish in high school (.) like (.) and in
every other thing too like history or whatever I always had that
end of that book (.) like (.) just the (.) like the Christian civilization
(.) just **massacring** these people and then bringing them to the
church and saying well now (.) now that we have dominated you

(.) you know subscribe to our (.) ideological domination as well (.)
or die (.) and that's like ((claps once)) that's the message (.) and
so that relates so much to just like (.) language policies (.) global
language work (.) being a dominant language (.) being a minority
within the hegemony (.) learning the language
T: yeah yeah yeah
H: and like (.) what that means for you to be a learner but also (.)
the power dynamic there that is going to be there always (.)
because you're like (.) an English American like male speaking
(.) their language kind of thing (.) what they have to do to learn
your language (.) why they are learning your language (.) all of
those power dynamics in so many ways (.) were generally (.)
primed and ready to go (.) because of (.) Dee Brown.

In this narrative, Huck constructs his identity as someone who has been aligned with the anti-colonial, anti-hegemonic discourse surrounding language learning since middle school. He uses the story of the massacre at Wounded Knee to illustrate the stark hypocrisies of the dominant and the powerful which he punctuates with physical sounds (snapping his fingers (line 12) and clapping his hands (line 27)). Huck's narrative choices (e.g., explaining in dire terms the Christian civilization's ultimatum to the survivors of the massacre, "subscribe to our ideological domination as well or die," Line 26-27) drive home his scorn for the abuses of power he describes, despite indicating that he is a member of powerful identity categories himself (lines 34-35). Huck, in this excerpt, offers an explicit understanding of power dynamics that aligns precisely with the discourses of social awareness promoted by the CSU MATESOL program (lines 32-38).

The narrative of his experience reading Dee Brown serves as Huck's "coming to the light" reflection, and it is significant that he locates this moment years prior to his enrollment as a MATESOL student. This narrative thus serves as explanation for Huck's mild frustration with the "regurgitating" format of some of his assignments, assignments which ask him to reflect, in a way that felt disingenuous to him, on the identity changes inspired by the readings. In Huck's account, he had already been "primed" to see power dynamics, so he looks for a way to honor the reflective spirit of the assignment in a genre that feels more sincere to him.

As I have repeatedly noted, my participants as a group did regularly express a strong solidarity with social justice concerns in their assignments, in class, and in the interview spaces, but, as my analyses in Chapter 4 will make clear, their identity performances captured in this study indicate that the process of

coming to terms with social justice discourses was ongoing for most of them throughout their degree program. For most of my participants, their expressions of frustration and misalignment with the KPDs emerged from grappling with new concepts in new situations, rather than from a perceived need to contrive a recent awakening to social injustice that had already taken place in the distant past.

As time went on and as one might expect, my participants became more familiar with each other and with me. The following brief excerpt from our four-hour long final group discussion at my home on April 20th, 2019 concisely captures the familiar atmosphere, their group solidarity in social justice concerns, and the generally tentativeness that many of them still felt in claiming a "socially concerned" identity.

Excerpt 3W

K=Kevin S=Sync C=Chiara L=Liz

1. **K:** I won't call myself woke (.) but like
2. **S:** Oh my god (.) I know
3. **C:** hahaha
4. **K:** Doing my best
5. **S:** Same
6. **K:** Doing my best
7. **S:** We all slip up from time to time (.) especially me (…)
8. **L:** time to time↑
9. **All:** Hahahahahaha
10. **S:** Damn it Liz
11. **L:** °I'm just messing with you°
12. **S:** ((Laughing tone)) No you're not it's okay
13. **K:** °I'd like to report a murder°

Kevin is here responding to what he had previously discussed as an ongoing awareness of the hegemonies into which he had been socialized. The term "woke" indicates an awareness of the inequities that are often invisible to people with majority-group identities, particularly anti-black racism. Sync's response here comes against the backdrop of her politically conservative upbringing which she had previously discussed with me and other members of her cohort.[77] Liz and Sync became friends over the

[77] For example, during our fourth dinner discussion (5-11-18), Sync spoke about being raised by conservative parents and her subsequent desire to "transform herself," noting that it was "a bit of a journey." A couple of weeks later, Sync spoke again at length on this topic during her second individual interview (5-23-18), where she described her political shift away from her Republican parents and critiqued the sexism of the "social conservatism" that she observed while serving in the Peace Corps. As noted in Table 2 (Chapter 2), Sync described her politics at the time of this study as "mostly left-wing," though she also had noted a growing sense of cynicism towards her own political beliefs.

course of their degree program and would regularly meet outside of their school and professional work. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, they rarely passed up the chance to give the other a hard time. Although this moment was one of genuine levity and playful teasing, part of what makes Liz' querying implication that Sync slips up more than just "time to time" so hilarious to the group (the room fills with laughter in line 9) is the reality that we had, as a group, regardless of our individual familiarity with social justice concerns, all struggled in our many conversations with saying the "right thing." We had all "slipped up" more often than we would have liked, and we all, including those of us who had been working with social justice concerns for years, were still uncertain over how to best promote greater equity while working under the practical constraints of hegemonic institutions and amongst competing language ideologies.

3.3 Chapter Summary

In the first half of this chapter, I have addressed my first research question, identifying the key social justice discourses promoted by the CSU MATESOL program and explaining how they were presented and the teacher identity (that of a transformative intellectual (Giroux, 1988)) that these discourses most favored. I used interviews with CSU MATESOL faculty, key syllabi, and classroom observations to support my claim that the Key Program Discourses (KPDs) in the CSU MATESOL program can be productively grouped into the categories of "Nativeness," "Neoliberalism," and "Race." In the second half of this chapter, I addressed part of my second research question, looking at how my participants took up and reproduced the KPDs in their oral and written discursive productions. I gave representative examples from my participants' writing, classroom interactions, and talk in interviews to show that my participants often aligned their discursive productions with the CSU MATESOL program KPDs. I also hinted throughout this chapter that these expressions of alignment were not monolithic or uniform across my participants, or even with individual participants over time. In Chapter 4, I answer the other part of my second research question, focusing on moments where my participants expressed confusion or frustration with either the KPDs themselves or, even more frequently, their ability to translate them into their actual teaching practice.

CHAPTER 4: FRUSTRATIONS, CONFUSIONS, AND DISCURSIVE MISALIGNMENT

In this chapter, I begin with a survey of instances where my participants and I constructed narratives expressing frustration, confusion, or misalignment with the anti-colonial, Key Programmatic Discourses (KPDs) produced by the CSU MATESOL program around the categories of "Race," "Nativeness," and "Neoliberalism." As was discussed in Chapter 3, my participants regularly aligned their discursive productions with these KPDs. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given my own anti-colonial commitments and connections to the CSU MATESOL program, my participants never expressed any direct contradiction of anti-colonial discourse in the writing they shared with me, during the classes I observed, or in our interviews. Indeed, rallying around a shared identity in support of these views was a frequent occurrence in our conversations (See, for example, the beginning of our discussion of President Jefferson's colonizing attitudes in Excerpt 4D in this chapter; our discussion of the classmate who was "against social justice" in Excerpt 3K of Chapter 3; and our discussion of the discriminatory nature of the construct of "Nativeness" in Chapter 3, Excerpt 3L).

From the beginning and through the end of my research, however, my participants also expressed moments of frustration, confusion, or a more subtle resistance and misalignment with the CSU program's KPDs. So, while none of us in this study argued in favor of privatizing language education,[78] we did sometimes express a fatalistic approach to our neoliberal circumstances and have moments where our discourse aligned more with hegemonic, neoliberal discourse than with the anti-neoliberal discourse promoted in the CSU MATESOL program coursework. Likewise, while no one argued in favor of a specifically native-speaker standard[79], we did occasionally construct arguments in favor of alternative standards which may have side-stepped the critical impetus behind the CSU MATESOL program's "Nativeness" KPD. While we regularly expressed an awareness of the ongoing legacies of racism and

[78] See Chapter 1, page 19 for a summarizing look at the scholarly arguments critical of neoliberal influence in education.
[79] See Chapter 1, page 18 for a concise review of academic literature on the harmful aspects of the construct of "Nativeness."

white supremacy,[80] we also tended, like many racially privileged language teachers (Ibrahim, 2006), to diminish the role of race in our discussions and in certain instances ignored the intersectional effects of racial identity and its role in ELT (see, for example, my own comments in Excerpt 4N). Finally, and most saliently, my participants regularly expressed feelings of frustration over a perceived inability to put the anti-colonial, anti-hegemonic theories of the CSU MATESOL program into practice.

In this chapter, I give each of the KPDs its own sub-section, although as the analyses in this chapter and those in Chapter 3 show, these KPDs were often explicitly intertwined. During the final sub-section, "The Gap Between Theory and Practice," I begin with a brief discussion of the differences between the discourses promoted in my participants' coursework and those promoted in their work in the CSU Intensive English Program (IEP) where they did their teaching practicums alongside mentor teachers and, during the second year of their degree, where they taught their own English language courses. I conclude "The Gap Between Theory and Practice" sub-section with an analysis of several instances where my participants recounted their frustrations over the gulf they have narratively constructed between the theoretical and practical sides of their degree.

As was the case in Chapter 3, I center my analysis on the identity-work done by my participants in their oral interactions with me and with each other during our interviews and group discussions, and I make use of data from collected written documents and classroom observations to better situate and contextualize this identity work. Because my interest is in how my participants constructed their identities in specific interactions over the course of their participation in an anti-hegemonic, social justice-oriented degree program, I have used a hybrid analytical method that blends critical discourse analysis of hegemonic norms with an analysis of conversational narratives (Souto-Manning, 2014). Likewise, I have utilized both a "big story" attention to themes and "larger constellations of identity" (Freeman, 2006, p. 137) and "small story" micro-interactions (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) in order to better explain both what kind of identities my participants are constructing as well as how they are constructing such identities in actual interaction (Higgins & Sandhu, 2015).

[80] See Chapter 1, pages 17-21 for a summary of scholarship linking racism to English language teaching.

4.1 Race

While none of my participants voiced any overt criticism of their program's stance that racial discrimination in TESOL is a significant problem that should be actively combated,[81] there were several instances where they expressed disappointment and frustration that the anti-racist ideals of the program did not always match the reality of their environment. For example, during our second dinner discussion on March 10th, 2018, in response to my question: "What kind of students do not seem represented in our program?" Sync offered the following in response:

Excerpt 4A

S=Sync K=Kevin H=Huck

1. **S:** We're definitely mostly white
2. **K:** [Yeah]
3. **H:** [Yeah]
4. **S:** [There's] no black people (.) um (.) no really I'd say (.) oh no no
5. no [A student who is not in this study] and I are Indian (.) I mean
6. American (.) whatever
7. **H**: Uh huh
8. **S:** I don't know (.) I mean there are no (.) um (.) latinx students
9. **H:** Uh huh
10. **S:** ((sigh)) Yeah so I definitely noticed it's like a um (.) a
11. combination (.) to put it very broadly of like White and Asian
12. people that are American (.) um (.) and that's not really a huge
13. surprise because those are the most privileged sorts of
14. Americans that (.) you know get to travel the most usually (.) I
15. am not surprised (.) but (.) it is a little disappointing I guess (…)
16. **H:** Yeah (.) It's totally true

As with all of my participants' responses, this response from Sync is situated in a particular time and place, and her characterization of the program as nearly racially homogenous does not emerge out of a vacuum nor does it transparently convey an unmediated "truth" of the racial makeup of the program or even of Sync's beliefs about the program. Instead, her response (and the responses of my other participants) is a social performance (Talmy, 2010) that responds to both the immediate imperative of answering my question about unrepresented students and the larger circumstances of the social event (a

[81] This stance was made clear in the texts, such as Kubota & Lin (2006) and Motha (2014), that were assigned my participants in their core courses as well as in the manner in which "race" was introduced in the classroom, See Chapter 3.

meeting of participants in a research study focusing, in part, on the social justice discourse of a MATESOL degree program).

The institution of the Research Interview creates a power asymmetry in which the researcher's questions have an enormous effect on the kinds of answers that may be considered appropriate (Briggs, 2007b). In Sync's account, she (and Huck and Kevin through their affirmative back-channeling (Bavelas et al., 2000; Gravano et al., 2007) in lines 2, 3, 7, and 9 construct the CSU program as reflecting the racial privilege of the wider society, and this observation provides a locally appropriate, "preferred" response (compare the lack of hedges and qualifications here to those Sync employs in Excerpt 4R) and is aligned with the CSU program's "race" KPD insofar as it acknowledges widespread racial disparity and references white privilege. However, it also frames the actual racial composition of the program as a "disappointing" reflection of this discriminatory status quo (lines 12-15). This is one of a few salient instances where my participants expressed their disappointment in what Chiara would later refer to as a potential "hypocrisy" of the program (See also Excerpt 4S), where the expressions of my participants' experiences as students and teachers at CSU conflicted with the theoretical commitments of the CSU MATESOL program.

In a related point made a few times by my participants, despite the CSU MATESOL program's discursive construction of "nativeness" as an often harmful construct, MATESOL students who wish to have a Teaching Assistantship and who are deemed by the university to be "non-native" are required to have a higher TOEFL score than are TAs in the larger CSU English department or pass what Chiara described as a "not very pleasant," (see the description immediately prior to Excerpt 3L in Chapter 3) computer-graded language test.[82] As was discussed in Chapter 2, almost all teaching assistantships available for the CSU MATESOL students at the time of this study (and, with few exceptions, their practicum teaching and observations) were in the CSU Intensive English Program (IEP). Despite efforts from the CSU MATESOL faculty to bring the CSU IEPs institutional space more in line with the theories taught in the MATESOL program, little headway had been made at the time of this study.[83] Although the

[82] A test owned, perhaps not unexpectedly, by the large publishing company which Sync and I construct as operating from a framework of white supremacy in Excerpt 3Q, Chapter 3.

[83] In Chapter 5, I offer a more detailed discussion of how neoliberal influence on the CSU IEP as well as its

CSU MATESOL faculty have been able to secure tuition waivers for some international students, they have not been able to offer many of them recruitment teaching assistantships. The systemic preference of English programs for teachers who speak prestige dialects of English and who administrators think students will perceive as authorities on English (Lippi-Green, 1997; Llurda, 2005) surely played a role in gatekeeping certain international student-teachers and likely contributed to what my participants portrayed as an overrepresentation of White Americans amongst the CSU MATESOL program students[84].

While an empirical evaluation of the racial and "native" makeup of the CSU IEP faculty is outside the scope of this study[85], my participants and I produced narratives, both before and after that recounted above, through which we constructed the CSU IEP in particular as a workplace at odds with the racial justice perspectives of our theoretical education. For example, near the end of our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), Huck related how the Saudi Arabian students in his practicum class were treated in a discriminatory fashion, singled out by his mentor for seat assignments in order to limit their use of Arabic.

Excerpt 4B

H=Huck C=Chiara

H: Yeah yeah (.) So it's like (.) um (.) I get this (.) cuz in (.) in my own classes (.) having that power as a teacher to seat students↑ (.) is really good↑(.) it helps to get them to (.) mix up the groups (.) people who like always sit together (.) even just that (.) get them to talk with someone else (.) that's great (.) um (.) in this case it is getting them to not speak their native language as much as possible (.) and so (.) um (.) that's kind of like the mentor's (.) stance (.) along with the [IEP] (.) and his idea is if you guys want to talk to each other in your (.) um (.) in Arabic (.) no mention of any other first languages (.) just in Arabic

C: Hmm

H: But yeah (.) during the break is like the time (.) like save it for break (.) and then as much as you want (.) use Arabic to talk about whatever thing it is

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institutional positioning in relation to the larger university contribute to the maintenance of racist, nativist, and colonizing structures and practices.

[84] It is also worth noting that two of the CSU MATESOL three core *faculty* identified as people of color with South Asian ancestry.

[85] There were, it should be noted, teachers of color and teachers coded as "non-native" working at the CSU IEP. My anecdotal sense, as well as the sense of those who spoke to me on this issue, like Instructor A, is that such teachers were under-represented, with teachers who were both racially minoritized and understood as "non-native" virtually absent.

In this brief account of his practicum experience, Huck constructs his practicum class and the IEP generally as places in potential conflict with the KPD of race, through the singling out of the Saudi Arabian students, and the KPD of nativeness through a deficit approach to students' first languages and a focus on "English only" in the classroom.[86] In this excerpt, Huck first establishes his authority as an experienced teacher of English by referencing his own classes (lines 1-2) and by defending the "really good" practice of thoughtfully choosing students' seats (lines 2-3). He elaborates on why such a practice can be good for the social atmosphere of the class (lines 3-5) and then contrasts the "great" use of this practice (line 5) with the current practice in his practicum, which he describes as "getting [students] to not speak their native language as much as possible" (lines 5-7). He equates his mentor's stance with that of the entire IEP (lines 7-8), and then abruptly moves into a form of quasi direct reported speech (Bakhtin, 1981; Sandhu, 2016), framing his mentors' "idea" through the manner in which he addresses his students, telling them that Arabic should be restricted for break times (lines 8-14). Huck breaks from his quasi-reported speech to add that his mentor makes "no mention of any other first languages" (line 10), thus signaling to his audience that this action is potentially discriminatory along racial/ethnic lines as well. Recently, there has been increasing scholarly attention given to the way discourses around race and language overlap and influence each other (Alim et al., 2016; Rosa & Flores, 2017), and Huck here narratively constructs a straightforward instance of raciolinguistic discrimination. Later in the same conversation he notes that one Saudi student had lived in Tokyo for nine years and regularly spoke, in Japanese, unnoticed and uncensured, to his Japanese-speaking classmates during class. Chiara acknowledges this observation with a nonverbal, low-toned noise (line 11) that signals her agreement with the censuring tone of Huck's narrative.

After accounting a story of how he has, in his own teaching, chosen to work with rather than against students' use of their first languages in class, Huck summarizes his frustration a few minutes later in the same conversation (2-16-18):

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[86] For decades, scholars have been highlighting both the pedagogical deficiencies and social injustices incurred through "English only" approaches to English language education. See, for example, Auerbach (1993, 2016); Mitchell (2012); and Pennycook, (2010).

Excerpt 4C

H=Huck

1. **H:** How do I (.) merge my desires with my responsibilities
2. according to the {IEP} and my mentor (.) in a way that (.) also
3. feels like I am not (.) being a douchebag
4. **All:** Hahahahaha

This last comment is a good example of a manner of speaking that Huck used relatively frequently in our group discussions where he would be narrating in an academic or formal register and then suddenly switch to informality in a comedic contrast. Huck elsewhere expressed that he occasionally felt distanced from the others in his cohort and he may have been self-conscious here of the gap in experience between him and some of his less-experienced colleagues. At this moment, he has just finished an account of his passion for incorporating his students' L1 into his teaching and his past success in doing so, a narrative which illustrates his pedagogical savvy and his translingual and multicultural commitments. This narrative is a bit of a contrast to the preceding narratives from his classmates, where Sync, Liz, Kevin, and Chiara had each in turn expressed their frustrations in understanding and finding suitable applications for the theory learned in their coursework. By referring to the "English only" policy of the IEP as one that makes him feel like a "douchebag," Huck is concluding his critique in a way that emphasizes that he is also, like the other members of his cohort, experiencing frustrations. His use of a casual bit of slang current in his peer group and mild self-deprecation functions to reduce the distance between him and his classmates that might otherwise have opened up because of his narrative. I read the loud laughter which greeted his conclusion (line 4) as signaling the success of his narrative in garnering sympathy from and making a connection with his audience.

Another moment where one of my participants expressed a gap between the anti-colonial, anti-racist discourses of their coursework and the discourse of their practical working situation occurred during our fourth dinner discussion (5-11-18) during the same passage discussed as a moment of discursive alignment in Chapter 3 (Excerpt 3T). About midway through our three-hour, after-dinner discussion, Sync, in response to a question of mine about what she would find most memorable from her time in the CSU

MATESOL program, responded that she found her mentor teacher to be a particularly “memorable woman” and reported the following situation in which her practicum mentor had strongly objected to Sync’s reference to the native American genocide perpetrated by European settlers:

Excerpt 4D

S=Sync L=Liz H=Huck C=Chiara T=TJ

S: She was like alright (.) go to the homework assignment they had on Lewis and Clark (.) and I’m like well (.) alright (.) fine so (.) we were going over that and then there's a comprehen↑sion check (.) statements that are true or false↓ and (.) so the first one (.) um (.) it's like (.) true or false president President Jefferson (.) was mainly interested in learning about Indian culture and lifestyle (.) and the student answered true↑ and the class simultaneously went ((very low tone)) <u>false</u>
All: Hahaha[hahahahahahahaha]
H: [ohhh that’s good (.) That’s good]
S: [hahahaha (.) it was great (.) yeah] (.) yeah and I was just like oh how benevolent it would have been if you **really** cared to get to know them instead↑ the white man just wanted to kill off all the Native Americans (.) and then she was like ((sharp, breathy tone)) <u>Sync I will not tolerate that that is unacceptable in this</u> ((laughing tone)) <u>classroom (.) Haha and I was like</u>
H: Really?
S: yeah she said that

This segment is part of a longer narrative where Sync is explaining the deterioration of her relationship with her practicum mentor. Sync introduces this part of the story as “the straw that broke the camel’s back” and later reports that her mentor repeatedly sent her text messages stating that she didn’t want Sync giving “misinformation about White men killing Native Americans” to the students. Through this story, Sync constructs her practicum experience in the CSU IEP and in particular her mentor as supportive of a White settler colonial narrative, a narrative where elite Whites, such as President Jefferson (line 5), had a benevolent interest in native culture (line 6) and where discussion of Native American genocide at the hands of European settlers, albeit in a rather glib generalization, is considered to be misinformation. Our subsequent discussion further establishes the larger CSU campus as a site of colonial violence, with Huck observing that the university was built on unceded native lands.

With this narrative, Sync appeals to an audience that she knows, after nearly a year of coursework, is critical of hegemonic colonial narratives, and the loud laughter from everyone in line 9 seems to indicate her audience's appreciation of her students' vocal resistance to colonial discourse in their classroom. Sync's stylized representation of her mentor's speech, a stern, breathlessly indignant performance, allows her to illustrate vividly how the narrated character of her mentor responds passionately in defense of history that is preferential to Whites. This is an instance of what Coupland (2007), following Bakhtin (1981), has called "varidirectional double voicing" or when there is a clash between the speaker's stance and that of the voice s/he is appropriating" (p. 102). Sync's efforts to maintain her stern and indignant stylization dissolve into laughter (line 16) which signals to her audience her complete astonishment at the kind and degree of her mentor's response, an astonishment that is picked up by Huck, who is moved to confirm what happened (line 17). The character of Sync's mentor and subsequently the classroom space of her practicum is thus presented by Sync as one that actively promotes a white supremacist version of history and thus in stark contrast to the anti-racist discourse that was current in her coursework.

A similar discussion occurs near the end of our fifth dinner discussion (12-13-18), where Huck describes a lack of attention to race in the CSU linguistics department. Huck founds this assessment on a narrative about an experience he had in Sociolinguistics I, a class on a short list of English, Education, and Linguistics courses that may fulfill requirements for the MATESOL degree at CSU:

Excerpt 4E

H=Huck T=TJ M=Maggie K=Kevin

1.	**H:**	It was Sociolinguistics I
2.	**T:**	What's that↑
3.	**H:**	Um (.) it's just the first (.) in a series of two or three
4.		sociolinguistics classes (.) but at the **end** when we talked about
5.		(.) race (.) right
6.	**T:**	Uh huh
7.	**H:**	She's like (.) just so you guys know this is the last (.) chance
8.		you'll get in our department to talk about race in a linguistics
9.		context
10.	**T:**	[Really↑]
11.	**M:**	[Wow]
12.	**H:**	Really↑ (.) in sociolinguistics **one**↑
13.	**T:**	Haha (.) That's amaz- (.) you're **done** (.) just if you want to say
14.		something about race (.) do it now because (.) for the next three

15. years (.) no race (.) it's (.) *verboten*
16. **H:** Yeah (.) and the way she said it too was kind of like (.) I know
17. this is ridiculous to have to say this but
18. **T:** Wow
19. **H:** Say what you want to say now or forever hold your peace right
20. **T:** Wow and that's here at (.) what now↑
21. **K:** Well Instructor D keeps saying (.) in practicum she keeps saying
22. it's a Chomskyan department and (.) they are just not interested
23. in (.) all our foo foo social stuff

Prior to the interaction of Excerpt 4E, Huck, as he was leaving the dinner discussion, had temporarily adopted his hometown accent, which then prompted him to remark on how proud he was for not embarrassing his MATESOL classmate, Katie, by making her associated with such an odd speaking "wacko" in a class, Sociolinguistics I, that they were taking together.[87] When I asked about the class, he describes it as the first in a sequence of three sociolinguistics classes (lines 3-4), but then quickly moves, unprompted, to tell the story of how the construct of race was treated in that class. When he describes his professor's remarks about this class being the last chance to talk about race (lines 7-9), Maggie and I interject with surprise (lines 10-11) and Huck reports his own response to his professor's announcement in an incredulous manner, accentuating his shocked tone (Really↑) and placing extra prosodic emphasis on "one," highlighting that this is the first course in the sequence and thereby injecting further dramatic disbelief that a course-sequence dedicated to the social aspects of linguistics would so limit discussion of the intersections between race and linguistics (line 12). I then re-tell the story just narrated by Huck (lines 13-15), further exaggerating the repressive and authoritarian characteristics of such a proclamation by stating that there will be "no race" and by using the German word *verboten* meaning forbidden, likely conjuring for my audience, through this "double-voiced" stylization (Bakhtin, 1981), stereotypical associations with World War II and cold-war depictions of authoritarian East German bureaucracy. Huck uses quasi direct speech (Bakhtin 1981) to relate the imagined thinking of his professor, framing her as

[87] Huck performed an ambivalent relationship to his hometown accent, which differed markedly from what is generally understood as "Standard American English." Although he always accommodated requests during group discussions to use the accent and seemed to enjoy the delight it brought to his peers, he regularly referred to it in a disparaging way. The most direct instance of this came during our second dinner discussion (3-10-18) where Huck stated the following with regard to his home accent: "No one outside wants to hear you talk like that so you change (.) you totally change […] You can divide people by who wants to leave and who doesn't want to leave by how they speak (.) and it's obvious and this is my voice that says I want to get the fuck out of [my home area]"

sympathetic: “the way she said it too was kind of like I know this is ridiculous” (lines 16-17), which prompts another exclamation from me in line 18 (“Wow”), signaling that I also view this situation as exceptional.

Following Huck’s narrative account, Kevin then takes the floor to share Instructor D’s assessment of the CSU Linguistics department which is, according to Kevin’s narration, that it is “Chomskyan” (line 22) and “not interested in all our foo foo social stuff” (Lines 22-23). This instance is one of several where my participants use reported speech or stylization (or both) to invoke the voices of others and to give these others views that are skeptical or dismissive of the value of the CSU MATESOL program’s theoretical coursework (see also Excerpt 4Q below, where my participants offer narrative accounts where they are told to “Forget all your little theories,” and that they need to focus on classroom management rather than “flighty stuff” (lines 14-16 and 24-26)). In the context of Excerpt 4E, Kevin’s use of the phrase “our foo foo social stuff” helps add to Huck’s construction of the linguistics department as having a dismissive view of the MATESOL program’s sociocultural approaches. This comment shows a self-consciousness similar to that expressed by Sync in her discussions of social justice in the discussion of Excerpt 4Q and in her ambivalent tone when discussing “progressive MATESOL students” in lines 29-30 of Excerpt 3Q. As was the case with Sync in those moments, Kevin here indexes his support of the social stuff, using the plural possessive “our,” self-categorizing as a member of the MATESOL program and excluding himself from membership in the linguistics department (Sacks, 1992; Hester & Eglin, 1997). However, Kevin also, like Sync, introduces some ambivalence in his support, in this case through his double-voiced (Bakhtin, 1981) use of the expression “foo foo,” taking on the voice of the dismissive linguistics department in what might be simultaneously a critique of the linguistics department’s attitude and - given that Kevin, as the storyteller, is authoring this statement – potentially an oblique acceptance or legitimization of such a characterization.

Although my various analyses in Chapter 3 reveal the ways that my participants aligned their discursive productions with the KPD of “Race,” my analyses of the excerpts in this section show that this alignment was also accompanied by moments of frustration and even self-deprecation, as my participants struggled to orient themselves towards a critical practice that accounts for racial inequity within institutions that appear instead to be supporting such inequity. In the following section, I continue working with

selected data to show how similar frustrations, as well as confusions and uncertainties, arose around the discourse of "Nativeness."

4.2 Nativeness

As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, my participants and I regularly expressed alignment with the Key Program Discourse (KPD) of "Nativeness," the understanding that the construct of "nativeness" lacks a clear linguistic definition and that its uncritical use results in significant discrimination, discrimination which also intersects with other identity categories such as race and national origin. Over the course of this study, however, this discourse also prompted some confusion, frustration, and resistance amongst my participants. For example, during the session of English 501 dedicated to "Nativeness" (11-28-17), my participants were asked, near the beginning of class, to free-write in response to the following prompt, shown by Instructor A on a projected presentation slide:

> *Think of your language learning and language teacher education experiences. In your personal history, how have language learning goals been conceptualized in relation to the native-speaker construct? What is the effect on classroom practice?*

Kevin offered the following response:

Excerpt 4F

A= Instructor A K=Kevin

K: In my early teaching (.) and maybe even a little bit still (.) um (.) I started saying (.) when correcting students I started saying well (.) this is how a native speaker would say it (.) and in my mind (.) I was trying to avoid saying well you're wrong (.) or you've made a mistake (.) or you've made an error so (.) in my mind saying it (.) phrasing it like this is how a native speaker would say it was a way to kind of (.) soften it (.) or not make it (.) I didn't want to put down the student or discourage them (.) so (.) I was thinking of it as well a native speaker would say it (.) but then now I'm wondering I'm like (.) you know adding this whole other (.) hahaha (.) dimension to (.) to their thinking and (.) I don't know I sort of want to (.) give up haha[haa]

All: [Haha]hahahaha

K: Like why I can't there's nothing I can do that is going to be right

And then near the end of that same class session, Kevin responds to a question from Instructor A:

Excerpt 4G

A= Instructor A K=Kevin

1. **A:** What ideas from this set of readings are challenging (.) or
2. troubling (.) or make you uneasy↑
3. **K:** This about (.) if we (.) okay so if we don't use (.) um (.) an
4. idealized native speaker as a standard (.) okay fine (.) I'm fine
5. with that (.) but then what do↑ we use (.) and that's where I can't
6. (.) it's like (.) you know how (.) what do we ((laughing tone)) use I
7. feel like we need some (.) yardsticks some type of measure to
8. judge competency so then what do we do↑ and I don't know
9. that's my question

In these two passages, Kevin gives voice to two frustrations with the construct of "nativeness" that other participants would reiterate later in the study. In the first passage, Kevin is responding to an emotional and a moral frustration, stating that he may want to give up because "there's nothing [he] can do that is going to be right" (line 14). The sense that there is some degree of moral censure threatening teachers who don't use the correct terms was later expressed even more forcefully by Sync in Excerpt 4R (analyzed below), where she asks, rhetorically, if someone should be considered a "bigot" (line 74) or be accused of having "a bad heart as a teacher" (line 29) if they don't eliminate the use of the term "native speaker" from their vocabulary.[88]

Although Kevin's laughter and laughing tone in these passages (lines 11-12 in Excerpt 4F and line 6 in Excerpt 4G) could be an indication of humor, the surrounding context (he is responding to serious questions from his professor about his response to the readings and about anything that may have made him uneasy) makes it more likely that his laughter in these passages is an instance of what Jefferson (1984) has described as laughter that accompanies talk about troubles or "troubles talk" (p. 351). In the first passage (Excerpt 4F), Kevin is expressing his shock that his past actions (and maybe, he hedges, some small amount of his present actions, (line 1)) might have been discriminatory despite his good intentions. When he states that he might just want to "give up," he immediately offers what Jefferson (1979) has termed a "post utterance completion laugh particle," thus inviting the rest of the class to join in his laughter (p.80).

[88] See Chapter 5 for a more extensive reflection on the threat of moral censure expressed by my participants.

Jefferson (1984) elsewhere argues that a listener who does not join in the laughter accompanying talk about troubles may be showing "receptiveness" to that trouble. In this case, his classmates' laughter functions to lessen the seriousness of Kevin's statement, in effect showing that they are not receptive to (or are treating lightly) the notion that he may give up. Here, receptiveness would mean taking seriously the notion that Kevin might quit the program or leave the profession entirely, and thus the group shows solidarity with Kevin precisely through a failure to be seriously receptive to his comment about giving up.[89] At the same time, many of my participants were likely feeling a frustration similar to that expressed by Kevin (and indeed as Sync and Liz expressed during subsequent interviews), and their laughter here also seems to indicate an empathetic response to Kevin's plight, hence their acceptance of the invitation to laugh offered by his post utterance completion laugh particle.

In Excerpt 4G, Kevin is responding to a pedagogical rather than a moral frustration, namely the difficulty in replacing a native-speaker standard given an assumed need for "some type of measure to judge competency" (line 6-8). This time, no one joins in with his laughter. Instead, the response from the class is to remain silent while Kevin follows his brief laughter with an earnest expression of his confusion: "what do we do↑ and I don't know that's my question." (lines 8-9). Kevin's laughter here seems to indicate, rather than humor, an invitation to sympathize with the seemingly preposterous task of teaching English without any standards whatsoever. His audience's non-laughter here seems to indicate that the class is seriously receptive to this particular expression of trouble.

Liz, during our second interview (5-8-18) incorporates both these moral and pedagogical concerns with language standards in her account of a time in her English 407 class where she felt that her instructor, Instructor B,[90] was "putting too much of the onus on the teachers" to disrupt hegemonic notions of standard English.

[89] The vigorous laughter here stands in contrast to the muted laughter that accompanied a similar remark from Sync during our third snack discussion (10-5-18). See Excerpt 4I below.
[90] Instructor B is a professor from the larger CSU English Department, not MATESOL program faculty.

Excerpt 4H

L=Liz

L: And so (.) from what I remembered (.) teachers might (.) kind of still be (.) even if they feel like it's important to include students' discourses they might feel a lot of pressure from (.) their program to push a certain curriculum (.) they could get in trouble for (.) not teaching the standard discourse (.) and even the parents and the students might want (.) to be taught that (.) pure standard (.) because (.) if they are not then they (.) might be shut out of the (.) that discourse community and so (.) I felt like that wasn't really being addressed in the class (.) but I didn't feel like I could say that because then it would sound like I am saying (.) you have to teach the discourse of power and only teach that because (.) students' discourses are bad or something (.) I felt like that's how my words would be interpreted if I said anything (.) so I just didn't say anything

Excerpt 4H came as a response to a question I had asked Liz about how the pressure to conform to a "preferred point of view" that she and others had expressed in earlier interviews had "continued or evolved or stopped" in her classes (See below lines 90-92 in Excerpt 4R from our first dinner discussion for an example of these expressions of pressure to conform). Although Liz in Excerpt 4H is not arguing directly in support for a pure standard of language instruction, she is acknowledging that the idea of a "pure" standard has weight with language programs, parents, and the students themselves and that this pressure on teachers should be acknowledged in a way that wasn't being acknowledged in her English 407 class.

With this brief narrative excerpt, Liz has, in response to my questions, constructed a classroom situation where addressing the social realities of an imagined "pure standard" (line 6) such as an idealized native speaker standard, could in itself be equated to a discriminatory perspective on students' language (lines 9-12). Liz, like Kevin and Sync in the passages referenced above (Excerpts 4F, 4G, and 4R), expresses a fear of moral censure even for advocating on behalf of other teachers who may feel pressured to teach a "pure standard." Like Kevin, Liz also expressed a need for some standard, particularly in the area of pronunciation. Early in her program, Liz was frank about the apparent conflict between her attitude towards pronunciation and the KPD of nativeness. For example, she explained in her first-quarter language learning autobiography (10-3-17) her desire to speak with a "native" accent in

the languages she learns for herself: “I suppose my attitude regarding accurate pronunciation stems from the concept of native speakerism (Kumaravadivelu, 2014).” Liz, despite her regular and enthusiastically expressed support for the KPD of Nativeness (See, for example, Chapter 3, Excerpt 3L) would also regularly express her struggles in aligning her understanding of the best ways to teach pronunciation with her understanding of the construct of nativeness. For example, during her first dyadic interview with me (11-28-17), she questioned her earlier teaching methods during an internship in Japan: “A lot of what I did was pronunciation (.) but now after Instructor A’s class I’m like (.) well (.) should I really have been teaching that.” Similarly, in our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), after Sync stated “It’s as if teaching pronunciation like this is bad” Liz responded “Yeah (.) I know I felt that way.”

Liz’ continued to express difficulties in reconciling the practical teaching of pronunciation with the KPD of nativeness. Nearly one-year into the study, during our third Snack Discussion (10-5-18) Liz again takes the lead in constructing a related narrative, one where teachers should not be held responsible for righting the linguistic wrongs of English Language Teaching (ELT):

Excerpt 4I

T=TJ S=Sync K=Kevin L=Liz H=Huck M=Maggie

T: I guess the only other thing that we (.) we’ve al- actually Sync already kind of like answered this one (.) was how the theory that you guys have been (.) reading about has like (.) either meshed with or completely butted heads with (.) the actual practical situation of the classroom

S: I should just drop out it's all pointless

All: ((muted laughter)) Haha

L: It is really hard (.) to try to keep in mind the theory when (.) you have outcomes that require

K: uh huh

L: that you are required to teach (.) and (.) not only that but student expectations they

K: [uh huh]

L: [They] don't know anything about this theory stuff (.) I even (.) I did research on it too that students (.) don't know anything about world Englishes they’re like what's world Englishes (.) there's more than one way to speak English↑ (.) what are you talking about (.) they don't know (.) so it's kind of hard (.) I don't think it's really fair

K: [True]

L: [for] the teachers to have to be the ones that have to fight the system (.) it should be the system that tries to incorporate those things (.) it's not our responsibility

24. **K:** No student has ever written on an evaluation (.) the teacher
25. didn't use a translingual approach
26. **S:** Oh my gosh↑
27. **All**: hahahahahahaha
28. **T**: I was really upset that the colonial legacies of English were not
29. addressed more in my grammar 3 class (.) yeah

All of my core participants, at one time or another, expressed a feeling of helplessness at the prospect of employing social justice pedagogy in actual classrooms, and these expressions of helplessness were nowhere more frequent than in our discussions about nativeness or about the proper linguistic standards to apply in class. In Excerpt 4I, this topic again provokes one of my participants (in this case, Sync, who had earlier talked about the conflict she was experiencing in applying her theoretical education to her High Intermediate Grammar and Pronunciation class) to remark about quitting the program (line 6), a comment that is again, as was the case for Kevin, greeted with laughter. Though she had taught already for several years in Americorps and the Peace Corps, Sync (unlike Kevin) had spoken with some frequency about making a career change or about dropping out of the program, and she did eventually decide to change her career plans after finishing her degree. Because Sync had made no secret of her doubts about becoming a career language teacher, the fact that the laughter here is muted may indicate that her audience recognizes that this comment is not as hyperbolic as it might otherwise seem.

When Liz takes the floor in line 8, she offers some explanation for Sync's sentiments, noting that the institutional "outcomes" of their program make it "really hard" to keep the theory in mind (lines 8-11) and reporting, using hypothetical reported speech, the questions that students might ask if they were confronted with theories related to World Englishes (lines 11-18). Kevin begins punctuating Liz' argument with affirmative back-channeling starting in line 10, and in lines 24-25 he supports Liz' argument about student expectations with the observation that students do not come into class demanding a translingual approach to their language instruction. This comment is appreciated by his audience and is greeted with loud laughter. In my assessment, the humor here arises from the incongruous notion that students would be demanding teaching that is in line with the conceptually difficult, anti-hegemonic approaches championed in the CSU MAETSOL program, approaches which have at times proven difficult for the

MATESOL graduate students themselves. Liz and Kevin's comments (as well as my own addition in lines 28-29) construct a classroom situation where the theoretical commitments of the CSU MATESOL program regarding the KPD of nativeness are potentially in conflict with institutional requirements (lines 8-11) and student expectations (lines 11-19, 24-25), and the appreciative laughter (line 27) after Kevin's comments is an acknowledgement of this frustrating tension.

While Chapter 3 exhibited some of the common ways my participants expressed alignment with the KPD of nativeness, the excerpts here in this "Nativeness" sub-section show that this alignment was not consistent or monolithic. Rather, my participants' oral interactions also constructed uncertainty, confusion, and frustration over what the KPD of Nativeness means for the actual practice of teaching. In the following section, I again use a selection from relevant data points to show how similar uncertainties, confusions, and frustrations arose around the discourse of "Neoliberalism."

4.3 Neoliberalism

As I have reiterated in each of the previous sub-sections on "Race" and "Nativeness," my participants and I mostly aligned ourselves with the KPDs. This was also the case with the discourses I have categorized under "Neoliberalism," as we regularly aligned our discursive constructions with the perspective, expressed by the CSU MATESOL faculty, that neoliberal capitalism's influence on education is generally negative, posing an obstacle to moral goals and effective pedagogy alike. While there were moments where we gave voice to discourses that emerged directly out of and reproduced neoliberal ideology,[91] the moments where our writing and conversations misaligned with the CSU MATESOL Program discursive construction of neoliberalism were more frequently devoted to rationalizing or apologizing for our complicity in neoliberal structures and organizations.

[91] See, for example the following passage from one of my participant's final projects for a core MATESOL course: *Consider international students, along with the rest of your students, as entrepreneurs. Consider them to be agents of their own lives within a classroom discourse. This removes the common narrative that international students are victims of and problems for the American higher education system. The entrepreneurial, give and take environment is best described as viewing students as customers, requiring a professor to focus on students and deliver what they need.*

For example, during our third dinner discussion (4-14-18), I asked my participants if they were working any jobs in addition to being students (this was in their first year of the program, before any of them had teaching assistantships). Liz responded with the following:

Excerpt 4J

L=Liz C=Chiara

1. **L:** I tutor online (.) through (.) one of those companies[92] that (.) I
2. complained about our first↑ quarter so I'm a complete hypocrite
3. but you know (.)
4. **C:** Hahaha
5. **L:** who isn't
6. **S:** Don't beat yourself up

In Excerpt 4J, Liz uses her characteristically dry sense of humor to reference the discrepancy between her ideal employment and her online tutoring job. She identifies the potential hypocrisy in working for a company that generally works against one's ideals, but does so in a lighthearted way. Her tone is casual, even upbeat and she punctuates her remarks about being a hypocrite with the question "who isn't" (line 5), which frames hypocrisy in employment as a common, if not universal trait rather than as an individual failing of hers. The ambivalence in Liz's remarks is amplified by the divergent responses in her audience: laughter from Chiara (line 4) and emotional support from Sync (line 6).

Huck, during his first interview with me (11-20-17) provided a similar narrative about working for a "bad company." His narrative is less self-critical than that of Liz, but it nonetheless grapples with the same problem of ethically working within a neoliberal educational reality.

Excerpt 4K

H=Huck T=TJ

1. **H:** And right now I'm teaching (.) you mentioned SAT (.) like I'm
2. teaching through more just capitalist endeavors (.) teaching SAT
3. prep classes but it is a part time job for me and (.) um (.) also
4. helping kids face a test that's pretty [in-]
5. **T:** [intimidating] yeah
6. **H:** So um (.) would I go back to teaching any age group↑ (.) yeah (.)
7. from birth to death done deal sign me up (.) but I would not do (.)

[92] In our second interview (5-8-18), Liz clarified her thoughts on this company, see Chapter 3, Excerpt 3P). According to Liz, this is a company that is not "reputable," that "hires random English-speaking people" in order to, as I confirmed with Liz, "exploit their native speakers."

8. wouldn't go back to those places that I was doing in those
9. capacities (.) the idea is to move forward in a different direction
10. (.) because of this (.) I want hours that don't destroy me (.) I want
11. a commute that doesn't destroy me (.) I want to be able see
12. people I love outside of work
13. **T:** Such demands

In this passage, Huck speaks derisively and defensively of his work teaching in "just capitalist endeavors" (line 2), arguing that the work he does still has benefit for both him ("a part time job", line 3) and for his students (helping them face the SAT test, lines 3-4). Huck follows this rationale with an answer to a question I had posed about his future plans, explaining that he loves teaching all ages (lines 6-7), but that he wouldn't go back to do the same work he had been doing. He concludes that he wants to avoid being "destroyed" by long workhours or a long commute, and that he wanted to see his loved ones outside of work (lines 10-12). The implication of Huck's imagined future is that the opportunity to see loved one's outside of work (and to avoid being destroyed by the conditions of his employment!) is not a given. Although Huck was amongst those of my participants who were most opposed to neoliberal ideology, he also regularly expressed his fear that such ideology had become a permanent feature of the educational landscape. A few minutes later during the same interview (11-20-17), he narrates a brief conversation he had with the head of the musicology department at his undergraduate institution:

Excerpt 4L

H=Huck T=TJ

1. **H:** When I was still an undergraduate I was toying with the idea of
2. being a musicologist
3. **T:** Uh huh
4. **H:** And so I talked to the:: (.) head of the department there (.) a
5. department which no longer exists (.) at such a huge university
6. as [Huck's Undergraduate University] and um (.) I was like so::
7. (.) what would I have to do (.) to enter this field↑ (.) what are the
8. steps and he was like Huck (.) there is no tenure (.) there won't
9. be (.) like I have it (.) by the time (.) >>at the time I was like
10. twenty or twenty-one<< (.) by the time you even get into grad
11. school (.) like tenure is just not even gonna be in the picture (.)
12. um (.) I can't helpfully advise you to take that track (.) I just can't
13. (.) like don't do it (.) he literally told me not to become a
14. musicologist ((Huck snaps his fingers)) like that

Through this narrative, Huck uses the direct reported speech (Bakhtin, 1981; Sandhu, 2016) of a qualified individual (the head of a department at a major university) to lend weight to his belief that workplace protections for academics are in a process of continual erosion. Huck would later link this fear directly to his concerns about his ability to put social justice pedagogy into practice. During a discussion on this topic in his practicum seminar (2-9-18), Huck amplified the fear of one of his classmates, airing and legitimizing the question asked by teachers who put social justice pedagogy into practice: “Am I still going to have a job tomorrow?”

Just as Liz felt that her work for one of “those companies” was hypocritical, and as Huck felt the need to justify his work for “just capitalist endeavors,” Kevin, in his initial interview (2-8-18), took pains to distance his initial economic motives from his long-term interest in teaching.

Excerpt 4M

K=Kevin T=TJ

K: I never thought of myself as a teacher (.) you know I never
thought that it was something (.) I could do (.) I just thought it
was something you have to be (.) really special or have really
natural talent for (.) um (.) you know so I just never thought it was
something I could (.) so (.) my original motivations for becoming
a teacher were (.) like largely economic (.) you know (.) um (.)
which if you say that (.) plus my reason for doing the Masters it
sounds really crass and calculated and it's not (.) it's just that it
happened that way (.) I decided to keep teaching because I
really liked it (.) I really enjoyed like having an influence or um (.)
I mean every teacher knows like the moment when someone
gets it
T: The aha moment
K: Yeah (.) and that is really powerful

In Excerpt 4M, Kevin, like Huck and Liz in the previous three excerpts, is responding to the threat of criticism. Where Liz felt that she could be considered a hypocrite for working for a company whose business practices she has criticized, and where Huck felt that he needed to rationalize his participation in capitalist endeavors, Kevin is here responding to the possibility that someone might look at his motivations for pursuing a Masters in TESOL (which he earlier had explained was to be more competitive in the job market) and his economic motivations for taking his first teaching job and consider them “crass and calculated” (lines 7-8).

Liz, Huck, and Kevin all demonstrated in these conversations an attitude reminiscent of what Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) refer to as the "sacred calling" stereotype of teaching where teachers "who subscribe to an ethic of sacrifice should have little desire for material reward, or so it's felt" (p.27). The neoliberal KPD promoted by the CSU MATESOL program, attentive as it is to the pernicious effects of the profit-motive in education, may have contributed to the awkwardness expressed by my participants in accounting for their basic need to make money through their labor.

Although Sync was, at times, intensely critical of corporatized education (See, for example, Excerpt 3Q in Chapter 3), she rarely if ever apologized for her need to make money. She was, perhaps, the most comfortable connecting language teaching directly to the market and her own needs within that market. For example, when she and several other participants were discussing an opportunity to travel to Spain and teach during our fourth dinner discussion (5-11-18), she was not impressed with the salary, stating: "I'm done with Peace Corps though (.) I think it's not a high salary at all (.) You might guess it's maybe a thousand euros a month." Sync here uses her experience in the Peace Corps to establish her authority with regard to teaching for low or no pay, and she unreservedly announces her desire to be paid for her teaching. Sync also noted unselfconsciously in her first individual interview with me (1-10-18) that during her Peace Corps service she wove vocational preparation into her language teaching. She stated that she taught "kids how to create resumes," "how to survey themselves," and helped them assess their suitability for work. She explained these interactions with her students: "what are you good at? How could you apply these to jobs? Ha. I had them take the Myers-Briggs test." While none of my participants, including Sync, expressed the notion that language teaching is simply or should primarily be human capital development and job-skills preparation, they differed in the way they dealt with the reality of neoliberalism and the market's role in education. For example, while Sync often spoke of market pressures on her teaching in the pragmatic, matter-of-fact way indicated in the above quotations, Huck more frequently situated his own teaching labor within a decidedly anti-neoliberal, anti-capitalist world view, hence the manner in which he described his own work in standardized test preparation in Excerpt 4K.

One consequence of neoliberal ideology is that the social value of education is narrowed to its role as a producer of human capital and for its instrumental serving of the market economy (Block, Gray,

& Holborow, 2012). In addition to prioritizing economic concerns over other civic and social concerns, neoliberal ideology diminishes or disregards entirely the impact of larger social structures on an individual's success or failure, instead favoring an atomistic view of individuals (Harvey, 2007). In the following excerpts, the manner in which we foreground the economic privilege of some of our students and forgo discussing the various way that their intersectional identities may disadvantage them (by way of their nationality, race, accent, gender, etc.) bears the stamp of a neoliberal (as opposed to an anti-racist or anticolonial) approach to equitable education.

Our narrowing of the focus of social justice to more individualized economic concerns can be seen, for example, two and a half hours into our fifth dinner discussion (12-13-18), following Chiara's response to a question of mine about whether or not the CSU MATESOL program has changed my participants' understanding of themselves as teachers and how well they have been able to enact in their teaching practice what they have learned in their coursework:

Excerpt 4N

C=Chiara H=Huck K=Kevin

C: So when I started the program I thought I was going to (.) delve
into more of the grammar and learning more about English as a
language (.) and so as you said it's mostly dealing with the social
psychological aspect (.) of teaching and and the a (.) and how
we say things and what material we use (.) can influence the
students (.) and so (.) that aspect has changed (.) how am I
going to for example the few classes that I gave (.) because
three days were spent (.) testing
H: [Oh yeah]
C: [and a couple] of days teaching (.) but at the [IEP] you can only
just (.) well as far as I know with the very minimal experience that
I had (.) uh you know (.) in a listening speaking class (.) it
seemed to me there was not much time (.) to (.) to make them
aware of the social aspect and the materials that we use and (.)
and (.) I don't think this is making much sense but um (.) and all
these students most of the students are (.) well-off also
[that's]
K: [uh huh]
C: a big difference (.) and so (…) they (.) it is a (.) yeah I was a little
bit (.) I mean I don't I (.) I think it would be much more rewarding
in a certain sense to also have a class with immigrants and (.)
then you can have a you can really do (.) and experience what
we are learning (.) um (.) In terms of giving the students agency
these people have a lot of agency (.)
H: [Yeah Yeah]
All: [Hahahaha]

27. **C:** I mean I have students that they said I'm going to change Saudi
28. Arabia (.) I'm going to take my medicine degree and going to
29. change the **whole** system (.)
30. **H:** Haha[haha]
31. **C:** [Hahahaha okay who the hell are you] (.) in **Saudi Arabia**]
32. **H:** [Hahahahahahahahahahahahaha]
33. **K:** You do you
34. **C:** I mean what the hell are you doing (.) and so (.) so I don't know
35. (.) that was a little bit boof (.) Annoying (.) really (.) annoying (.)
36. and so (.) how much can we do (.) how much can we affect the
37. students (.) I don't know

In Excerpt 4N, Chiara responds to my questions very hesitantly, beginning with a description of how the program differed from her original expectations (lines 1-6) and developing a number of different reasons why applying the "social psychological" aspects from coursework to her classroom teaching is difficult. These reasons include lack of time (line 13), the students are economically privileged (line 16), and they already have a lot of agency (line 24). Chiara includes a large number of hedges to soften what could be considered a critical view of the program (Kaltenböck et al., 2010). She qualifies her opinion as representing only her limited perspective ("as far as I know with the minimal experience that I had," lines 11-12; "it seemed to me," lines 12-13) and frames her own argument as possibly nonsensical ("I don't think that this is making much sense," line 15). Once she receives a few supportive comments from her audience (Huck's "oh yeah" in line 9 and Kevin's affirmative "uh huh" in line 18), she begins to be more direct, offering a better alternative (teaching a class of immigrants, line 21) that would let MATESOL students "really do (.) and experience what [they] are learning," lines 22-23). Once she begins to talk about her current students having a lot of agency, she gets loud and positive confirmation from her audience (line 26) and this encourages her to deliver a small story that exemplifies the enormous agency she feels her students already possess (lines 27-29).

Spurred by Chiara's complaints about a perceived mismatch between the social justice goals of the program and the apparently elite students in the CSU IEP, I immediately share the following story:

Excerpt 4N (continued)

T=TJ C=Chiara H=Huck M=Maggie

38. **T:** Yeah (.) that's a great (.) I mean (.) that's going to be a central
39. question of what I'm doing right now is (.) cuz (.) and I think that's
40. something that has come up (.) multiple times and (.) actually

when I look back to my original research questions it was one of the things I was thinking about is (.) what (.) scope (.) is there for putting these things into practice (.) and how does that look (.) when you actually take these ideas (.) and you think okay I have learned a lot about how English language teaching is racially discriminatory (.) but (.) I am not sure how I apply that in my listening speaking class (.) where everyone (.) is either a millionaire or a billionaire↑

C: [mmm]

H: [yeah]

T: And (.) one of my students drove a Ferrari

C: Yeah

T: Like literally this happened

H: uh huh

T: I was carrying my desktop [computer] [to be fixed]

H: [ha] [°Oh jesus°]

T: and he pulls up and rolls down the window in his Ferrari or whatever

H: Uh huh yeah

T: Super fancy Italian sports car (.) it must have been hundreds of thousands of dollars

H: [yeah]

C: [yeah]

T: And just says ((higher pitch)) <u>he::y you want a ride</u>↑ (.) like that was the dynamic between

M: Haha

T: And he wasn't the only one

C: Mmm

H: Yeah

T: But like (.) he must have been I'm sure he was one of the more wealthy ones but (.) that makes things (.) it is a different (.) way of introducing things like (.) to someone who has so much privilege right (.) and in this ((laughing tone)) <u>case I would probably be the less (.) privileged</u> ha (.) in some ways (.) obviously not in all ways (.) but like here I am literally carrying this computer (.) because I don't have a car at the time (.) and I don't (.) I live in a shoddy apartment (.) and I can't (.) there is (.) I don't want to pay to have anything you know (.) like (.) I'm like <u>manually</u> hauling this thing

C: [Hahahaha]

M: [Hahaha]

T: [in an old suitcase] (.) it was a desktop and it was a big one (.) so we just put it in this old big suitcase and were like lugging this up the hill

C: [Hahahaha]

T: [and he shows] up in this <u>Ferrari</u> (.) it was a really (.) it was a really weird feeling

There is legitimacy to the complaint that Chiara and the rest of us develop in these excerpts,[93] and the potential mismatch between the social justice orientation of the CSU MATESOL program and the opportunity and need for deploying such an orientation in the CSU IEP will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter and in Chapter 5. However, it is also worth observing here that Chiara and I, and by extension our supportive audience, stereotype the language learners at the CSU IEP as wealthy, privileged elites and thereby reduce the importance of the linguistic, national, racial, and other forms of discrimination faced by these students, amplifying instead the economic privilege shown by a few of them. We seem to be performing here an aspect what Sync described in her second dyadic interview (5-23-18) as a "savior complex,"[94] a phrase that some scholars of education have used (see, for example, Brown, 2016; Johnson, 2018; Matias, 2016) to critique the tendency for people (and more specifically teachers) to seek emotional satisfaction from attempting to rescue those they deem less fortunate, typically demeaning and othering the people they are attempting to "save" without necessarily rendering substantive assistance. A savior attitude appears to be present in the way we have here taken up the notion (which Kevin had introduced earlier in the same dinner discussion as something he had taken from his practicum seminar) that it is a teacher's responsibility to "give" agency to students, and it likewise appears to be present in the understanding we have produced that it is a "weird" situation when a student is in any position of relative privilege (line 87).

In the narrative we are constructing, the CSU IEP students are first presented by Chiara as all being "well off," which she immediately amends to "most of them" (Lines 15-16). I intensify this impression in my quasi-direct reported speech, however, when I hypothesize a teacher imagining that every student "is either a millionaire or a billionaire" (lines 47-48), thereby implying that this wealth makes it difficult to apply anti-racist pedagogy (lines 42-46). My story about the Ferrari serves to reinforce the economic gulf between the poor CSU IEP teachers (represented by me) and their wealthy, carefree students (represented narratively by my student's casual offer to help carry my computer in his Ferrari). My lack of

[93] See, also, the very similar discussion in Excerpt 4S from the sixth and final Dinner Discussion (4-20-19).
[94] During this interview, Sync used the phrase "savior complex" to critique her previously held perspective that she was bringing the "right way" of learning "American English" so that people could go do "better things in better places" (Sync, 2nd Dyadic Interview, 5-23-18).

a car and my “shoddy apartment” (line 76-77) serve as support for my claim that “I would probably be the less privileged in some ways” (lines 73-74) as does the repeated emphasis on the act of “carrying,” “manually hauling,” and “lugging” the luggage on my own power (lines 55, 75, 79, and 83) to the repair shop. My student, in contrast, simply “pulls up” (line 57) in his “super fancy sports car” (line 60) and is in a position to offer help. When I observe that “that was the dynamic,” (line 64-65) I am uncritically highlighting the fact that this “dynamic” does not fit the White savior understanding of the teacher-student relationship underpinning this portion of our conversation, hence the “really weird feeling” I express at the end of the story (line 87).

This segment of our conversation constructs an understanding of social justice that gives little weight to intersectional forms of discrimination in TESOL. The social justice concerns of the program are considered most applicable to specific oppressed groups (e.g., immigrants and refugees) and less applicable to wealthy students. This “savior” approach to social justice mirrors the neoliberal, atomizing approach to international aid, insofar as it gives attention to specific people and regions who are in need rather than to resolving the underlying structural issues that lead to inequity in the first place (Harvey, 2005), a misguided approach that is particularly acute in education-related “assistance” (Klees, 2008). Indeed, Brown (2016) has examined how neoliberalism incorporates savior ideology in efforts to further privatize education and thereby simultaneously promoting racist understandings of teachers and learners. During our conversation transcribed in Excerpt 4N (and elsewhere), my participants and I constructed a reality where English Language Teaching (ELT), in order to best apply the theories of critical pedagogy, should be delivered, like economic aid, to those most in need. This well-intentioned mindset, however, if approached uncritically, may be just as likely to promote harmful and discriminatory discourses as profit-driven language teaching. See, for example, the instructive example offered in Instructor D’s description of the neoliberal-oriented education offered in a Philippine refugee camp (Chapter 3, Excerpt 3B). I expand further on the implications of the way we have framed teachers and students through this “savior” approach to language teaching in Chapter 5.

4.4 The Gap Between Theory and Practice

The three previous sub-sections show that while my participants were almost always intellectually supportive of the social justice project of the CSU MATESOL program and particularly its discourses surrounding the constructs of “race,” “nativeness,” and “neoliberalism,” they nonetheless expressed a number of confusions and reservations about putting this project into practice. Much of their frustration in this regard arose from their interactions in the CSU IEP, and we have already seen in this chapter narratives that construct the IEP as a place that presents obstacles to a more equitable, translingual approach to language teaching (Bou Ayash, 2014; Canagarajah, 2013b) and as, at times, serving to propagate linguistically and racially discriminatory hegemony.

My participants’ narrative constructions of the CSU IEP align with critical scholarship on the institution of IEP’s in general. Friedenberg (2002), for example, argues that IEPs, which have become a major feature of many American universities, contribute to a “higher education system that is elitist, inequitable, inaccessible, and inefficient” (312). Friedenberg observes that these problems are mainly the result of neoliberal policy and monolingual approaches to language. For example, Friedenberg questions the fundamental assumption, evidenced in the role that many IEP’s play in university-preparation, that higher education in the U.S. must necessarily be conducted in English, and she criticizes the for-profit motive of these institutions, which supply commodified language without even, in the vast majority of cases, offering credit towards a degree. Chun (2009) sees multiple threads of neoliberal influence at the site of the typical IEP where, in addition to the institutionalizing of monolingual approaches to English language learning, the IEP operates on individuals as “a corporatizing mechanism in its centralizing function of training people how to become better entrepreneurs of themselves” (118). The CSU IEP does not appear to be an exception to the characterizations provided by Friedenberg and Chun, as most of the CSU IEP students choose courses in either a business certificate track or a University Preparation track (courses which generally do not come with university credit) and there is a strong institutional focus on limiting languages besides English in the classroom, at least in those classes I observed and which my participants taught or were mentored in.

My interview with the TA Coordinator, a teacher from the CSU IEP who has been released from some of her own teaching to support the MATESOL students working in the IEP, took place midway through the second year of this study (2-21-19) at a time when most of my core participants had been teaching their own classes for one and a half quarters (about 15-16 weeks). In our conversation, we co-construct an understanding of the CSU IEP where its institutional constraints (and thus discursive predilections) are distinct from those of the CSU MATESOL program.

Excerpt 4O

T=TJ Co= TA Coordinator

T: In your job as like the mentoring of the teachers have you
noticed any conflicts that have sort of arisen because of those
sort of↑ (.) those (.) unit differences or those (.) um (.) like
bureaucratic (.) I mean not simply bureaucratic but like (.) just the
organizational (.) conflicts that arise when it's not all being
centrally coordinated
Co: Right (.) I'm not sure I'd call it a conflict but (.) um (.) our
stakeholders are different (.) so for example for the MATESOL
program (.) or (.) yes the MATESOL program (.) you the grad
students are the stakeholders (.) and the MATESOL program
tries really hard to make sure you're happy (.) with whatever it is
that you are doing (.) our stakeholders are our students (.) so
even though (.) I mentor the TAs (.) [when there are]
T: [you are in between]
Co: issues my job is to make sure that the TA does a (.) does a good
job for the students (.) for our [IEP] students who are (.) paying a
lot of money in tuition right because our courses are fee-based
(.) so my main ((subtle laughing tone)) <u>my main job</u> is to make
sure the students are happy they are our stakeholders not you
guys (.) so that's where there are differences

In Excerpt 4O, the TA Coordinator gently declines my suggestion that the bureaucratic separation of the different institutions involved (The MATESOL program, the IEP, the larger university) may lead to organizational conflicts (line 6), instead describing the situation as one with different stakeholders (lines 7-8). She contrasts the MATESOL program, which she argues prioritizes the graduate students as the key stakeholders, with the IEP, where the language students are the key stakeholders (lines 9-12). As a result, the TA Coordinator's primary responsibility, she argues, is to ensure that the TAs are doing "a good job for the students (.) for our IEP students," and in support of this situation, she explains that the IEP students are "paying a lot of money in tuition" (lines 16-17). In this interaction, the TA Coordinator

has, in response to my question, framed the IEP students as paying customers whose interests are the most fundamental to the IEP, and that as a result, the happiness of these customers is what must be ensured (lines 18-19) and that the MATESOL students are explicitly not key stakeholders.

Elsewhere in our interview, in response to a question from me about how the IEP is financially related to the rest of Cascade State University, the TA Coordinator observed that the IEP is required to pay for each MATESOL student's salary as well as their tuition waiver, and that this cost is significantly more per class than is paid to the regular, full-time IEP instructors. This in turn leads her to observe that it is "a very expensive proposition, having TAs," and to remark that this situation is widespread across CSU: "we can see many departments on campus are complaining about the cost of TAs (.) so it's not unique to us." As constructed by the TA Coordinator and me during this interview, the IEP is a separate entity from the CSU MATESOL program and its chief goal is to maintain customer happiness and, it can be inferred, thereby remain financially solvent as a "self-supporting" and "fee-based program" (the CSU IEP receives no state or outside funding, but must pay "Overhead" to CSU for classrooms, utilities, etc.) The institution of the IEP, in this narrative, is designed to prioritize the selling of the English language as a product to its students/customers, and one might expect that such an institution so characterized would prioritize concrete customer satisfaction over theoretical ideals if these are perceived to be in conflict. Indeed, our conversation later frames the TA Coordinator's labor vis-à-vis my participants as filling in the practical teaching knowledge they are lacking, and we move away from a discussion of how my participants might begin to apply critical theory in practice:

Excerpt 4P

T=TJ Co= TA Coordinator

T: So one of the things that has kind of emerged (.) is (.) when students then find themselves put into the classes (.) like given a TA-ship[95] or even before that doing a practicum (.) the::y (.) have mostly up to that point been given (.) theoretical ideas about how to teach critically (.) and how to (.) address issues of native-speakerism and race in the classroom (.) but then they're put in a classroom where their primary role (.) is to teach the past perfect or (.) to make sure that students are able to compose (.) a resume (.) or something along those lines like (.) um (.) and so (.)

[95] MATESOL students with a TA-ship, or Teaching Assistantship, receive pay and a tuition waiver in return for teaching a class. These classes were, at the time of my study, almost always language courses in the CSU IEP.

a lot of my participants expressed a sort of like confusion and (.) um (.) like how do we (.) or can we even (.) begin to put some of this theory into practice (.) so I guess like have you noticed that as well (.) and in what ways (.) like in your role as the TA Coordinator (.) like how does that (.) factor in to your (.) your leadership role of the TAs

Co: Not so much noticed it as **heard** ((laughing tone)) from (.) the TAs haha

T: Haha

Co: Basically what I've heard from the (.) inexperienced the novice teachers said (.) but I didn't get any training in this how am I supposed to do this at (.) you know (.) I'm now all of a sudden in charge of a class↑ (.) how do I do that (.) what do I do (.) um (.) so the novice (.) teachers said (.) we didn't learn this (.) in our program (.) I don't know how to do this (.) um (.) and the experienced teachers said (.) oh yeah (.) I know how to do this (.) but I didn't learn this in my ((laughing tone)) program (.) I know how to do this because I have previous teaching experience (.) so not so much noticed as (.) ((laughing tone)) heard from the TAs themselves (.) um (.) so:: when I go into the classroom yes (.) the experienced TAs can can do this (.) um (.) everything (.) to do with teaching because you know they have experience and they've done it and they can do it (.) and then the novice TAs do need a lot more support from me

In Excerpt 4P, I offer the TA Coordinator a summary of what I had been hearing from my participants about their difficulties in applying the theory from their coursework in their practicum classes and in the classes that they were now, during their second year, teaching by themselves in the CSU IEP. I initially frame the situation as one where students have been taught theoretical ideas about teaching critically, but where they might not know how to apply those critical skills in a situation where their professional obligation is to teach a specific linguistic function, such as the "past perfect" or to compose a resume (lines 4-9). The TA Coordinator focuses her response, not on the specific difficulty of putting critical pedagogy into practice in professional situations where there are specific institutional outcomes, but rather on the lack of practical education in the CSU coursework in general. This latter point is made clear through the TA Coordinator's use of direct reported speech (Bakhtin, 1981) from the inexperienced teachers, who state "I didn't get any training in this [..] I'm now all of a sudden in charge of a class […] what do I do" (lines 19-22) as well as from the experienced teachers who observe, "I know how to do this but I didn't learn this in my program" (lines 24-26). The "this" that was not learned in the program can be understood to refer to the practical aspects of teaching a course I reference in my initial question, thus the distinction that the TA Coordinator makes between the experienced TAs who "can do this (.) um (.)

everything (.) to do with teaching" and the novice TAs who "need a lot more support" (lines 30-33) is constructed as a difference in practical preparation. The laughing tone in lines 26 and 28 is more easily characterized as another instance of Jefferson's (1984) talk about troubles than as an attempt at humor, given the difficult situation that the TA Coordinator and the TAs find themselves in. I show my receptiveness to this trouble by listening without laughing or interjecting.

By using direct reported speech and through her reiterated observation that this situation was explained to her by the TAs themselves and not something that she herself observed (line 16, lines 28-29), the narrative produced here by the TA Coordinator (in conversation with me) is one where the potential criticism of the MATESOL program's curriculum (a lack of practical instruction) comes from the MATESOL students themselves, and her role is to accommodate these students' requests to address this surprising lack of fundamentals, what she later (in an uncited portion of the same extended turn that begins in line 19 of Excerpt 4P) describes as "the basics of teaching."

My interest in pursuing the inquiry from Excerpt 4P above originated four months earlier during the third "Snack Discussion" held with my participants (10-5-18). This discussion occurred about two weeks into my participants' teaching of their first stand-alone class in the CSU IEP. We began the conversation with a few minutes chatting about our summers before Huck asked if I want to hear "about some of our school stuff.[96]" At this point, we were all well-acquainted with each other and my participants frequently asked each other questions and occasionally intervened (as Huck does here) to guide our group discussions. Each of my participants then took a turn, following Huck's lead, talking about the classes they were teaching. After Huck and Kevin shared, Sync gave the following response:

[96] This is one of several instances where my participants took on some of the conversation-framing work that is normally understood to be the province of the interviewer. These moments existed from the early stages of the research, although they did become more frequent as we became more familiar with each other. For an early example, in our first group discussion (2-16-18), Kevin explicitly stated "I'm taking over now TJ" before asking a follow-up question to Sync about whether she felt pressured "to espouse views that go against [her] own (.) you know (.) like personal feelings." Moments such as these highlight both the unspoken structure of the interviewer-interviewee relationship (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Briggs, 2003; Richards, 2003), as well as our increasing willingness to deviate from this structure.

Excerpt 4Q

S=Sync T=TJ K=Kevin L=Liz H=Huck

S: It's not a big deal (.) um really it's just I have to teach grammar in the context of like teaching them to speak it and say words ((big sigh)) I don't want to say correctly cuz you know we have spent a whole year taking theoretical classes on ((breathy, high tone)) how there is no correct way to speak English guys you ↑know:: like and here I am like say it like [**this**]

T: ((low, rough tone)) [**wrong**]

All: hahahah

S: it's like I ha::ve to it's my job now haha (.) so yea::h it's like the way I'm teaching my class (.) the worst part is it contradicts (.) the basis of ((breathy, high tone)) (.) all of my research I'm doing in grad school about corrective feedback

K: did you like (.) um (.) When TA Coordinator (.) TA Coordinator said like [forget]

L: [yeah]

K: all your little **[theories]**

L: [Yeah]

K: and just (.) yeah

S: ((Laughing tone)) I forgot when she said that

K: I was like oh yeah, that is a year of my life

H: °hahahaha°

L: That's kind of like what (.) ((someone claps in the background, Huck and Kevin are both laughing)) when I went to meet with her individually she kind of said something like that like (.) you need to (.) focus on classroom management like all the kind of flighty stuff most (.) eh (.) ef- efficacy and (.) and (.) and (.) all that stuff you can't worry about that while you're trying to figure out how to not look like a jackass ((Sync laughs loudly others laugh quietly)) in front of your students it's just not

S: Wait did she say jackass↑

L: No

S: Oh I wish hahahaha

In Excerpt 4Q, Sync begins by expressing a contrast between what she has learned in graduate school and the requirements of her High-Intermediate Grammar and Pronunciation class at the CSU IEP. She uses a high-pitched, breathy stylization in line 5 that she consistently employed at various times throughout my research in order to express social justice discourse while simultaneously taking on the persona of someone sarcastically critiquing this discourse (Coupland, 2007). Sync had also used this voice during our second dyadic interview (5-23-18) to refer to "such progressive grad students" (See Chapter 3, Excerpt 3Q) and during our first dinner discussion to discuss "center speakers and periphery speakers" as substitutes for "native speakers" and "non-native speakers" (See Excerpt 4R below). Later in

Excerpt 4Q, Sync again uses this same stylized voice to explain how her teaching situation in the CSU IEP contradicts her grad school learning about corrective feedback (lines 11-12). With these comments, Sync is gently mocking the ideals and theories of her graduate work, but also expressing a frustration that her new workspace is hostile to these social justice ideals which, as she explicitly noted to nearly the same audience during our first dinner discussion (2-16-18) are also her ideals. In Excerpt 4Q, as with the other instances, Sync uses this sarcastic, distinctive stylization to position herself in a "highly nuanced" way (Sandhu, 2016), making use of this technique to signal to her audience that she is being purposefully ambivalent.

Sync repeatedly professed the awkwardness she felt in straddling what she described as a gap between ideals and practicality. For example, during our second dyadic interview (5-23-18), she observed that one thing that made her different from her cohort is that she knows "when it is time to cut the crap with the idealism." During our third dinner discussion (4-14-18), Sync expressed an understanding of how social justice language education is likely perceived by the wider public when describing the perspective of a representative from a large language textbook publishing company after she and I had participated in a research focus group:

> From his perspective we turned it into a total social justice warrior session like just five of us telling him how we can change your grammar lesson to include people of all backgrounds in the example so no one feels ashamed that their native language is not English. And that's a foreign concept to most people. We can't act like we're so enlightened that they should have known this a long time ago. Most of these things we didn't learn until we came to this program
> -(Sync, 4-14-18).

Sync uses the above account to juxtapose two competing perspectives. On the one hand, there is the social justice argument where people of all backgrounds should have representation in language learning materials, thus defraying some of the harm caused by current conceptions of "nativeness." On the other hand, there is the thinking of "most people," people like the representative from the large publisher, for whom efforts to destabilize common understandings of "nativeness" is a "foreign concept." Sync, in those instances cited above where she stylizes her speech, is able to give voice to both of these positions simultaneously, to situate herself as someone who does maintain social justice ideals, but who is also very aware of how powerful hegemonic ideology and existing institutions are and how, in practice, social

justice ideals may be incompatible with the local requirements of a classroom. As Sync comments in Excerpt 4Q, the pressures of work supersede her social justice orientation to language pedagogy ("I ha::ve to it's my job now," line 9).

Sync's performance at the beginning of Excerpt 4Q invites Kevin to tell a thematically related story about my participants' TA Orientation. Kevin directly reports the speech of the TA Coordinator, allowing him to give meaning to his audience through both the content and form of the delivery, allowing him to "inflect" the TA Coordinator's voice, giving her "particular identity traits and qualities," (Coupland, 2007, p. 114). In this instance, Kevin's double-voiced (Bakhtin, 1984) narration lends the character of the TA Coordinator a dismissive attitude towards the theories learned in the MATESOL program, as her character urges the TAs, "forget all your little theories" (lines 14-16). These theories are "little," inconsequential, and, by implication, irrelevant to the teaching that the TAs will be doing in the IEP. They are also, in Kevin's account, attached to the TAs in particular ("*your* little theories") which has the effect of making them seem like a minority opinion, rather than more general or universal. Liz amplifies Kevin's account, recognizing the topic with two affirmative exclamations of "yeah" before Kevin even finishes his short story (lines 15 and 17). Kevin's coda, "that is a year of my life" (line 20), implies that the time spent learning these theories, which now, in the context of his narration, need to be forgotten, was time wasted. Huck laughs softly in the background after Kevin's resigned lament (line 21) and then Liz shares a story about another experience with the TA Coordinator which supports and extends the impressions left by Kevin's narration.

In Liz's story, classroom management is prioritized over "flighty stuff" (lines 25-26) which, due to the connections Liz is drawing between this situation and that narrated by Kevin ("That's kind of like…", line 22), can be understood as parallel to the "little theories" from Kevin's narration. Liz adds to the character of the TA Coordinator's admonition, stating that "you can't worry about that [flighty stuff] while you're trying to figure out how not to look like a jackass in front of your students" (lines 27-29). The implication throughout these narratives is that the TA Coordinator wants the TAs to focus on classroom management, that "little theories" and "flighty stuff" are a distraction from this primary objective, and that failing in this primary objective risks losing the esteem of the students (lines 28-29). The exchange between Sync and Liz at the end of this excerpt breaks down the boundaries between the "narrated

world[97]" and the "narrating world[98]" (Sandhu, 2016), as Liz admits that a specific word she used to report the speech of the TA Coordinator ("jackass") was not actually used during the "real" event (lines 30-31).

What is most interesting here is again not the "truth" or "falsity" of the different accounts given by Kevin, Liz, and the TA Coordinator herself. Rather, all three narratives are performing a specific interactional purpose, and that purpose, broadly speaking, is to indicate the differing ideological motivations underlying the two facets of the CSU MATESOL program, the theory of the coursework and the practice of teaching. Where the TA Coordinator and I co-constructed this difference as a need for additional practical "training" [99] for novice teachers, my MATESOL student participants, again in conversation with me, present this difference as a mismatch between the social justice goals of the MATESOL coursework and the practical exigencies of the IEP. As individuals, the MATESOL students, the TA Coordinator and I all regularly expressed alignment with the MATESOL program's liberatory aims,[100] yet we all in our various ways contributed to narratives where the neoliberal pressures of the IEP made such goals, at best, more difficult, and at worst, irrelevant.

Throughout my study, my participants frequently expressed their difficulty in imagining how the theory they were learning in their coursework could be applied in practice. During our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), we concluded the evening with a twenty-minute period where each of my focal participants spoke at some length regarding this issue. This final stretch of our conversation begins with a question from me about how my participants have been negotiating their own beliefs and experiences with the concepts learned in their coursework:

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[97] The "world" within the story being told.
[98] The "world" of social interaction between the narrator and listeners.
[99] It is worth briefly commenting on the narrow, behavioristic understandings of teaching that are implicated in the construct "teacher training." As Zeichner (1999) observes, "teacher education" is a more encompassing term and this latter construct reflects an interest in broadening the scope of teacher activity beyond "technical and managerial definitions of teaching" (10). A discrete focus on "training" teachers into the "basics" of class management, as I discuss at greater length in the "False Dichotomies" section of Chapter 5, contributes unhelpfully to a bifurcated understanding of social justice pedagogy and the practical aspects of teaching.
[100] Indeed, it should be noted that the TA Coordinator would herself have been characterized as a "non-native" speaker by the CSU metrics, and had first-hand knowledge of the discrimination that can come with such an appellation.

Excerpt 4R

S=Sync T=TJ L=Liz H=Huck

T: So (.) when Huck was talking he was talking about like the identity of a student and like having to negotiate that with your identities as either (.) experienced teachers or people who will be (.) teachers following the program (.) or during the program for those of you like taking the practicum (.) at the moment (.) so (.) so (.) let me just add that to this monstrous question that is already like a two-parter (.) um (.) so thinking of your identities as both students and teachers (.) what concepts have come up (.) that you have had to negotiate in some way (.) and how have you negotiated with those (.) thinking this is who I am this is what I know to be true in the classroom (.) is this gonna change that (.) am I going to have to fall back on my own experience↑ (.) as like something that I hold more valuable (.) or (.) how am I gonna move forward with this (.) does that make sense↑(.) I was like I was working like three or four of my dots in here all at once

S: Well (.) I guess to be honest I feel like I have to be a bit (.) bold to answer this question because there were many times (.) um (.) where we were learning about new issues in terms of how to look at teaching from a social (.) justice perspective (.) um that I just they were completely new concepts to me and even now I still feel that (.) I might be the only person (.) or one of the only people that I'm not really sure that I agree with everything that I've read because I want to really think for myself and think well you know I like the idea of this but in reality how practical is this to apply every single ideal to the max here (.) um (.) It could be like (.) good intentions but maybe it's just not what's going to work like maybe we should have certain philosophies in mind (.) but (.) not hammer them on everyone as if you don't do them you inherently have a bad heart as a teacher or something like that for example (.) I just (.) thought it was really interesting (.) that you know we were talking about (.) ((slight rise in tone)) native speakers versus non-native speakers and then we did this reading and I learned for the first time about (.) ((more pronounced rise in tone)) center speakers and periphery speakers (.) and I just thought (.) wait so if I don't call (.) um (.) these people now like center and periphery speakers am I like some (.) I mean it just seems like ((sigh)) (.) well this is new I mean (.) I don't know how everyone feels about like adjusting to these or if it is just me but (.) I'm just not so sure (.) if it is really so harmful to (.) um (.) not just you know believe everything that you read right away and to really think (.) on your own well okay I want to learn new things and think about this from a new perspective but (.) I don't think I necessarily have to do every single thing in this exact way I think I should balance it with what I know will work for me and the others (.) you know as long as my intentions are good and (.) uh (.) everyone is learning in a way where they feel like they can learn all of that (.) I don't know I didn't articulate that super well

T: 0 No I think that is 0

S: I don't want to go on about other things that are I'm not sure if I agree with them or not because I just feel like (.) It wouldn't make me sound like the best person and I'm not bold enough to go forward with it (.) but (.) that's definitely something that's been challenging me

H: Do yo::u↑ (.) do you feel like that's a thing that (.) you come up against a lot in the classes↑ in general↑ like (.) not wanting to say something (.) or articulate something because you might feel like you would be (.) kind of like bashed fo::r↑

S: Yea::h if I want to be frank (.) um (.) yeah the PC factor because I faced that a lot in undergrad (.) it's not so bad here because I'm far more liberal now than I was in the past but (.) um (.) it's just even the idea of um (.) I don't know (.) with um (.) ((sigh)) just the idea of I guess I could go on (.) ((sigh)) (.) like you know the idea of a standard version of a language and then calling the others (.) I mean ((sigh)) I we're trying to get rid of the word standard right that's what it seems like these readings are saying (.) we should do but then (.) it just seems like we::ll I'm not saying standard should mean like you know (.) people who speak this are smarter or inherently better than others who speak (.) dialects or different versions or who are second-language learners but (.) I mean how else do we really organize languages and what they are you know it can't be like a hodgepodge either (.) So (.) I don't think that wanting to call something standard (.) means that like you're like a bigot or something so I just think (.) it's good to learn another perspective but what we need to do in my opinion instead of just like learning this information is think (.) is be encouraged to think about how we would apply this to like (.) what we can do in practice and I don't think we've talked about that at all

H: uh huh

S: I don't [think we've even been encouraged to]

L: [yeah I feel like] (.) It's kind of more like these are the ideas figure it out yourself kind of thing

S: Well we're not even told to figure it out ourselves (.) I feel like we are just supposed to kind of ((laughing tone)) <u>believe everything we read</u> [and incorporate that into our discussions]

L: [Well it seemed like they were] like especially with that debate thing that we had last quarter that

H: Hehe

L: We're kind of encouraged to have our own (.) critique or to analyze things our own way but at the same time I still feel like (.) there's one view that is better than (.) others (.)

In Excerpt 4R, I ask my participants to speak about the "negotiation" between their past experiences and beliefs and the ideas they have been learning in their program. In introducing this topic to my participants, the institutional expectations of interviews as well as my own word choice make certain responses more likely than others (Briggs, 2007b). By asking specifically about concepts that might conflict with prior beliefs and experiences and then suggesting that such conflicts are resolved through

negotiation by either finding a way to "move forward" with the new concept or by "fall[ing] back" on one's own "more valuable" experience (lines 12-14) I suggest that I am looking for accounts where my participants' own beliefs have come into conflict with the CSU MATESOL program KPDs. Despite this invitation, however, Sync begins her response full of hedges and other markers, like "to be honest," that can function to prepare an audience for a "dispreferred response" (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006, p. 347).[101] This "dispreferred response" preparation is immediately amplified when Sync states that she feels the need to be "a bit bold to answer" (lines 16-17) and when she observes that she "might be the only person" who does not immediately agree with the course readings (lines 21-23). The hedges in this oblique opening continue, as rather than say that she disagrees with what she has read, Sync says "I'm not really sure that I agree with everything that I have read." She assures her listeners, whom her earlier remarks have positioned as likely agreeing with what they've read, that she "like[s] the idea" (line 24) but she questions the practicality of these ideas (lines 24-25) and makes a clear separation between what she has read and "reality" (line 24).

After this tentative and general introduction, Sync suggests that we not "hammer" certain philosophies on everyone "as if you don't do them you inherently have a bad heart as a teacher" (lines 28-29), implying that something similar to this has been taking place in the CSU MATESOL program. This is the same response to a perceived moral threat that Kevin and Liz were responding to in Excerpts 4F and 4H and is reiterated later in this same excerpt when Sync states that she doesn't think that "wanting to call something standard means that like you're like a bigot" (lines 73-75). After first stating the moral threat (e.g., having a bad heart), Sync offers a specific account of her response to the new terminology intended to replace the use of "native" and "non-native," briefly using the same stylized voice that she used to state that there is "no correct way" to speak English" in Excerpt 4Q. This stylization again is deployed by Sync to nuance her narration, drawing attention to her ambivalent response to the new terminology. Sync begins and abruptly ends a hypothetical dialogue, posing the question: "so if I don't

[101] As discussed in Chapter 2, the social and institutional context of a conversation create a "ranking of alternatives" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 53), and analysis of the form of a speaker's response (e.g., directness/indirectness) can point to whether such a response is socially or institutionally "preferred" or "dispreferred" since each form of response is "routinely performed in distinctive ways" (p. 53).

call these people now like center and periphery speakers am I like some (.)" (lines 35-37), using an incomplete rhetorical question to again index the threat to her moral standing, this time referring to herself directly but leaving it to her listeners to fill in the blank, inviting them to participate in this construction of the CSU program's potential moral censure.

Having already supplied several characterizations. Sync next begins to defend her position, arguing that it isn't harmful to not believe everything you read right away (39-41) nor is it harmful to think "on your own" (lines 41-42), and that as long as intentions are good (lines 45-46) she shouldn't "necessarily have to do every single thing in this exact way" (lines 43-44). Sync again anticipates that her response might not be well-received, stating that she didn't "articulate that super well" (line 48). All of these defensive remarks and hedged stances help Sync deliver her critical assessment of certain aspects of the CSU MATESOL program more palatably to a potentially disagreeing audience. Sync's cautious approach during her long turns in Excerpt 4R indicates the social difficulty involved in introducing an idea that one thinks might run counter to the group's preferences in an interview like this and it stands in stark contrast to the ease and social bonding that have occurred elsewhere in my data when the speaker was more certain of the group's shared attitudes (See, for example, the list of such moments offered in the opening paragraph of this chapter).

In line 49 of Excerpt 4R, I begin to offer reassurance to Sync, but I pause mid-sentence and she speaks again, stating that she doesn't want to continue because of the potential threat to her moral character ("it wouldn't make me sound like the best person," lines 51-52). Huck takes over the traditional role of the interviewer in line 55, asking a probing question about whether or not Sync self-censors in class over the fear that she might be "bashed" for her views. After Huck's probing, Sync agrees with Huck's assessment (that she does self-censor), calling this the "PC factor," and acknowledges that she went through something similar but more extreme during her undergraduate experience (lines 59-61). In her second interview with me, Sync talked about her conservative upbringing and how political differences at her college led to her questioning and changing many of her political beliefs. In her response to my identity solicitation form (collected on 3-26-19), Sync responded that she has become more liberal over time, but that her recent experiences have made her question some of her beliefs and

that she is more interested in thinking for herself. Throughout the study, Sync emphasized a desire to think for herself and to avoid what she elsewhere characterized as “group-think.”

After three deep sighs (lines 62-65) which likely indicate the emotional effort required in making these potentially character-threatening revelations, Sync makes the case for the practicality of standards in language teaching, arguing that she isn’t trying to place varieties in a hierarchy (lines 67-71), but asking rhetorically, “how else do we really organize languages and what they are,” noting that “it can’t be a hodgepodge either,” lines 71-73. This is precisely the same confusion that Kevin iterated a few months earlier during the 501 class-session dedicated to Native Speakerism (11-28-17).[102] Sync has constructed with this narrative a scenario where she is being asked to discard standards because of their discriminatory tendencies, an egalitarian motive of which she is in favor, but yet, she argues, she has been offered no tools to replace these standards and fears that without them language instruction will descend into a chaotic “hodgepodge.” She concludes this narrative with the suggestion that the CSU MATESOL students should be encouraged to think about how to apply the things they are learning and how they can put such theory into practice, as she doesn’t think that these things have been talked about “at all” (lines 76-79).

This same frustration regarding the difficulties in the practical application of the theories from the CSU MATESOL program was still present in our conversations 14 months later, during our final dinner discussion (4-20-2019). I asked my participants to name the things that they felt were the most important to the CSU MATESOL Program. After nearly a minute of silence, Kevin said that “the program here seems especially concerned with combating or overcoming the colonial roots of language teaching,” Sync responded that that was the “big thing,” and Liz quipped that “it sort of feels like the only thing.” Kevin then added the question: “What are you telling them that they could be telling you?,” which Liz then characterized as “the student-centered bit.” I then asked a follow-up question about how well they felt prepared to address these issues in their classes and Chiara begins the discussion by explaining how it is difficult to apply what they’ve learned:

[102] See Excerpt 4G “What do we use? I feel like we need some yardsticks, some type of measure to judge competency” -Kevin

Excerpt 4S

T=TJ K=Kevin H=Huck M=Maggie C=Chiara S=Sync L=Liz

T: S::o (.) then my (.) follow up questions to that would be like (.) so thinking of those (.) issues that were hit by the program (.) um (.) combating the legacies of (.) colonialism in teaching English (.) looking at the students and (.) never teaching teaching them what they (.) could be teaching us (.) is that a good paraphrase↑ (.) it's a paraphrase
K: oon[103]
H: haha
T: um (.) so then my question would be like (.) for those of you who have been teaching (.) or (.) if you are not teaching right now (.) what you imagine you might do with regard to those issues (.) has anything specific come up in your classes↑ that you have done to address↑ those things or (.) um (.) could you speak to how you might be planning on addressing (.) those things in the future↑ (.) or (.) if you fear you cannot (.) um (.) why might (.) why do you have that fear or why do you (.) worry (.) or why do you feel like you might not be addressing those things(.) does that make sense↑
H: uh uh
M: mm mm

(26 second pause)

C: For the (.) for the (.) very short time that I was you know doing the TA-ship which was practically two days (.) not very much (.) but uh what I saw is that all (.) that we have been (.) we have been learning it is hard to apply it (.) when most of the students are coming from a (.) privileged background (.) and so I guess that (.) if we were to work (.) um (.) with an (.) immigrant center (.) center with you know with people that are coming from countries that (.) have had issues and (.) or refugee center (.) then (.) then yes I think that all we have learned (.) has given us ideas and (.) it has brought the attention (.) to how much the teaching of English is (.) involved in (.) perpetuating these inequalities right (.) **how**↑ (.) how↑ I (.) I (.) could make a difference↑ (.) um (.) that is hard (.) that is hard
K: I think that is a really good point that Chiara raises (.) um (.) I (.) had a student last quarter who told me (.) his father bought a (.) an investor visa (.) which is like half a million dollars or six hundred thousand or something like that (.) it is a huge amount of money (.) and his dad in in China (.) he is Chinese (.) his dad in in China just bought (.) bought a visa (.) or bought a green card [basically]
H: [hm]
C: [yeah]
K: for his son (.) and (.) um (.) like I see (.) I see my students out and about and many they're driving like **really** expensive cars so

[103] This is an informal "yes" in Korean

I think the privilege thing is really important (.) like this kid with the investor visa (.) he's fine (.) honestly I don't think I have to worry about marginalizing him (.) he's gonna be fine (.) he's gonna move back to China (.) and be an executive (.) and he's gonna have (.) everything he needs (.) you know (.) and (.) so (.) while the point is well taken (.) and it definitely applies to some (.) many of our students (.) they're the the people who (.) can afford to come here to learn English (.) are a different set (.) they are a **different** community than the ones (.) um (.) I think there's (.) several disconnects between (.) what we've learned

C: hmmm

K: and the practice (.) of teaching

C: Yeah it would be nice to (.) also you know the practicum maybe do it (.) in order to practice what we are learning (.) mm (.) perhaps target (.) other populations (.) who by the way may be need more in need (.)

K: °but they don't give money to the university°

H: What's that?

All: hahahah

K: But they don't give money to the university

H: [uhhhh heh]

C: [hahaha]

K: those populations

C: but um yeah well well you know (.) then it is a hypocrisy (…) there is some (.) hypocrisy there but then (.) uh (.) so yeah I think that you know if when I go to Canada I definitely want to (.) give some time (.) to a refugee center or something like that so that I Can (.)

K: hmm

C: so that I can also help someone but in the classroom I could see that there were (.) well there were students that they would say I am going to change the whole (.) medical system (.) and they were from Saudi Arabia (.) ((laughing tone)) <u>haha what a (.) um a (.) the word escapes (.) a (.) optimism (.) in Saudi Arabia (.) I mean unless he is connected to the (.) uh (.) royal family</u> (.) right (.) but otherwise (.) I doubt (.) that they can do anything (.) as things stand right now (.) so

(ten second pause)

L: It seems like it would depend a lot on the school too (.) some schools (.) they might be more lenient to let you do (.) things your own way but then others will expect you to follow their (.) philosophy and (.) their practices (.) so as teachers I don't feel like we have as much (.) freedom to (.) practice what we have been taught as administration (.) might

(12 second pause)

L: Well I definitely did try to practice it (.) in my classes (.) it was just really hard

T: Is there a moment that stands (.) out as like one thing that you remember↑

L: Well like (.) when I was teaching grammar I felt like (.) being really strict about it didn't (.) make a whole lot of sense (.) since I

knew a lot of them aren't going to be staying here they're gonna
go back home and use English with other people who speak it as
a second language (.) so I wasn't (.) I didn't want to be as strict
about it (.) when if I can understand someone (.) I think that is
okay but (.) there are expectations that they have to pass certain
tests like the TOEFL and the one student kept asking me (.) well
is this going to be on the TOEFL (.) and so (.) like even if (.) the
grammar form is completely useless and it doesn't really help
them speak to people (.) it is still on the test (.) that's what
they're gonna (.) look for (…) I still didn't really teach it to them
C: hahaha
L: I mean I sort of did but I was like okay you can use this this is the
more formal way you might see it on the TOEFL (.) but I didn't
grade them on it (.) so I guess I still sort of (.) stuck to my guns
(.) this isn't a TOEFL class this is an ((laughing tone)) <u>English
class</u>

Again, as is the case for all interviews, the genre of the interview and the questions I asked make certain responses more likely, given that, again following scholars like Block (2000), Briggs (2007a), and Talmy (2010), I view interview responses as participants' performance in a given social context rather than as a transparent view into their beliefs and cognition. In the case of Excerpt 4S, I ask a question which actively supports responses that discuss difficulties in achieving the goals of the CSU MATESOL program (e.g., "Why do you have that fear or why do you worry or why do you feel like you might not be addressing [the goals of the program]?" Lines 15-17). While I also ask about how my participants have addressed the goals of the program (here constructed as combating the legacies of colonialism in teaching English and as avoiding telling students what they could be telling us[104]), this meeting comes after sessions (e.g., Dinner Discussion 5, Snack Discussion 3) where my participants have spoken at length about the problems they have had in applying the goals of the CSU MATESOL program, and the trends of these previous discussions very likely influenced the conversation in Excerpt 4S.

In the opening of her response to my question, Chiara adds to the narrative developed over previous meetings (see Excerpt 4N), where "most of the students" in the CSU IEP are viewed as "coming from a privileged background" and thus it is "hard to apply" the learning from the CSU MATESOL program (Lines 24-25). Chiara frames what she has learned as being most useful for immigrant or refugee populations (lines 26-30). Kevin amplifies Chiara's point (line 34) and shares a small story wherein a

[104] In the moment of our conversation, I replace "telling us" with "teaching us" (Excerpt 4S, lines 4-5).

student's father purchases an investor visa for his son for "half a million dollars or six hundred thousand or something like that" (lines 35-37). Kevin then re-narrates the story of students driving expensive cars for the same interactive function that was achieved by my story in Excerpt 4N. In other words, the conspicuous wealth of some students serves as support for the idea that these students are extremely privileged and not generally in need of the anti-colonial, transformative education that CSU MATESOL students are educated into teaching. Kevin makes this explicit in lines 46-47 when he comments that "I don't think I have to worry about marginalizing him (.) he's gonna be fine." Kevin acknowledges that not all the students in the CSU IEP are so wealthy and privileged (lines 50-51), though he maintains that the community of students at the CSU IEP are "a different set" and implies that there are "several disconnects" between this community and the way his cohort has been educated (lines 51-54).

Chiara again takes the floor in line 57, to suggest that working with different populations who "may be more in need" would afford CSU MATESOL students more opportunity to practice what they are learning (lines 57-60). Given the characterization of IEP's offered by Friedenberg (2002) and Chun (2009), as well as the descriptions of the CSU IEP offered by my participants, it does seem likely that the institutional structure of the CSU IEP may make the social justice commitments of the CSU MATESOL program more difficult to put into practice (See Chapter 5 for additional discussion on this point). Kevin responds quietly to Chiara in line 61, and then again, at Huck's prompting, more loudly in line 64, commenting that groups that are more in need "do not give money to the university." The construction of a university primarily concerned with profit was a regular topic of our discussion over the course of this study, and this sentiment was abetted during the course of my research by two separate labor disputes, both of which affected my participants directly, one between the university and graduate teaching assistants and another between the university and the unionized teachers of the IEP. My participants' own economic precarity, with their second-year teaching assistantships in doubt and the peripheral cost of living near CSU increasing significantly year-to-year, likely contributed to their recurring focus on the perceived economic privilege of some of their students.

Chiara, spurred by Kevin's comments in lines 61 and 64, observes that "there is some hypocrisy" (lines 68-69) in this state of affairs, with the university treating English as a commodity for sale rather than as a tool for improving social equity, in spite of the social justice discourse of the CSU MATESOL

program. Chiara, given that English was not her first language, may have been particularly sensitive to differences between the theoretical ideals taught by the CSU MATESOL program and the institutional circumstances in which she found herself. At a local conference held during the second year of this study (2-22-19), Chiara gave a presentation (along with me and another research participant) about the for-profit company contracted by CSU to administer the high-stakes language tests, which, as Chiara explained in her talk, are explicitly intended to measure the test-takers against a putative "native" standard. In Chiara's account of her experiences with this test (which determines whether or not a student may be given a teaching assistantship and secure important professional experience as well as tens of thousands of dollars in tuition waivers and teaching salary), the circumstances of this exam are in direct contradiction with the CSU MATESOL program's KPDs of Nativeness and Neoliberalism, yet "non-native"[105] MATESOL students who are otherwise unconditionally enrolled at CSU are routinely subjected to it if they wish to gain access to the further teaching experience and funding offered by teaching assistantships.

Chiara, in lines 74-81, re-narrates her story from our fifth dinner discussion (Excerpt 4N), characterizing the students at the IEP as having an abundance, or even overabundance of optimism regarding their agency in making change, again using this perceived sense of enormous agency on the part of the IEP students to indicate their relative privilege and therefore their lower suitability for transformative, social-justice education. Chiara's story, somewhat ironically, also indicates how institutional restrictions can curb the agency of even very wealthy students, with her observation that without royal connections, major changes in Saudi Arabia will likely be difficult. This aspect of Chiara's story may have helped shaped Liz' response to my question about putting theory into practice, as she follows Chiara with her own comments on the institutional restrictions that teachers face (lines 82-87), just as she did during our second dyadic interview (Excerpt 4H), arguing again that the pressures on teachers make aligning their teaching with the CSU MATESOL program values difficult.

[105] At CSU, "Nativeness" was generally determined by citizenship and/or location of one's previous secondary or tertiary education.

In Excerpt 4S, my participants and I again construct the CSU IEP and CSU generally as places where financial interests position ELT as a service for developing the human capital of global elites rather than as a tool for increasing social justice. Excerpt 4S echoes many of the narratives excerpted in this chapter, which similarly construct an understanding where broader circumstances and institutional restrictions make it very difficult for individual teachers to enact the social goals that their degree program has encouraged.

4.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have analyzed a number of salient moments during which my participants and I expressed our confusions and frustrations regarding the CSU MATESOL Program's key discourses around the topics of "Race," "Nativeness," and "Neoliberalism." While overt moments of resistance were relatively rare, there were numerous moments where we expressed uncertainty regarding the implications of these discourses or frustration at the institutional obstacles that appeared to be working against the kinds of pedagogies suggested by the CSU MATESOL Program's key discourses. A significant amount of confusion and frustration appears to have emerged from my participants' construction of the CSU IEP as an institution with a different ideological take on the English language and the goals meant to be achieved through teaching it. Likewise, my participants often appeared to be confused regarding the actual role they were expected to play as a critical pedagogue and how to position their students within a social-justice orientation to English language teaching. These confusions likely contributed to those moments where we position ourselves as "savior" teachers as well as the lack of intersectionality evidenced in our positioning of the CSU IEP students as a homogenous, economically privileged group.

In this chapter (Chapter 4) and the latter part of the previous chapter (Chapter 3), I focused on answering my second research question: How do the CSU MATESOL program students respond to these Key Program Discourses? In Chapter 5, I will build upon the analyses made in Chapters 3 and 4 to answer my third and fourth research questions: What circumstances are relevant to the CSU MATESOL students' adoption of, adaptation of, or resistance to the KPDs? and What pedagogical implications for language teacher education programs are suggested by the key findings from this study? I will offer a summative examination of the ways that my participants and I have constructed understandings of the

institutions in which we work, the ways we have responded affectively to our circumstances as graduate students and teachers, and the ways that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideology have influenced our conception of students, teachers, and the relationship between them. I will further discuss the implications of my participants' narrative constructions and offer suggestions as to how this research might be of use in language teacher education.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In Chapters 3 and 4, I focused on answering my first two research questions: "What are the most salient or "key" social-justice discourses promoted by the CSU MATESOL program?" and "How do the CSU MATESOL program students respond to these Key Program Discourses (KPDs)? I addressed my first research question most directly in the first half of Chapter 3, where I used techniques from the traditions of Discourse Analysis and Narrative Analysis to support my claim that the overlapping discourses of "Race," "Nativeness," and "Neoliberalism" could be considered the key social justice discourses presented to my participants and to examine how these discourses were produced in the CSU MATESOL Program documents, faculty statements, class sessions, and homework assignments. I then addressed my second research question, analyzing representative and noteworthy instances where my participants responded to these three KPDs. I focused on my participants' performances of alignment with the KPDs in the latter half of Chapter 3 and on their performances that represented some manner of misalignment in Chapter 4.

In this final chapter, I first offer brief summaries of the range of identity work performed by my focal participants in relation to the "transformative intellectual" identity described by Freirean scholars like Giroux (1988) and Kumaravadivelu (2003) and promoted by the CSU MATESOL program both directly[106] and indirectly through the many readings and classroom discussions focusing on the need for teachers to actively work for greater equity in TESOL. While I offered some answers in Chapters 3 and 4 to the subordinate research question (2b): "How do the CSU MATESOL students construct their identities in relation to the KPDs in their speech, writing, and teaching?", I offer a more individual-oriented and detailed examination of this question in the first section of Chapter 5.

In the second section of this final chapter, I draw primarily upon the moments analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4 to answer my third and fourth research questions: "What circumstances are relevant to the CSU MATESOL students' adoption of, adaptation of, or resistance to the KPDs?" and "What pedagogical implications for language teacher education programs are suggested by the key findings

[106] See, for example, the discussion of Excerpt 3J in Chapter 3, section 3.1.3, "Classroom Observations"

from this study?" To answer these questions, I note some of the existing strategies of the CSU MATESOL program that contribute to the development of transformative teachers who take up these KPDs and offer suggestions of ways that second language teacher educators might further facilitate the adoption of and practical application of these discourses among their students. In some cases, I cite examples of changes that I and my colleagues have already brought to the CSU MATESOL program as a result of this research. I close Chapter 5 with a discussion of the relevance of my work to Language Teacher Identity (LTI) research in general and highlight some promising avenues for extending this research.

5.1 Summaries of Focal Participants' Identity Work

Over the 18 months of this study, each of my participants performed a variety of identity positions respective to their perceived membership in the identity category of "teacher."[107] Relatively early in their program (January and February of 2018), Instructors A and C introduced my participants to Giroux's (1988) conception of teachers as "transformative intellectuals" through readings from Pennycook (1989) and Kumaravadivelu (2003). As has been seen in the analytical chapters, the CSU MATESOL program discursively constructed an ideal teacher identity as one engaged in the positive transformation of the social lives of students. Yet not only did some of my participants express difficulty envisioning themselves as transformative intellectuals, some of them were ambivalent about categorizing themselves as "teachers," even while working as a teacher. For example, in her first individual interview with me (1-10-18), Sync downplayed her first teaching opportunity through City Year, characterizing herself at that time as "not a real teacher (.) but like a tutor and a mentor." While Kevin did identify as a teacher, having taught for 15 years at the time of our second interview, he noted that it was only for the last few years that he had really officially thought of himself as a teacher, finally able to assert: "that's what I am (.) that's who I am" (5-24-18).

During that same second interview (5-24-18), Kevin compared his process of coming to identify as a teacher with the "coming to consciousness" of the android characters in a science-fiction TV show. According to Kevin, the robotic, humanoid characters in this show "come to consciousness again and again and then they get put back into their {unconscious} state." Kevin uses this analogy to capture the

[107] See Chapter 2, page 89 for a brief description of Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)

sense of the identity-related ambivalence that he felt for years regarding his status as a teacher, as he felt moments of awakening into an identity as a teacher, only to find himself later "reset" back into feeling, like Sync during her work for City Year, that he wasn't a "real" teacher. Kevin's choice of analogy is particularly apt at capturing, through the metaphor of the liminally self-aware and robotic androids, the artificiality and imposter phenomenon that many pre-service teachers feel, particularly so-called "Non-Native" language teachers (Bernat, 2008) or graduate students whose social circumstances may produce the high anxiety that often correlates with the imposter phenomenon (Fraenza, 2016). Kevin would later comment during our sixth Dinner Discussion that he "was having a lot of imposter syndrome" during the first part of the program and added "I think most if not all of us were" (4-20-19).

Chiara, like Kevin and Sync, had already taught in a variety of situations and still showed some hesitancy in claiming the status of "teacher." In our first interview, she began speaking of teachers as a separate group before including herself.[108] Near the end of her degree, she would still construct herself at a bit of a remove from full "teacher" status. For example, during our fifth dinner discussion (12-13-18), she talked about how not having the chance to complete her teaching assistantship in the IEP meant that she would probably need "a bit more volunteering work" before she would be ready to be hired as a full-time teacher.[109]

Liz, despite her status as a relative novice, claimed teacher status on multiple occasions, and neither she nor Huck, who had previously taught English for several years in Spain and in Japan, shared any narratives highlighting their uncertainties over their identities as teachers. However, despite performing less uncertainty over their identities as teachers, both Liz and Huck, like all of my focal participants, expressed the tensions they felt over the role of the transformative intellectual, noting the institutional and interpersonal challenges that this role entailed. The following sub-sections center each of my focal participants in turn, offering a brief, summative look at the diverse identity work that each of them performed relative to their identity as a teacher and as a transformative intellectual.

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[108] (i.e., "what do teachers (.) how can we be critical in a class where students don't have the knowledge of English at the level where we can engage in these discussions" (Chiara, 11-7-17).

[109] As I noted at the foot of page 47, a combination of health issues and, by her account, a lack of institutional support, resulted in Chiara giving up her Teaching Assistantship during the Fall Quarter of 2018. She was not permitted by the CSU IEP to resume teaching during the following Winter Quarter, 2019.

5.1.1 Chiara

Chiara's route to teaching was, according to her description in her first interview (11-7-17) "not constant." She taught for a couple of years at a private school in her home country following her study abroad in the U.K., but after that she noted that "life took [her] to very different places." She talked about really enjoying her first work teaching and said about teaching that "when I could go back I would go back." Chiara was the only one of my focal participants who expressed an awareness of the social justice orientation of the CSU MATESOL program prior to her enrollment. As is seen in Excerpt 5A below, she took particular care to emphasize her interest in the critical aspect of the program, putting emphasis on the word "understood" (line 13) to show the weight she gives to the notion that teaching is not just "passing simple information" (line 14) and talking through my potentially topic-ending interjection (line 11) in order to make this clear.

Excerpt 5A

T=TJ C=Chiara

1. **T:** Yeah (.) and then did you realize (.) so at what point did you
2. realize that this is something that I want to do more long term (.)
3. was it early on in that […]
4. **C:** […] and I thought huh (.) I don't think I am going to do corporate
5. communication really (.) so I came to CSU and I started studying
6. (.) taking classes in English (.) and the class that really sparked
7. (.) and ignited like a little fire was writing and composition 407
8. with {Instructor B} and so (.) and then he recommended {508}
9. with {Instructor A} and then I started with all the critical theories
10. and then I became (.) really (.) very interested
11. **T:** Okay (.) yeah that is helpful (.) [to know]
12. **C:** [in teaching] (.) but also (.) in how
13. we teach (.) and I **understood** that teaching is not just teaching
14. (.) just not passing simple information like how to say 'hello' and
15. 'good morning' all that

Even from this early interview, recorded in the middle of her first term as a CSU MATESOL student, Chiara aligns with the neoliberal KPD, contrasting her earlier studies in "corporate communication" with her subsequent exposure to the critical theories she received in English 407 and English 508 at CSU. Through this narrative, Chiara not only makes a distinction between corporate communication and the goals of the CSU MATESOL program, but establishes, through the metaphor of a little fire igniting (line 7), her passion for precisely that social justice orientation which she later explicitly

cites as a catalyst for her interest in teaching (lines 10-12). Thus, in this first interview, Chiara has presented herself as someone who has relatively recently come to see a previously missed truth about language teaching. This "seeing-the-light" narrative was expressed by several of my participants and was, indeed, encouraged by the CSU MATESOL program's autobiographical reflection assignment structure over the early core classes and teaching practicums, particularly in English 501, where student-teachers were encouraged to re-evaluate their language-learning experiences in light of the critical readings they had done for class.[110]

In my early observations and interviews, Chiara regularly indexed both her passion for and her relative inexperience in critical approaches to ELT on several occasions. See for example, another moment from her first interview (11-7-17) excerpted in Chapter 3 where she recognizes that the term "native" is problematic, but does not immediately settle on a more comfortable alternative (Excerpt 3M) or in the Chapter 3 discussion of Excerpt 3O where she talks of the discourses of her childhood education as "lies that have been going on for centuries" but then poses the question: "how do we break that"? (Classroom Observation, 11-30-17).

During our second dinner discussion (3-10-18), a few months after I began interviewing and observing my participants, Chiara discusses the "not very pleasant" experience she went through as someone labeled "non-native" by the university (See the Chapter 3 discussion prior to Excerpt 3L) and later still, during our final dinner discussion (4-20-2019) more assertively describes the potential "hypocrisy" of Cascade State University in putting profit before anti-colonial practice (See Chapter 4, Excerpt 4S). During this final dinner discussion, Chiara reaffirms her interest in combating social inequalities, and notes that the CSU MATESOL program has done well in bringing attention to inequities of ELT, but when it comes to making a practical difference in her classroom, she notes that it is "hard to

[110] For example, during my second dyadic interview with Huck (5-8-18) he described the CSU MATESOL Program's language teaching and language learning autobiography assignments as a way to check to see that students have digested the social justice implications of their readings, observing that students were asked to "revise yourself with your new light" (See Excerpt 3U, lines 11-12) and my other participants do indeed exhibit a kind of self-revising language in these assignments (e.g., "Before I knew the term 'native speaker,' my goal had always been to speak like a native speaker. I never realized the futility of such a pursuit" - Liz, Language Learning Autobiography; "Being in the MATESOL program at Cascade State University has once again caused me to question my ideas about teaching and teaching methods" (Kevin, Language Teaching Autobiography).

apply" what she has learned (Excerpt 4S), particularly given what we have collectively constructed as the relative economic privilege of the CSU IEP students (See Excerpts 4N and 4S).

Chiara, like Liz, acknowledged the additional responsibility that a critical perspective placed on teachers[111] and like several of my focal participants, found it easier to criticize the practical education of the CSU MATESOL program as time went on.[112] While the arc of her narrative constructions is by no means constant or mono-directional, it would be fair to say that she, like her classmates, initially expressed satisfaction with the social justice aspects of her coursework, but increasingly gave voice to her perceived inability to make a difference as a transformative intellectual. She also expressed, during our fifth Dinner Discussion, that her struggles during the TA-ship orientation went unnoticed and unsupported and talked about how, because of interrelated health issues and lack of support, she ended up dropping the TA ship for Fall quarter (and was removed from consideration for teaching during subsequent quarters). She was still committed to teaching and being a language teacher but felt like she would have to do more volunteer work since she did not have the experience of teaching in the CSU IEP beyond the first two weeks of Fall quarter, 2018.

5.1.2 Huck

Huck expressed alignment with the KPDs and with the "transformative intellectual" identity throughout this research. As we saw in Chapter 3 (Excerpt 3V), Huck shared a story during our second one-on-one interview (5-8-18) about how reading Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* ensured that his understandings of how race, nationality, gender, and other power dynamics impact English language teaching were "primed and ready to go" (line 38) since he was in the 8th grade. He brought Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* to that interview and said that he was reading it for English 407, but that he "had [it] at home anyway" and was going to read it independent of any classroom assignments. In

[111] During our first interview, Chiara cites critical essays (Pennycook (1990) and Kubota (2003) she had read for class that day after noting that "today the responsibilities of English teachers are quite high" (11-7-17)

[112] Kevin commented on this trend during our sixth and final Dinner Discussion (4-20-19): **Kevin**: Yeah yeah and I was just like oh I'm so happy I'm blessed and everything but then yeah the last couple of quarters (.) this thing is wrong and this thing is fucked up (.) here's a problem (.) you know so it's just really interesting the growth I guess or journey that I've gone on yeah (.) but that first dinner I remember because I was having a lot of imposter syndrome I think most if not all of us were (.) and it was the first time we talked about it and realized oh we're all going through the same thing you know and that was really good yeah should be there should be a requirement and that's what practical course is for but it's just (.) **Liz**: It's too far off **Kevin**: It's so artificial too.

such manner, Huck presented his adoption of the transformative intellectual teacher identity as pre-dating his education in the MATESOL program.

Huck regularly had specific examples from his own teaching to draw on in order to explain how even the more challenging aspects of being a transformative intellectual were realizable in a variety of classes. During my observation of his practicum seminar (2-9-18),[113] Huck acknowledged the difficulties of being a transformative intellectual, but used an example from his own experience teaching young children in Japan to make the point that if you do not address the racism, sexism, and "all the things that are 'hot-button,'" that happen during class, then "you're failing the kids."

Huck consistently presented himself as a passionate and compassionate teacher, and his comments regularly evoke a disdainful attitude toward perfunctory or purely instrumental teaching. A prime example of this is his description during our second one-on-one interview (5-8-18) of teaching a mute student while working at an *eikaiwa* (a for-profit English language school) in Japan.[114] Huck describes the appearance of this student causing a rupture in all the "parade and pomp and circumstance" of the *eikaiwa*, and he makes a clear distinction between the interests of the institution ("getting this woman to come back with her kid") and his own interests ("I am here for this mother and child and I am not here to teach him fucking English"). In this manner, Huck dismisses the transactional, business-like approach to teaching in favor of a more personal approach.

Huck presented himself as someone with simple, humane goals. However, as we saw in Excerpt 4K, he indexed the neoliberal reduction of people to their financial production as a threat to these goals through his expressed desire to avoid being destroyed by long working hours, long commutes, and the inability to see people he loved outside of work. As we saw in Excerpt 4L (e.g., "tenure is not even gonna

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[113] This practicum seminar is a once weekly meeting with a MATESOL faculty member (in this case, Instructor C) where my participants would discuss the issues arising in the CSU IEP class they were observing and occasionally teaching in.

[114] "But with that student it just like… Immediately all the parade and the pomp and circumstance that was happening just like that. It is like *aside*. Like fuck it, in so many ways, and it kind of like, no matter what like the staff priority is like getting this woman to come back with their kid. Immediately the new priority was-- I am here for this mother and this child and I'm not here to teach him fucking English, you know kind of thing. If there's anything about teaching in these moments it's not about that. It's, there's something else going on here and now I certainly don't want them to feel forced to come here, kind of feeling, but if they are going to be here we are doing something other than just teaching English and there's so much to say about that I can't say right now (Huck Second Interview 5-8-18)

be in the picture," Line 11) he noted the increasing precarity of the teaching profession, yet despite regularly expressing what might be considered pessimistic views towards the prospect of earning a living through teaching, he never indicated that he was considering leaving the profession. Indeed, Huck stated in his interviews that he had already shifted the topic of his teaching from music to language due to health reasons and the location of his teaching due to "money, social, and time" reasons (First dyadic interview, 11-20-17). Each time, rather than abandoning teaching, Huck said that he "needed to approach a different angle" to continue teaching (11-20-17).

Early in this research, Huck compared himself and his teaching situation in his practicum to a "puppy with a restraining collar" (First Dinner Discussion, 2-16-18), highlighting the fun and excitement he felt to be back in the classroom, but recognizing the limitations of his situation. He would again refer to himself as "puppy dog excited" when speaking about his learning of the social justice orientation of the CSU MATESOL program (Second one-on-one interview, 5-8-18). Interestingly, a similar metaphor was used by my other participants during our third group discussion (4-14-18) to discuss the eager "puppy-dog" undergraduates in their English 407 classroom[115] and then, months later during our first "Snack Discussion," (5-22-18) Huck went out of his way to, in his words, put "on tape" his disagreement with the other participants' criticism of an undergraduate student who was "really very engaged in class" who was "attacked for being very engaged."

When presented with the chance to reflect on his own language learning and language teaching experiences, Huck felt that he was being asked to go back and write about how he'd "learned all these things" and to "revise [him]self with [his] new life" and although he acknowledged that "for some people it might be the thing that is really good at that moment for them," for Huck it "felt really disingenuous." (See Excerpt 3U, 5-8-18). So, Huck wrote a letter in lieu of the regular assignment and addressed it to Instructor A so that he could better "honor the feeling" of the assignment, to be "sincere" and "also

[115] **Kevin:** And excuse me there's these like these puppy dog undergraduates who want to answer all his {Instructor B's} questions (.) like on one level the undergrads are cute (.) they have so much enthusiasm (.) ((in a high pitched voice)) oh teacher **ALL**: hahaha **Liz:** There's that one girl who sits at the front who's very loud **Sync:** The blonde haired girl↑ **Liz:** with black hair **Kevin**: Oh God the Teach for America girl **Sync:** Oh God don't get me started on Teach for America (Focus Group 3, 4-14-18)

cooperate" (See Excerpt 3U, 5-18-21), despite the fact that he had not had the "revision" experience that he argued was implied by the language learning and teaching autobiography assignments.

In sum, Huck presented himself as a confident, experienced language teacher who was eager to practice socially just English language teaching as a transformative intellectual, but who was also "leashed" to some extent by the institutional and interpersonal circumstances of his teaching practicum and threatened generally by the neoliberal trends in language education. His prior commitments to social justice and decolonization made some aspects of the program feel redundant and possibly contributed to the distance that he occasionally mentioned feeling between himself and his differently prepared peers.

5.1.3 Kevin

Kevin was very open about his struggles as both a teacher and as a student and frequently adopted a self-deprecating approach when reflecting on his academic abilities. During our initial interview (2-8-18), he talked about struggling in a previous distance-learning master's program that he had taken while teaching English full-time in Korea, and about how he only felt that he was really a teacher for the last 4 years (of the 15 he had been teaching at that point). A week later, during our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), Kevin discussed feeling out of his depth, learning about "post-theory and post-method" before learning the "basics," noting that he wasn't sure that he could be critical about teaching because he was "just trying to keep up." Forty minutes later, immediately following several conversational turns led by Sync and Liz (see Excerpt 4R) discussing the difficulty of applying (and debating the necessity of) critical pedagogy in a practical classroom, Kevin explained further:

> "there is a part of me (.) not 100% (.) but there is a part of me that is thinking just (…) get through this to get (.) the degree and then then when I'm practicing (.) I can you know form my own ideas ((Huck: Yeah)) ((Sync: Yes haha)) (.) but again it doesn't mean I disagree or anything but that I feel sometimes that well okay (…) I just got to go with this to get through the program."
> (Kevin, First Dinner Discussion, 2-16-18)

Early in this research, Kevin regularly constructed himself as someone who was struggling with his coursework and had been through many previous struggles in the classroom. Kevin's struggles over his then 15 years of language teaching and learning experience were also a source of strength, however,

and he drew on them to make connections with his course readings and assignments.[116] The few moments were Kevin expressed comments that were not in alignment with the KPDs were generally moments where he expressed confusion or frustration, rather than a critical disagreement,[117] or moments where he extends his self-deprecation to the KPDs, claiming them while simultaneously recognizing an outsider, pejorative view (e.g., his double-voiced characterization of "our foo foo social stuff," Excerpt 4E).

Early on, Kevin noted the way the CSU program had already made a positive impact on his own teaching experiences and his identity as a teacher,[118] but near the end of his degree, he also expressed doubts about the long-term impacts the program would have on his teaching, stating that his lesson planning will probably revert back to a rushed filling of space[119] and that the intellectual curiosity that his coursework had awakened will probably ebb.[120] In our fifth dinner discussion (12-13-18), he observed that "in the day-to-day practice of teaching I really don't see that much difference and I'm a little sad (.) I was hoping I would see more of a difference." It would be fair to say, in summation, that Kevin expressed a number of uncertainties over the long-term transformative impact he would have in the future as a language teacher, but he presented himself as someone increasingly certain about his continued identity as a language teacher.

5.1.4 Liz

Unlike Huck and Kevin, Liz was just starting out on her teaching career, although like Chiara she still had had some teaching experience prior to her enrollment at CSU. During her initial interview with

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[116] **Kevin:** "But anyway just [Instructor A] had us do these language-learning autobiographies and that was so genius actually because then at least in the first half of the quarter (.) everything we read about I could connect it back to that autobiography because it brought all those ideas to the front of my mind (First Dinner Discussion, 2-16-18)

[117] See, for example, Excerpt 4F where Kevin is frustrated over the realization that "nativeness" can be a harmful concept and confused as to what standard should replace it, or Excerpt 4Q where he is frustrated over being told to "forget" the theory he has learned.

[118] **Kevin:** "So I had this moment that I was thinking about my students' successes and failures and that the failures are as instructive as the successes (.) and thinking about my own failures and successes (.) both as a student and as a language learner and as a teacher (.) and okay it's like the same for me it's all good (...) And I had this really hip hippy dippy [**All**: hahaha] really out there astral tripping moment, it's all good haha [**All:** Haha] it really was like that as cheesy as that sounds, oh man it's all good, it all counts [**All:** hahaha]" (First Dinner Discussion, 2-16-18)

[119] **Kevin**—"So what I do want to say though is even though I have a lot more knowledge and a lot more ideas about what I want to do I suspect that when I am actually planning lessons I'm going to be the same as before. I'm oh my God I need something to fill 20 minutes (Second Dyadic Interview 5-24-18)

[120] **Kevin**--One of the things I like about doing this is that it's kind of woken me up a little bit [**Sync**: Your degree?] **Kevin**: It's kind of woke me up and made me more curious about things [**Sync**: That's good] **Kevin**: but a year from now I'll be right back (.) you know (Sixth Dinner Discussion, 4-20-19)

me, she said that she had taught for different lengths of time in various places for about a year total, including several months teaching English abroad at a Japanese conversation school or *eikaiwa*. Despite describing herself as having "little experience or proficiency" in teaching, Liz did not express the ambivalence over claiming the identity of "teacher" for herself that some of her classmates did. In fact, she spoke at length, both in group discussions and in our second interview, as a teacher defending her profession against a moment of "teacher blaming" that she described as emerging from the reading in her English 407 class (5-8-18)[121] and against what she described as the unfair expectations put on teachers to teach critically in institutional environments that militate against such teaching, arguing, "it's not our responsibility" to fight the system, but that the system should try "to incorporate those things" (see Excerpt 4I, lines 21-23.)

Liz came into the CSU MATESOL program interested in linguistics and pronunciation and, perhaps in part because of this, was particularly focused on the KPD of "Nativeness." Liz's focus likely contributed to her regular expressions of alignment with the CSU MATESOL program's discourse around "nativeness," such as when she takes issue with the unproblematized use of the phrase "native speaker" in her Syntax course and argues that this phrase is, in an intersection with the "Race" KPD, "really racist" (Excerpt 3L, line 49). However, Liz's focus on "Nativeness" also likely contributed to moments of discursive misalignment, such as when she expressed discomfort, in sympathy with Sync, with the way that the CSU program discouraged putting an emphasis on pronunciation in an English language class (First Dinner Discussion, 2-16-18).

In the Statement of Teaching Philosophy assigned as homework for her teaching practicum during Spring Quarter, 2018, Liz seems to have found a way to reconcile her interest in pronunciation with the KPD of nativeness, writing:

> My approach to accuracy carries over to how I provide feedback. When I give feedback, I try to get at the root of the student's intent while maintaining the nuances of their speech. I don't try to

[121] **Liz**-"It [Linda Brodkey's "On the Subjects of Class and Gender in 'The Literacy Letters'"] was very critical of the teachers and I felt like the way my teacher was talking about it I felt he was putting too much of the onus on the teachers and sort of like I don't think that's what he intended but just from what he was saying it was kind of, blaming the teachers for not (.) for reinforcing the discourse of power […] it just seems like teacher blaming to me and as a teacher I don't like that.

> change the student's turns of phrase to sound more like the so-called native speaker. If I find something confusing, I ask the student what they meant by the sentence in question and I negotiate with them a revised sentence so the student has input in the revision. For oral feedback, I tend to not give corrections as long as I can understand. I find being constantly corrected discouraging. It signals to the student they should never talk because they will say something wrong. I want to encourage fluency by letting students speak without disruption.

It is, of course, likely that my participants, when writing formal assignments like this Statement of Teaching Philosophy from Liz, felt more pressure to perform in alignment with the KPDs than they might have felt in a more casual conversation in the absence of their instructors (See Liz's comments to this effect in Excerpt 4R (lines 90-92), and in the extended passage from the same conversation in the footnote below[122]). However, Liz, in alignment with the broad understanding of the Nativeness KPD that most language learners are not best served with by the exclusive targeting of "native" linguistic forms, did also speak in casual moments about her interest in emphasizing "fluency" and "understanding," as opposed to "just accuracy."[123] She also performed her consciousness of the colonizing impact of English language teaching, declaring that she would prefer not to make her career teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL), since she fears that she "would be contributing to English imperialism by teaching in another country" (Liz, Language Learning Autobiography, 10-3-17). I also noticed during my observations of her teaching that Liz made space in her classrooms to recognize that the language practices she was promoting were culturally situated. In brief, Liz adopted many aspects of the transformative intellectual persona championed by the CSU MATESOL program, but was occasionally uncertain of what was being asked of her regarding in-class practice and was repeatedly insistent on the need for institutional and administrative support in enacting more critical pedagogy.

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[122] **Liz-** And maybe [our in-class teaching demonstration] was like, maybe we made it more focused on the social justice aspect than I would have if she hadn't been our teacher. Because I kind of wanted to give people a little more practical information about pronunciation but we focused a lot on the social justice aspect which I think is still important But (.) [**Sync**-It's as if teaching pronunciation like this is bad because we're making them feel like that] **Liz**-Yeah, I know I felt that way (…)

[123] **Liz** -Because I'm trying to challenge the time I give them a little more fluency practice instead of just accuracy because I was trying to accommodate the students who felt like they weren't being challenged enough (Dinner Discussion 3, 4-14-18)

5.1.5 Sync

Sync began the CSU MATESOL program having already taught for several years in Americorps and in the Peace Corps. Just a few weeks before completing the program, she wrote in her response to my solicitation of identity characteristics that other people would likely assume that she is a proficient language teacher, but she did not feel confident in her proficiency. She stated quite explicitly, “I think I have been pretty bad at my past profession myself” (3-19-19). Throughout the course of this study, Sync expressed, as Kevin did when discussing his early teaching, a discomfort with and uncertainty about her abilities as a teacher. Sync’s uncertainties extended to the teaching of the KPDs in the CSU MATESOL program, and although Sync often showed her solidarity with the group in championing social justice causes in English language teaching, she also spoke the most candidly about her reservations regarding the project of becoming a transformative intellectual and the manner in which this identity was presented to her and her peers. This was evident in the moral threat she, during our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), indicated feeling at her recent introduction to the KPD of Nativeness (see Excerpt 4R). These reservations were also present the way she characterized the perspective of the textbook publisher representative, who she notes must have viewed our focus group comments as a “total social justice warrior session” (4-14-18), and in the stylized voice she adopted to convey ambivalence when describing the conflict between her theoretical learning and the institution in which she conducted her teaching practicum (See Excerpt 4Q, 10-5-18).

During our second interview (5-23-18), after I asked her to share what she felt she had in common with other language teachers and what she felt was unique to her, Sync takes a long conversational turn in which she addresses her ambivalence, categorizing herself as a progressive ESL teacher who cares about social justice, but also distinguishing herself as someone who knows “when it is time to cut the crap with the idealism.” She goes on to elaborate:

Excerpt 5B

S=Sync

S: When you interact with people in the world outside of our knowledge realm you know you don’t want to be that person who appears to be out of touch right because if we want to

change the world hahaha (.) I am out of touch I'm just trying to
convince myself I'm not hahaha (.) well if we do really want that
(.) we have to be able to get on the level of the common person
(.) we have to (.) you know (.) there's a reason that we have our
current president (.) there's a reason people would want to get a
beer with Bush you know what I'm saying like it's just […] elitism
and living in a world of idealism and not being able to see that (.)
that is where you are refusing to see it that way (.) in normalizing
the way you see the world it's only going to keep the system
going as it is (.) and you live in your own world (.) I think people
shouldn't be afraid of reaching out to others and talking to them
as if they are human beings that deserve to be treated with
dignity even though they may be wrong

In this excerpt, Sync's narrative aligns with the transformative intellectual notion of positively changing the world (lines 3-4) and the CSU MATESOL program emphasis on inequitable systems (lines 12-13), but also constructs the notion that this transformational impulse can manifest as a rigid idealism that re-entrenches existing hierarchies and reinforces a snobbish, intellectual elitism. This narrative reproduces the Ivory Tower trope discussed later in this chapter and in the uncited portions of this turn, Sync contrasts the practical need to "create the right environment in the classroom" with "meta-level stuff," arguing that we should make "one step at a time." As will be discussed later more thoroughly in the section titled "False Dichotomies," this is an example of the assumption that the theoretical ideals (in this case, "meta-level stuff") inhibit the practical environment of the language classroom. Although Sync does not present an explicit critique of the CSU MATESOL program here or in the uncited portions of this turn, she implies that the instructors, the other members of her cohort, or both are too concerned with ideal language teaching situations and that this, ironically, can set those ideals back.

Sync's argument here touches on a general concern that has long occupied teacher-scholars who wish to make a transformative change in the social circumstances of students: How might efforts to make a positive transformation instead lead to harm for some groups? For example, Ellsworth's (1989) contention that the rationalist and utopian underpinnings of critical discourse can reinforce inequitable power relations, Delpit's (1988) concerns around what she terms the "fallacious" process/skills debate in teaching writing, Kubota's (2016) worry that neoliberalism can co-opt for negative purposes progressive efforts to encourage multilingualism, or Milson-Whyte's (2013) concern that translingualism, in application, may disfavor linguistic minorities whose linguistic practices are valorized without being legitimized. Many

of Sync's reiterated moments of resistance to the CSU KPDs resonate with Matsuda's (2013) comments regarding the "linguistic turn," or efforts to more fairly address linguistic diversity, in college composition:

> What concerns me about the current state of affairs is that the terms and concepts associated with the new linguistic turn have become so valorized that scholars are inhibited from critiquing these ideas lest they appear old fashioned or ideologically suspect. (p. 132)

Both Sync and Liz discussed feeling unable to critique the valorized discourses around the KPDs, despite having uncertainties and questions. As discussed above, Liz felt that she would have been viewed badly in English 407 for defending teachers who chose to teach the "standard discourse" as opposed to students' discourses (see Excerpt 4H). Sync responded affirmatively to Huck's question over whether or not Sync would self-silence in class for fear of being "kind of bashed" (Excerpt 4R, lines 55-58). The emotional labor involved in becoming a transformative intellectual is intense under even the best of circumstances, and Sync's expressions suggest the importance of taking the affective demands of a social justice-oriented MATESOL program even more fully into account (See the section titled, "Emotional Labor and Moral Threat" below).

5.2 Implications for Language Teacher Education

The alignments and misalignments examined in Chapters Three and Four, as well as the related identity work, summarized in the first half of this chapter, that my participants' performed as they grappled with the "key" ideas of their program suggest a number of implications for language teacher education. In the following sub-sections, I pursue the connections between the micro-level, localized performances of my participants and the larger programmatic and social discursive contexts. As was discussed in Chapter 2, while a study such as this is not fully generalizable, the range of responses and performances exhibited by my participants can inform our understanding of the responses and performances that may occur in similar contexts. I have divided the second half of this chapter into five sub-sections, each dedicated to exploring one of several interrelated issues that my analyses suggest may have contributed in some way to the confusions, frustrations, and general moments of misalignment on the part of my participants regarding the Key Program Discourses. These sections treat, respectively, the following potential obstacles: (1) A misleadingly dichotomous view of "reality" and academia and the related dichotomous

perception of the teaching of pragmatic skills and socially just teaching; (2) The additional emotional labor that taking on a critical classroom role implies and the potential moral threat of perceiving oneself as not living up to this critical role; (3) The negotiation between working with a consensus on the need for comprehensive social change and the desire to avoid being seen as "having an agenda" and the concomitant metanarrative that maintains the superiority of a perceived (but not actual) classroom neutrality; (4) The neoliberal structure of the CSU Intensive English Program; and (5) The perception that the CSU IEP students are themselves highly agentive members of a global elite and therefore unnecessary targets for socially transformative teaching.

5.2.1 False Dichotomies

The CSU MATESOL program instructors, their students, and I all reproduced, to some extent, the notion that academic life is markedly distinct from the "real world." Despite the CSU MATESOL Program instructors' arguments to the contrary, their MATESOL students, as seen above and in the previous two chapters, repeatedly extended this dichotomous thinking, creating a sharp division between the "real life" teaching of pragmatic language skills and academic commitments to more socially just language teaching. As we saw with Kevin's oral performances in section 5.1.3 above, there were times when my participants and I constructed critical theory as separate from and more advanced than the "basics" of teaching, something extra if not extraneous, to be done when there is an abundance of time. Kevin observed, on a related note, that he was "a little sad" when he opined that his "day-to-day practice of teaching" had not really changed, despite his degree program studies. Sync's comments following those detailed in Excerpt 5B show a similar concern for getting the "right environment in the classroom" *before* dealing with the "meta stuff," arguing that too much "idealism" can get in the way of an effective language class. Sync gave voice to a powerful hegemonic discourse when she commented in Excerpt 5B on how people in academia run the risk of being "out of touch." I address these "false dichotomies," as I refer to them, in two separate sections, focusing first on the general discourse that puts the "Ivory Tower" in opposition to "reality," and second on the related division between theoretical ideals and practical language skills. I note the persistence of these dichotomizing narratives, which were given regular expression during this research, and conclude that second language teacher educators may benefit from

more thoroughly anticipating the extent to which their students (as well as they themselves) may reproduce these dichotomies. I thus argue that teacher educators may benefit from explicitly and repeatedly demonstrating how such dichotomous distinctions can produce harm in the field of TESOL.

5.2.1.1 The "Real World" vs The "Ivory Tower"

Strong connections can be drawn linking the gap my participants perceived between the discursively promoted practices of the CSU MATESOL program and the actual practices in the CSU IEP to the imagined gap between academia and the "real world," or the well-known "ivory tower" trope (See Shapin, 2012). This familiar opposition was reconstructed in the expressions of the CSU faculty and my participants from the earliest stages of my research. During the preparations for the "Great Debate," (10-31-17), for example, two separate MATESOL students used the phrase "real world" to make a contrast with the readings they had been doing for class. A few months later, Instructor C would use similar phrases ("real life" and "real world") to nuance her understanding of the risks associated with practicing critical pedagogy during her practicum seminar (2-8-18) and during her dyadic interview with me (3-5-18). One of the most direct challenges to the KPDs during my classroom observations came from a MATESOL student who agreed to be observed, but who did not participate actively in this study. During the Great Debate preparation,[124] this student, whom I will refer to as Student 3, said, in response to arguments to attend more to social concerns in second language acquisition: "it would be nice to turn the whole SLA field on its head, but we are dealing with reality" (10-31-17).[125]

Over the course of this research, two dichotomous clusters of terms arose. In one cluster were grouped correlated terms like "job, business, reality, and practice" and in the other were grouped terms such as "academia, theory, and ideals." Terms in the former category were generally considered by my focal participants to be more concrete, more exacting, and often more consequential. Terms in the latter category were generally given a more abstract and less imperative treatment, although with some notable exceptions (see, for example, Huck's comments in the above subsection dedicated to his identity performances as an individual). The two clusters were also regularly put into conflict. As we have seen in

[124] See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of this early assignment given to my participants.
[125] According to my participants, Student 3 later left the CSU MATESOL program because "she wasn't learning what she wanted to learn" (Sync, Dinner Discussion 2, 3-10-18).

the analytical chapters, my participants repeatedly referred to the theoretical goals of the program in pejorative terms (although often through the reported, double-voiced (Bakhtin, 1981) speech of a third party). Thus, we have the “little theories” and the “flighty stuff” that need to be forgotten in the practical classroom (Excerpt 4Q) and the “foo foo social stuff” that other departments at CSU are “not interested in” (Excerpt 4E). In brief, the oral interactions recorded for this research regularly reproduce an “ivory tower” framework wherein what was learned in the CSU MATESOL program was considered utopian, idealistic, and in the more extreme cases, out of touch with reality.

However, I also noted several places where the CSU MATESOL program instructors and my participants were already giving voice to alternatives to this “real-world versus academia” dichotomy. For example, there were numerous acknowledgements in the readings assigned and recommended to my participants that the “social stuff” learned in the CSU MATESOL program is actually a better descriptor of so-called “reality” than the “common-sense” understandings of the neoliberal status quo, which are themselves no more than uncritically accepted ideologies masquerading as the natural order of things (Harvey, 2007, p. 24). For example, several of the readings in English 501, my participants’ first core MATESOL course, made it clear that monolingual approaches to language do not map onto the “reality” of actual language use as well as do translingual approaches (Canagarajah, 2013b); that the construct of “nativeness” has no foundation in linguistic “reality” (Cook, 1999); and that “racially neutral” English language teaching is a myth (Kubota & Lin, 2006). My participants were all assigned Kumaravadivelu (2016) where the author highlights Gramsci’s call for more “organic intellectuals” who forgo mere “intellectual elaboration” in favor of “muscular-nervous effort” towards “result-oriented action” (cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2016, p. 77). Collectively, these readings not only suggest that the “social stuff” is a more considered version of “reality” than the status quo, but also call for direct pedagogic intervention.

Despite occasionally borrowing the “real world” short-hand for referring to life outside of academia, Instructors A and C both gave examples of critically informed practice and demonstrated the application of critical pedagogy in the MATESOL classes that they taught. For example, in Chapter 3 I noted that Instructor C introduced her students to the problem-posing nature of critical pedagogy through the content of assigned readings and also demonstrated this pedagogy by inviting her students to share their thoughts and raise their own questions (See Excerpt 3J). Likewise, during my observations,

Instructor A regularly invited students to pose their own thoughts and questions about the assigned readings (see, for example, the blackboard writing exercise discussed at the beginning of the section "Alignment with the KPD of "Race" in Chapter 3).

Even during the relatively few class sessions that I observed, the MATESOL core faculty regularly used their own teaching to model the critical, social-justice-oriented teaching that was being promoted in the theoretical readings my participants were assigned. However, my participants' responses during interviews and group discussions often indexed a sense of difficulty or even impossibility in applying such practices in their own teaching. Perhaps this was due in part to my participants making, consciously or not, a firm distinction between the learning environment of their graduate level MATESOL degree work with their own language teaching. Given the tendency to view neoliberal ideology, and indeed all hegemonic ideology (Gramsci, 1971), as common-sense or natural, it seems likely that my participants would have benefitted from additional, explicit metacommentary regarding the critical pedagogical *approach* (in addition to the critical *content*) offered by the MATESOL program instructors as well as some additional and equally explicit instruction on how these same critical approaches could be adapted, translated, and applied to their own English language classes, given the clear institutional and curricular differences.

Whenever moments occur during language teacher instruction where "theory" is counterposed with "reality," the ideological nature of status quo "reality" and teachers' ability to help shape this reality in their classrooms could be productively emphasized. When Student 3 made her comments implying that taking social issues more into account in language teaching would turn the field of SLA "on its head" and that such efforts are impractical because "we are dealing with reality," Instructor A took an important first step in addressing this metanarrative, stating "Yeah, I'm not big on reality" (10-31-17). Such moments provide an opportunity to further dismantle the notion that the existing colonial reality of SLA and TESOL is immutable as well as the notion that the colonial narrative is equivalent to "reality" itself. Indeed, teacher education programs would be well-served by an even more overt inversion of the reality-fantasy

dichotomy, showing in certain terms the discriminatory and colonizing fantasies embedded in "common-sense" notions of English Language Teaching.[126]

The CSU MATESOL faculty have already, in response to the early findings from this research, begun taking steps along these lines. For example, Instructor C has further emphasized practical classroom activities where time is spent working with published TESOL materials to help scaffold her MATESOL students into a more explicit understanding of how such texts represent simply one, often hegemonic, ideological reality (rather than some universal and immutable reality). Instructor C has likewise placed additional emphasis on coaching these early-career teachers in practical strategies for substituting anti-colonial ideologies for colonizing ideologies at different stages of teaching (for example, course design, assignment creation, and lesson planning) and has encouraged her students to anticipate the kinds of obstacles that they will likely face when making such substitutions. These activities not only provide early-career language teachers with practical teaching skills but do so through a framework that emphasizes the way ideology is always already shaping our pedagogy, thereby collapsing the most unhelpful aspects of the dichotomous thinking discussed in this section.

5.2.1.2 Pragmatic Language Skills vs Socially Just Teaching

Adjacent to the discursive separation of reality from academia was our (my focal participants and my) tendency to construct, in our oral interactions, a zero-sum conflict between discrete language learning "outcomes" and socially just pedagogy (See, for one example, Liz's comments from Excerpt 4I in Chapter 4). The unnecessary tendency to diametrically counterpose a critical, more socially just approach to English language research and teaching with the "pragmatic" elements of teaching or researching a language (e.g., grammar, spelling, pronunciation, etc.) was common in our conversations (as indeed it seems to be amongst scholars, e.g., Benesch, 1993 vs Santos, 1992; Firth & Wagner, 1997 vs Gass, 1998; Young, 2013 vs Fish, 2009.) Despite the fact that this fallacious opposition was explicitly

[126] For works which clarify the linguistic fantasies of:
Neoliberalism: Block, Gray, and Holborow, 2012; Flores, 2013; Chun, 2009; Kubota, 2011; Kubota, 2016; Prendergast, 2008 **Race:** Ligget, 2014; Jenks, 2017; Amin, 1997; Curtis & Romney, 2006; Lin & Kubota, 2006; Young, 2014 **Nativeness:** Brutt-Grifler & Samimy, 1999; Swan, Aboshiha, & Holliday, 2015; Braine, 1999; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Moussu & Llurda, 2008 **And Colonialism:** Motha, 2014; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998; Vandrick, 2002; Lin & Luke, 2006; Edge, 2003

addressed at least once in my observations (Practicum Observation, 2-9-18),[127] the TA Coordinator, my participants, and I all at times constructed a critical approach to ELT as in opposition to pragmatic language teaching concerns. Our orally expressed understandings of socially just pedagogy focused much more on a perceived need to change the pragmatic content of language teaching than on the need to change our approach to that content.

The readings and instruction that my participants received during their degree program called into question the decontextualized and "neutral" teaching of linguistic elements and likewise troubled the common-sense belief in a straightforward, universally applicable set of linguistic standards. As we saw in Chapter 4, however, this approach was often confusing to my participants, who sometimes wondered what to do in the absence of these standards (See Kevin's comments in Excerpt 4F) and who sometimes felt that what was being advocated for was the removal of standards (See Sync's comments in Excerpt 4R) and a ban on teaching, or at least a ban on emphasizing, certain elements of language like pronunciation (See Liz's comments in the discussion following Excerpt 4H)[128] and who felt that the driving force of the program was the "social/psychological aspect" of language teaching and specifically not the expected learning of "grammar" and the teaching of English "as a language" (See Chiara's comments in Excerpt 4N).

Despite the fact that all CSU MATESOL graduates are required, at a minimum, to take courses on Linguistics (generally taken through the Linguistics Department), Pedagogical Grammar, Testing, and Materials Development, my participants continued to narratively construct the CSU MATESOL program as overwhelmingly focused on "the social stuff" and as having relatively little emphasis on what Instructor C described as the necessary job of teaching linguistic skills (2-9-18). During our first dinner discussion (2-16-18), as was discussed above in section 5.1.3, Kevin expressed that he was feeling like he was

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[127] **Kevin:** But I guess I was saying in our discussion that I think it's important to be the type of teacher that students expect (.) you know (.) in other words we are since we are teaching International students and from mostly other countries (.) a lot of our students come from more traditional educational backgrounds and I wonder if it would be (.) maybe disturbing is not the right word but kind of (.) **Instructor C:** Upsetting↑ **Kevin:** Upsetting or unusual or just if I am doing something completely different than what they are (.) than what they are used to […] **Instructor C:** trying to operationalize what it means to be a transformative intellectual […] doesn't mean that we're not doing the job of teaching linguistic skills. (Practicum Seminar Observation, 2-9-18)

[128] From my first dyadic interview with Liz (11-28-17): **Liz**: "A lot of what I did was pronunciation (.) but now after Instructor A's class I'm like (.) well (.) should I really have been teaching that."

learning “post theory” and “post method” without understanding the “basics” and Huck agreed.[129] My partial participant, Katie, “piggy-backed” on this notion to state that in the first two terms of the program she had felt “really far removed from teaching.” Liz chimed in to express her worries about her lack of practical experience for her upcoming practicum. During our last dinner discussion (4-20-19), “combating or overcoming the colonial roots of language teaching” was the first thing ventured by my participants (led by Kevin) as an important criterion for the CSU MATESOL program and Sync and Liz added that that was the “big thing” and felt like “the only thing” respectively (See Chapter 4, page 185).

This tendency to construct the teaching of linguistic skills as somehow in direct conflict with an anti-colonial approach to language teaching, as well as the tendency to construct efforts to decolonize English Language Teaching or to occupy the role of a transformative intellectual as all-encompassing and extreme propositions appear to have significantly contributed to my participants’ confusions and frustrations regarding the application of social justice pedagogy in their own practice.

As can be inferred from the Chapter 4 analysis of Sync’s story about her mentor’s injunction against spreading “misinformation about White men killing Native Americans” (Excerpt 4D), my participants were aware that their CSU IEP classrooms were not ideologically neutral with regard to colonial narratives. Approaching ELT from a more anti-colonial perspective, in many cases as well as this case in particular, can simply mean substituting a decolonial ideology for the existing colonial ideology. However, my participants, according to their oral performances, did not always feel prepared to make or feel supported in making such a substitution.

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[129] **Kevin:** I was thinking about this today in fact I'm not sure I can verbalize it very well but I had thought about this that's (.) I guess I expected to be learning about (.) I expected to be learning about theory and methods and stuff (.) but I feel like what we are doing in class (.) and I'm not criticizing but (.) it's all post theory post method (.) which is fine (.) that's great but I don't know the basics yet (.) so I'm having to like learn the basics and then a couple of steps beyond the basics and so I think it's sort of like fell into place like oh that's why I'm having trouble keeping up with everything […] **Huck:** I think that the program in general so far has had way more social justice element than I expected (.) but I'm glad it's there (.) just from the experiences I've had teaching that they've all made me very aware of some very big problems and I've always kind of wondered (.) like I've had my ways of dealing with them but I've always thought how else can you go about this (.) so that's really cool I like that (.) but because there is so much emphasis on like that side of things we kind of don't cover some of the things that would be nice to check up on (.) I know I've seen many teachers teach (.) I thought about my teaching (.) I've been trained in different ways (.) but it was nice to see can I see more specifically how this kind of quote (.) method or this theory (.) it would be nice just to see it (First Dinner Discussion 2-16-18)

For example, a few weeks prior to the group discussion where Sync reported her mentor's reaction to her spreading of "misinformation," I observed Sync teaching in the high-intermediate grammar class where she was completing her teaching practicum (4-24-18). About half-way through the one-hour session, the following exchange occurred where the colonial ideology embedded in the class became transparently available for critique:

Excerpt 5C:

S=Sync St=Sync's student

1. S: Okay who would like to do the next one?
2. St: If (…) immigration continues at this pace the United States will
3. lose its American identity (…) Um (…) it's a condition
4. S: Yes. Very nice (.) If indicates condition (...) oh no if immigration
5. continues at this pace ha (…) ah goodness yeah this reading (...)
6. I wish (…) we had more time to explain this history (.) It is very
7. important to think about (.) But it kind of glosses over it a bit (.)
8. Um (.) Alright so very good

As Kubota and Lin (2009) have noted, textbooks in North America regularly "reflect legacies of colonialism and imperialism" (p. 14), and the text that was being used in Sync's classroom, Grammar in Context 3, 6th edition (Elbaum, 2016), is no exception. The unit in question is dedicated to teaching several discrete aspects of the English language, including "adverbial clauses" and "sentence connectors," through the unit topic of immigration, hence the unit title, "Coming to America" (Elbaum, 2016). During this class session, Sync is moving through a series of bolded phrases in a reading about the history of immigration and asking students to identify the role of the adverbial phrase in each. However, as the brief conversation above illustrates, the students' lesson promotes ideological information alongside its grammatical lessons.

The text being used in Excerpt 5C introduces students to a chapter which discusses the fraught topics of immigration, refugees, and slavery. Xenophobia, racism, and other legacies of colonialism are obliquely mentioned, but usually attributed to a vaguely defined subset of people and primarily located in the past (e.g., "*some* people *thought:* If immigration…" p. 252, emphases mine).[130] The historical

[130] The whole sentence that Sync's student is reading from in line 2 is: Some people thought: if immigration continues at this pace, the United States will lose its "American" identity (Elbaum, 2016, p. 252).

perspective is persistently White supremacist, centering only the standpoint of White European colonists and their descendants (the implied “American identity” read by the student in line 3 of Excerpt 5C (Elbaum, 2016, p. 252). The links between the colonial evils of the past and present-day inequities are chillingly absent, perhaps as a result of the publisher’s effort to appear more “objective” or “neutral.” However, the text actively encourages cognitive dissonance regarding these inequities. For example, slavery is not only firmly relegated to a far-away past, but considered “An American Paradox,” (p. 262), presumably because, as the text reassures us, “the United States is and has always been perceived as the land of freedom and opportunity” (p. 252). The single line in the section on slavery that acknowledges that discrimination “still exists” is immediately enervated by the claim that “many new arrivals see the United States as the land of equality” as well as yet another effort to sever connections between this “paradoxically” unjust past and the present: “it is important to remember this dark period of American history” p. 262).

As this example makes clear, ideology and discrete language skills are not only not mutually exclusive, but thornily intertwined even in “regular” or “real-world” English teaching. Although this understanding was commonplace in the readings assigned to my participants, their oral interactions show that they were still having some difficulty with the practical applications of this premise, even at the end of their degree program. If my focal participants are not atypical in this regard, teacher education programs may benefit from further emphasizing and repeating the fact that approaching ELT from an anti-colonial perspective does not mean simplistically substituting ideology for pragmatic skill instruction. However, as Sync’s response in Excerpt 5C also indicates, novice language teachers who wish to substitute the existing colonial ideology in their courses for an anti-colonial one may feel that they need more time and specific instruction to do so. My participants’ who lacked this time and instruction may have felt as though their inability to fully realize an anti-colonial pedagogy was a failure on their part, leading to expressions like that of Sync (“I should just drop out it’s all pointless,” Excerpt 4I) and Kevin (“I sort of want to give up […] there’s nothing I can do that is going to be right,” Excerpt 4F) (See section 5.2.2 below for a more extended discussion of the emotional import of such reactions).

As Feryok and Askaribigdeli (2019) have shown, resolving conflicts, or “identity incoherence” (p. 4) between different aspects of a novice TESOL teacher’s identity, particularly conflicts between their

individual commitments and their perception of their professional, institutional role, can have a strong positive impact on their affective commitment to teaching. Feryok and Askaribigdeli thus recommend that second language teacher educators work with their students to produce narrative case studies, thereby helping pre-service teachers note such contradictions, identify possible resolutions, and thus better "link theory and practice" (p. 12). My research likewise supports this conclusion. Indeed, when I asked my participants about the role their participation had had on their own development as teachers, Huck observed, to general approbation, that orally working through problems as a group helped him overcome these problems.[131] Including space within a Language Teacher Education (LTE) program for additional narrative activities and reflection upon them would serve as an important step towards a more identity-focused approach to LTE (Fairley, 2020).

Instructors A and C were not insensitive to the identity stresses faced by their MATESOL students, and they took time to convey to their pupils the sense that an anti-colonial pedagogy is by necessity a slow and partial process (see for example, Instructor A's comments in Excerpt 3H[132] or Instructor C's observation that MATESOL students need to ask themselves "to what extent am I able to do what I want under these [various practical] circumstances? […] it's not something we can decide in two or three minutes" (2-9-18, not previously excerpted)). However, as the analyses in Chapter 4 have made clear, my participants and I regularly constructed obstacles to a more socially just approach to teaching not as difficulties to overcome or challenges that slow the application of a more equitable pedagogy, but as impenetrable barriers. (See, for example, the resigned tone of the conversation after Kevin's double-voiced (Bakhtin, 1984) characterization of the TA Coordinator's advice regarding the forgetting of "little theories" Excerpt 4Q (10-5-18), or our discussion about the inability to apply the learning from the CSU MATESOL program in the IEP because the IEP students are financially well-off (Excerpt 4N)). In addition to suggesting the need for an increased program-wide emphasis on intersectional identity (see my

[131] **Huck**: To be totally frank this is like the only time we have had a regular time where we've met and just talk things out. I think that has been good for me […] It is helpful and healthy for people to get shit out, whether it's good, bad, and having some kind of place to do that, in a place that's safe to do that is really great. I'm not sure we would have overcome some of the things we overcame as far as stress, scheduling, if we hadn't had the time to get together and talk about it (Dinner Discussion 6, 4-20-19).

[132] "those kinds of conceptual shifts can't happen overnight" (line 14)

comments on this excerpt in Chapter 4, page 171), the all-or-nothing character of these responses suggests that MATESOL students may benefit from additional support in recognizing that no matter how strict or unfavorable the circumstances, there is always some way to push towards a more socially just pedagogy and that the inability to effect enormous and immediate change is not a sign of failure nor is it a reason to give up on one's efforts altogether. This sort of binary, black and white thinking, as I briefly noted in Chapter 3 when discussing our responses to the "contrarian" classmate from Excerpt 3K, ignores institutional restrictions and contextual nuance. Socially just pedagogy needs to be viewed as a necessary but incremental and ongoing process and aspiring transformative intellectuals need to feel that the additional skill and labor required for decolonizing English Language Teaching is effective and worth the cost.

Practical instruction in and role-play activities about translating anti-colonial pedagogy to likely classroom scenarios would help disintegrate the artificial separation between the "real world" and academia, and between pragmatic language teaching and socially just language teaching. Role-play has been discussed as a useful teacher-education technique for decades (see, for example, Kenworthy, 1973) and recent educational scholarship has specifically highlighted the potential for this technique to help bridge the "theory-practice gap," as practical classroom experience alone is "not enough" for student-teachers to re-examine their existing understandings of what it means to be a teacher (Leaman & Flanagan, 2013, p. 45). Furthermore, this theory-practice gap has been especially noticeable in Social Justice Teacher Education (Zeichner, 2011). Shapiro and Leopold (2012) have attempted to bring more attention to the value of role-play for bringing a more critical perspective into language classrooms, citing Smith and Boyer (1996) as they observe that "role play simulations 'have the power to recreate complex, dynamic political processes in the classroom, allowing students to examine the motivations, behavioural constraints, resources, and interactions among institutional actors'" (cited in Shapiro & Leopold, 2012, p. 122). While scholarship on the use of role-play to educate more critical language teachers appears to be quite scarce, an increased emphasis on role-playing scenarios like the one experienced by Sync in Excerpt 5C could provide MATESOL students with the theory-practice bridge for which my participants repeatedly expressed a need.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I was given the opportunity to teach a few CSU MATESOL courses during and shortly after I finished gathering data for this research. While teaching 502 (TESOL Methods and Materials), I explicitly discussed the dichotomous thinking that had emerged in my research and I worked with my students in practical situations to more concretely demonstrate the harm in uncritically assigning "neutrality" to the colonial status quo. I brought a sample from Grammar in Context 3 (the textbook discussed after Excerpt 5C above) and I asked my students to consider the ideologies that were already woven into the grammar lesson via the text. During subsequent class sessions, my students took turns bringing in textbooks that they had used while teaching or might work with in the future and we collectively identified moments of ideological bias. We furthermore discussed how the target pragmatic skills could still be taught while taking an explicitly anti-racist, decolonial stance, brainstorming techniques that could be applied when given little time or pedagogical freedom as well as techniques that could be applied in situations with greater latitude. While these activities were successful anecdotally, investigating these teachers' in-class responses through their subsequent teaching experiences and narrative constructions thereof is a potentially fertile direction of future research.

5.2.2 Emotional Labor and Moral Threat

Chapters 3 and 4, as well as the identity work summarized earlier in this chapter, have documented the connection between my participants' affective expressions and their alignment or misalignment with the KPDs. In this subsection, I explore these affective responses in more detail and discuss their implications for language teacher education.

As scholars in the wider field of Education have increasingly been observing, teachers' moral sense is an important factor in their classroom behavior (Hansen, 1998) and this is clearly true for ESL teachers as well (Johnston, Juhasz, Marken, & Ruiz (1998)). A teacher's moral sense is closely connected to their emotions and teaching behavior, and indeed their identity as teachers (Tsang & Jiang, 2018). However, although the "affective turn" that some have called for in education generally (Hargreaves, 1998) has opened up research into the ways that a teacher's moral stances impact their work in the classroom, research into the connections between language teachers' emotions and their moral stances continues to be rather unexplored. Indeed, Agudo (2018) recently characterized research

into L2 teacher's emotions in general as "practically non-existent" (p.5), although the edited volume in which he writes is an attempt to remedy this gap in scholarship, and integrating emotion into teacher identity research is on an upward trend (Wolff & DeCosta, 2017).

Although cursory discussion can be found regarding the potential affective response some language teachers may have to the moral expectations of their work (see, for example, Hansen, 1998), at the time of this writing I know of no study that has extensively explored the emotional effects that morally charged teacher identity categories, such as Giroux's (1988) "transformative intellectual," may have on teacher candidates during their pre-service education. Scholars have, however, begun looking at the influence of student and teacher emotion on critical pedagogy generally (Benesch, 2012) and there has been scholarly work investigating situations that require additional emotional labor from teachers. Examples of the latter include studies of the emotions of teachers caught between different ideological frameworks (Pachler et al., 2008) or those emotions of teachers experiencing a lack of agency in effecting the changes they wish to make (De Costa et al., 2018), particularly when attempting to employ a more critical pedagogy in language teaching (Fairley, 2020). The findings of this study align with this emerging research and suggest further that a teacher candidate's adoption of a "transformative intellectual" teacher identity is likely to require additional emotional labor, particularly when working in an institution heavily influenced by neoliberal ideology. While some scholarship has already noted that taking a critical stance in language education (Kubota, 2002) or education generally (Ladson-Billings, 1998) can be unpopular and uncomfortable, relatively little scholarship has been conducted on how this discomfort is narratively performed by teacher candidates, and more research dedicated to helping student-teachers productively process this discomfort is needed.

As I observed in Chapter 3, the CSU MATESOL faculty in this study demonstrated an awareness that the role of a transformative intellectual would require additional emotional labor on the part of their students, as evidenced through their claims that the counter-hegemonic questions asked in the CSU MATESOL program were "hard" (Excerpt 3B) and that the program's anticolonial ideas could be seen as "difficult" (Excerpt 3D). Instructors A and C both expressed concern that their students not feel judged (Excerpt 3D, line 43) and that if they (the student-teachers) are unable to dismantle inequities in their

practical teaching that they not be made to feel as though they are "awful people" (Excerpt 3F, lines 34-36).

In Chapter 4 I noted that, despite the CSU faculty members' awareness of and efforts to diminish the emotional labor and moral threat posed by an anti-hegemonic pedagogy, most of my focal participants expressed, at one time or another, some form of discomfort when their own beliefs and practices failed to align with those beliefs and practices imagined as part of the idealized "transformative intellectual" teacher identity. Conversely, and perhaps unsurprisingly, my participants also constructed a sense of comfort when expressing the feeling that their beliefs and practices matched those of a transformative intellectual, signaling a reduction in their emotional labor. During moments of both comfort and discomfort, my participants generally expressed solidarity with their peers (see, for example, the positive expressions of group solidarity in support of social justice issues as manifested in Excerpts 3K, 3T/4D, as well as expressions of group solidarity around their frustrating inability to take on the role of transformative intellectuals (for example, the solidarity around a teacher's inability to "fight the system," Excerpt 4I, or the shared sense of resignation following the TA Coordinator's alleged injunction to "forget all your little theories" in Excerpt 4Q).

The CSU MATESOL Program, my participants, and I collectively constructed, over the course of 18 months, academic and professional circumstances where "good" teachers are those who actively work against colonialism in TESOL, aligning with the CSU KPDs, and "bad" teachers are teachers who fail in this and/or who support the neoliberal project of commodifying ELT,[133] insist on the value of "nativeness,"[134] or who directly or indirectly promote white supremacist hegemony in their teaching practices.[135] This moral attachment to certain kinds of teaching was sometimes made explicitly, as with Sync's comments debating whether or not using the terms like "native" or "non-native" equates to "having

[133] See for example, Instructor C's comments on textbook publishing (Excerpt 3I) or the group discussion of the textbook representative during our 3rd dinner discussion (4-14-18), where Liz characterizes the market-driven publishing representative from a large textbook publisher as "being a dillweed."
[134] See, for example, Liz's frustration with her Syntax professor for not problematizing the use of "native speaker" in class (Excerpt 3L)
[135] See for example Huck's calling out of the racialized linguistic hierarchies in his practicum class (Excerpt 4B) or the reactions of the group to Sync's narrative account of her mentor's denial of the genocide perpetrated by White settlers in North America on the indigenous peoples (Excerpt 3T).

a bad heart as a teacher" (Excerpt 4R), or in Liz's judging herself as a "complete hypocrite" for working at a one of "those companies" (Excerpt 4J). More often, however, this moral critique was indirectly implicated (as with Huck's unprompted efforts to justify his employment by a (implicitly morally suspect) standardized test preparation company (Excerpt 4K) or when Kevin characterizes an economic incentive for teaching as "crass and calculated" (Excerpt 4M). In Chapter 4, I highlighted several places where my participants performed a negative affective response while recounting their difficulties in putting their anticolonial education into practice or while indexing the moral threat (a risk of being judged as engaging in morally bad teaching practice or holding morally bad opinions) that they felt from the anticolonial discourses presented them in their program. Too much emotional labor is a major cause for language teacher burnout and for language teachers leaving the profession (Schutz & Lee, 2014; Talbot & Mercer, 2018) and it is surely not entirely coincidence that my participant who recounted the most unpleasant affective responses with regard to her teaching (Sync) also chose to leave the profession, even before she had completely finished her MATESOL degree.[136]

The MATESOL core faculty whose classes I observed (Instructors A and C) did already make space in their classrooms for emotional sharing and did, as scholars have recommended (Leaman & Flanagan, 2013), make themselves vulnerable by sharing their own emotional quandaries regarding the transformative intellectual role (e.g., Instructor C shared with her practicum students the times she felt able as well as the times she felt unable to intervene in a transformative way (2-9-18); Instructor A gave examples of her own complicity in furthering Native Speakerism, 11-28-17)). However, given the high baseline emotional stress felt by all novice teachers (Golombek & Doran, 2014) and the additional emotional stress placed on my participants through the contrasting ideological frameworks of their core coursework and their teaching practicums through the CSU IEP, further explicit attention to these emotional tensions would likely have proved of value. As Golombek and Doran (2014) have noted, teachers' emotional responses are intertwined with their cognition and thus the outcomes of their

[136] I should also note that minoritized and racialized teachers are likely to bear additional strain in critical approaches to teaching. Sync's own racial identity clearly added to the emotional burden she felt in processing the racist perspectives exhibited in her practicum teaching course. In the same conversation about Lewis and Clark described in Excerpts 3T and 4D, Sync reported being referred to as an "exotic mixture" by her practicum mentor (Dinner Discussion 4, May 11th, 2018).

classroom teaching, and novice teachers are particularly likely to have an emotional response to the gap between what they imagine will happen in their classroom and what actually happens. This gap may have been especially pronounced for my participants since, by their own account, they were explicitly told to forget the theoretical side of their education while working in the CSU IEP. Golombek and Duran (2014) recommend that teacher educators dedicate time specifically to mediating novice teachers' emotions, first reassuring that these emotions are normal, and next helping them identify how these emotions may be connected to certain desirable or undesirable classroom outcomes.[137] This study suggests that integrating such practices even more fully into core MATESOL coursework could help ease the additional emotional labor required of novice teachers testing out the role of transformative intellectuals.

As I noted earlier, the group discussions we conducted for this research provided a less-observed outlet for the candidate teachers to share their thoughts and feelings on the critical theories they had been reading and discussing in class.[138] Similarly, a side-effect of teaching online during the global covid-19 pandemic was that the online groups formed during discussions for my English 502 (TESOL Methods and Materials) course were completely free from teacher observation (at least when I was not specifically attending that group) and my students occasionally commented on the freedom and independence they felt when working through these "hard" questions without the direct pressure of a teacher's presence. It is a promising proposition for future research to study whether or not providing a similar space for airing ideas without the instructor's presence may provide an important emotional outlet and a way to air one's confusions and misalignments with less fear of reputational repercussions.[139]

For similar reasons, a teacher concerned about unvoiced objections to critical pedagogy in class might model the voicing of a contrarian opinion and allow for the merits of this opinion to be debated. This was likely a motivating factor behind the inclusion of the "Great Debate" in my observations of English 501. Something similar might be done more flexibly and over more time, allowing students to do some additional research on any critical issues they feel are personal sticking points, and then

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[137] Three of my participants, Kevin, Huck, and Maggie, commented on a Spring Quarter, 2018 course they took outside the CSU English department that was dedicated to emotion in applied linguistics. All three reflected very positively on this course, and Kevin even signed up to take it a second time the following Fall Quarter.
[138] See Huck's comments in footnote 131, page 217
[139] See, for example, the way my participants discussed the "contrarian" classmate who appears in Excerpt 3K.

incorporating this research into class. Such a tactic would potentially permit students like Liz, who was at first uncertain about what a critical, decolonial approach to TESOL really means for teaching pronunciation, to more thoroughly and more rapidly have her questions answered.

5.2.3 Having an "Agenda"

Throughout this research, the metanarrative that universities are bastions of left-wing political indoctrination was regularly given voice in the public sphere. While anti-intellectual sentiment has long found popularity in American politics (see for example, Hofstadter (1963)), the 2016 presidential election reflected and promoted an increasing trend of distrust for the predominantly left-leaning experts and academics in the United States (Motta, 2018). The faculty and students of the CSU MATESOL program were, of course, aware of this metanarrative and may have been particularly sensitive to it, given that the CSU MATESOL program curriculum was premised on the notion that education is fundamentally a politically involved process. While no discipline can be completely apolitical, obfuscating the political nature of language instruction is immediately counter-productive as language acquisition research is a "soft" science whose "objects" of study are in fact highly subjective human beings (Lantolf, 1996). Despite the political realities of language teaching, the ongoing anti-intellectual climate and intense politicization of scientific consensus (Motta, 2018) was an ever-present background throughout the course of my data collection (2017-2019) and my participants, their instructors and I would occasionally produce discourse that, directly or indirectly, implicated a concern with having an "agenda." Fairley (2020) has identified a general reluctance among teacher educators to force "a certain agenda" (p. 1058), and this reluctance is evident in my conversations with Instructors A and C, where Instructor A felt that it was more productive to work aspects of colonialism in "around the edges" (Excerpt 3D, line 26) and Instructor C made it clear that she was "not pushing anybody to be one or the other or the third" (Excerpt 3J, lines 17-18) in reference to the three broad categories of teacher identities (Passive Technicians; Reflective Practitioners; and Transformative Intellectuals) discussed by Kumaravadivelu (2003).

Practically speaking, it is important to scaffold students' exposure to counter-hegemonic ways of thinking about English. If the ultimate goal is to decolonize TESOL, then a more confrontational or abrupt education into the colonial legacies at work in English language teaching may prove less effective.

However, there is a sense in which presenting the argument for decolonizing TESOL in the customary, "neutral" academic fashion frames transformative teaching practices as an extreme option relative to the colonizing status quo. Given the historical and statistical data on the discriminatory legacies of colonialism within ELT (see the Chapter 1 section on Social Justice and Decolonizing TESOL), it should not be considered having an "agenda" in a negative sense to work overtly against rather than for these legacies any more than it would be to argue for the use of mask-wearing during a global pandemic or to conduct research on climate change mitigation strategies in the midst of our ongoing climate crisis (although, of course, large portions of the United States' public do also consider masks and vaccines part of a negative, politicized agenda). Just as with climate-science and disease prevention, it is in the public interest to acknowledge the expert consensus (in the face of significant public opposition) that colonialism continues to have a pervasive impact on English Language Teaching and that ignoring this, far from being neutral, is itself unethical at best and in many cases demonstrably harmful. For similar reasons, racism is itself increasingly being referred to as a public health epidemic (Akbulut et al. 2020), emphasizing its systemic and networked nature as opposed to viewing it as a personal or individual trait (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

At the very least, it is fair to say that an uncritical acceptance of the colonial status quo does not represent the absence of an agenda, merely the promotion of an ongoing colonial agenda. Yet in the discourse produced by my MATESOL student participants, working against colonial practices was sometimes framed, not as a choice between promoting or mitigating colonialism, but as a choice between "normal" or "regular" English teaching and activist or "extreme" teaching. The influence of the metanarrative here under consideration, the narrative which argues that universities are indoctrinating institutions that are pushing a left-wing agenda, likely influenced discursive constructions like that of Sync in Chapter 4, where she notes that "from his [the publishing representative's] perspective we turned it into a total social justice warrior session." The phrase "Social Justice Warrior" has often been used by the alt-right to mock those seeking greater social equity (Massanari & Chess, 2018) and Sync's claim here expresses a self-conscious awareness of our support for a minority position. She continues even more explicitly, observing that ensuring that "no one feels ashamed that their native language is not English" is a "foreign concept to most people" (Dinner Discussion 3, 4-14-18). Likewise, Liz, in Excerpt 3L constructs

a scenario where she does not feel empowered to tell her linguistics professor to stop using the term "native speaker" despite the fact that it is "actually really racist" (line 49) because "it is her field and her field relies on that distinction {between native and non-native speakers}." In this case, Liz, like Sync, characterizes her knowledge of the racist and colonizing effects of the construct of "nativeness" as something isolated, specific to her group (in this case her disciplinary field) and not in concordance with the dominant narratives.

The tendency for people to see colonial forces as simply the neutral status quo threatens the perceived neutrality of more socially just alternatives. In other words, active intervention to redress such discriminatory forces in TESOL is for many, almost by default, to have an "agenda." Scholarly debates over the last several decades have centered around this very issue with the argument being crafted on the one side as leftist *ideology* versus the practicalities of language teaching and research (e.g., Santos, 1992 and Gass, 1998) and on the other as accommodationist *ideology* versus an *ideology* of change (e.g., Benesch, 1993; Young, 2014). Although my participants and I did express an understanding of the latter "ideology vs ideology" framing when speaking directly about the need to address nativist and racist discrimination and neoliberal influence in ELT, we also indirectly indexed the more conservative, "ideology" vs "practicalities" framework on several occasions. In doing so, we negatively positioned the push for more socially just teaching.[140] The hegemonic forces which preserve objectivity and neutrality for the status quo, when coupled with the pressure to maintain a detached, objective, and depoliticized academic professionalism (Morgan, 2016), likely added to my participants' hesitancy in intervening directly and their discomfort in doing so. My research suggests that discursive efforts to avoid having an "agenda" (or to at least avoid appearing to have one) may weaken efforts to foster the transformative teacher identities that are being promoted by the CSU MATESOL program and have been called for in recent scholarship (Varghese et al., 2016; Fairley 2020).

[140] A salient example of this negative positioning emerged in Excerpt 4I, where Liz, Kevin, and I construct an understanding that our students have little or no awareness of world Englishes, translingualism, or colonialism and therefore approaches to teaching that incorporate these concepts are implicated as an ideologically motivated replacement of the more "practical" instruction that students want and need.

Teacher educators are left here with something of a dilemma. On the one hand, a more direct counter-hegemonic curriculum is likely going to generate greater emotional resistance, particularly amongst those teacher candidates whose current worldview most closely adheres to the hegemonic perspectives. Yet inadvertently soft-pedaling the need for anti-racist, anti-colonial activism in an effort to preserve academic neutrality may also lead to negative results (e.g., anti-colonial teaching being seen as "extra," "extreme," or something that can be perpetually delayed). Though it does pose a challenge, it is of course possible to openly acknowledge the "agenda" of decolonizing English language teaching as the most humane response to the lasting effects of colonialism on English language teaching while still acknowledging and respecting MATESOL students' emotions.

A clear articulation and open embracing of a decolonizing agenda would not only help to make a stronger case for a more socially just field of TESOL but could potentially allow for students to more directly air any questions or concerns they may have about this central teaching goal. Elucidating the social justice goals of the program in online program descriptions would also help manage incoming MATESOL student expectations, which in turn can have dramatic effects on their educational experience (Li & Tin, 2013). Likewise, programmatic documents for language teacher education programs (e.g., mission statements, lists of degree requirements, etc.) could be written to emphasize the importance of approaching the practical activities of day-to-day pedagogy through a decolonizing perspective.[141] Such a shift, when paired with a more coordinated effort to deconstruct the false dichotomy between pragmatic linguistic skills and socially just teaching discussed in response to Excerpt 5C above, would help alleviate novice teachers' confusions over what is being asked of them as transformative intellectuals and why this identity is an ideal target.

Fairley (2020) shifts the focus of the question away from whether or not teachers should have an agenda (she herself calls for teacher education programs to be focused on developing transformative intellectual identities, or what she calls transformative, agentive, and advocacy [TAA]-oriented Language Teacher Identities [TAA- LTIs]) and to the question of how teacher educators should respond to student-

[141] After I began this research, the CSU MATESOL program changed its online program description to note the emphasis it places on learning what the instructors and participants in my study have broadly referred to as the "social stuff," the importance of attending to power, politics, globalization, colonialism, and racism in TESOL.

teachers who are disinterested in transformative education. This is an important shift, one which assumes the importance of teachers adopting a transformative identity in their language teaching, but which acknowledges that encouraging this identity may take radically different forms depending on the context and the individual student-teachers. The importance of the identity itself, however, cannot ethically still remain in question. MATESOL students who fail to see the need for more socially just language teaching can and should be socialized into their field in much the same way those with fringe-beliefs about climate-science or unsupported doubts about the efficacy of vaccines are typically socialized into the fields of meteorology and medicine: respectfully taught our best understandings without reducing these understandings to something extra, extreme, or optional.

The CSU MATESOL program's approach to the "agenda" issue, as perceived by my participants, ranged from the sanitized neutrality of the online and programmatic documents (which at the time made no mention of any social-justice elements of the program, hence my participants' initial surprise at the social-justice emphasis of the program) to the "theory-free" zone of the teaching practicums, to strongly assertive statements from individual MATESOL faculty on the need for socially just language teaching. While some differences in messaging, both intra-departmental and inter-departmental, are perhaps inevitable, social justice-oriented MATESOL programs would likely be well-served through presenting their students (and potential students) with a unified framework that anticipates the challenges of countering hegemonic understandings of English Language Teaching without diminishing the centrality of this work. This will help MATESOL students better situate themselves within their program as they go about their degrees.

5.2.4 The Neoliberal Structure of the CSU IEP

As has already been discussed, the CSU IEP had a number of institutional features that reflected a neoliberal approach to English education and militated against a more critical, anticolonial, anti-racist pedagogy. Amongst these features, its fee-based support and administrative separation from the rest of the university were particularly salient in this research. In our conversations, the TA Coordinator, my MATESOL student participants, and I all regularly constructed the IEP as a place where satisfying student expectations was paramount. The TA Coordinator links these expectations directly to the financial

solvency of the IEP (See Excerpt 4O), and she, my participants, and I narratively positioned specific language teaching outcomes (see Liz and Kevin's comments in Excerpt 4I) and the practical functions of teaching (see the TA Coordinator's comments in Excerpt 4P) as essentially unrelated to and potentially even hampered by the theoretical emphasis of the CSU MATESOL program.

While satisfying student expectations is certainly an important pedagogical consideration (Bordia et al., 2006), our oral interactions constructed a pedagogical scenario where satisfying student expectations was a dominating force in the classroom. Researchers have shown, however, that teachers' and administrators' preconceptions of students' preferences and expectations do not always align well with students' own professed preferences and expectations, particularly when it comes to some of the key issues targeted by the CSU MATESOL program's theoretical education. Students do not have an unchanging or monolithic perspective on the importance of the "nativeness" of their teachers (Ahn & West, 2016; Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Rao, 2010) and there is evidence that even in places with a long history of racial hierarchy and raciolinguistic discrimination, students' may put little emphasis on their teacher's race and nativeness, instead focusing on their teacher's "qualifications, coherence, and teaching competency" (Chacha-Mhlahlo & Mhlahlo, 2014). Despite the persistence of racial and nativist biases, students' insistence on a traditional, hegemonic classroom experience should not be taken as a given.

Even more importantly, arguments against more socially just teaching that revolve around satisfying student expectations are essentially circular, ignoring the role that education has in developing student perceptions. A number of scholars have already produced work theorizing the dialectical relationship between desire and English education (Chowdhury & Phan, 2014; Motha & Lin, 2014), and in particular the way that the marketized desire for English is interwoven with other desires, for example racial and sexual desire (Appleby, 2013; Piller & Takahashi, 2006), class mobility (Prendergast, 2008), and sexual desire combined with class mobility (Sandhu, 2014; Sharma, 2021). While students do, of course, have particular needs and interests in learning English, it would be naïve to undervalue the role that language teaching institutions play in the shaping and development of these interests.

As Vershawn Ashanti-Young (2014) has shown in his discussion of standardized language education, arguments against interventions to make language education more socially just often depend

on an understanding of language that greatly exaggerates the degree to which successful language use, in “reality,” adheres to standards. Furthermore, if we acknowledge, as Young does, that the world of language education is, in “reality,” racist, perhaps our primary question should be “how do we change the course of racism?” rather than “how do we prepare students to get by in a racist world?” (p. 62). Students’ ability to change their perspectives is a fundamental aspect of education itself and thus students’ resistance (whether it be real or imagined) to a more socially just language education should be viewed as an important educational challenge rather than as a justification for continuing to promote racist and colonizing language instruction. Language teachers should thus not only be educated into an understanding of the colonial legacies in English language teaching, but into an understanding of how to show the relevance of these legacies to their own future students.

As was discussed at some length in Chapter 4, the IEP was constructed by my participants, their MATESOL instructors, and me as a neoliberal institution whose main goal was to remain financially solvent through the commodification of English instruction. Corollary to this goal, so constructed, is the attending monolingual conception of the English language as a rigid set of discrete lexical items and syntactical rules that can (and should) be compartmentalized into skills-based courses (e.g., Grammar 1, 2, 3, 4; Listening and Speaking 1, 2, 3, 4; Reading 1, 2, 3, 4; etc.) Indeed, the CSU IEP handbook at the time of this research specified during which classes various grammatical forms and vocabulary categories would be taught, and in which classes these items would be reinforced. In some cases, my participants, even when given charge of their own classes through Teaching Assistantships, would not be in control of major exams given to their students. Student outcomes were relentlessly categorized and made measurable, as is generally the case in neoliberal-leaning learning institutions, which put enormous weight on accountability (Clarke & Morgan, 2011). As has been well-documented, these conditions stand in opposition to a translingual approach to communication, where linguistic norms are problematized and/or de-centered, where students’ individual identities and cultural incomes are taken into account, and where colonial ideology can (and should) be actively countered (Canagarajah, 2017; Cushman, 2016; Wible, 2013).

The CSU MATESOL program discourse regularly pit the priorities of privatized, free-market education against those of a liberatory, transformative pedagogy. However, with the exception of a few

comments from the CSU MATESOL faculty, almost every instance where my participants explicitly indexed the conflict between academic, theoretical ideals and the "practical," neoliberal marketplace, the dictates of the market were placed in a more powerful, or even an unassailable position. Thus, we have Sync commenting that, despite her desire to do otherwise, she "has" to obey her workplace's dictates around corrective feedback, and the explanation that it is now her job is the unchallenged justification for this forced obedience (Excerpt 4Q). Huck similarly questioned whether he could simultaneously maintain his job and his critical ideals (Practicum Observation, 2-9-18) and Liz claimed that it is "really hard" to "keep in mind the theory when you have outcomes […] that you are required to teach" (Excerpt 4I). Likewise, in my conversation with the TA Coordinator we produced a narrative where the focus of the MATESOL program on critical theory has created a deficit in the practical instruction that the "expensive," budget-breaking TAs need in order to satisfy the "paying" student customers (see the discussion following Excerpt 4O in Chapter 4).

While the obstacles posed by teaching in a neoliberal institution are understandably daunting, this zero-sum framing of "critical theory" versus "practical teaching," discussed at-length in the above sub-section on "Pragmatic Language Skills," leaves little or no space for satisfying language students at such an institution through a more critical pedagogy. As I noted earlier in this section, the economic goals of the CSU IEP, according to scholarship and as constructed in my research, were at best separate from the social justice goals of the CSU MATESOL program and at worst in fundamental conflict with social justice. While there is clearly a need to attend to macro-level obstacles to more socially just language teaching, particularly when it comes to neoliberal influence on English language education, there was comparatively little construction in my research of narratives where micro-level social justice concerns were addressed with specific attention to the unfavorable local circumstances at the CSU IEP. In other words, the relative dearth of narratives that imagine a decolonizing pedagogy within spaces like the CSU IEP may have contributed to the sense of futility that my participants sometimes expressed over the difficulties in engaging in more transformative practice. Given the economic necessity of continued employment, if a decolonial approach to teaching English cannot be imagined in the workspace of more conservative institutions like the CSU IEP, it seems likely that teachers will default to the coloniality of the

status quo, given the tendency of teachers to teach as they have been taught (Crookes & Lehner, 1998) and to absorb the practices of their mentors (Leaman & Flanagan, 2013).

The economic necessity of "maintaining the status quo" was likely particularly present for my participants, as the majority of them regularly expressed their anxiety over finances. Four out of my five focal participants worked a part-time (or even full-time) job during parts of their degree and two of my three partial participants were working full-time. The precarious nature of the teaching assistantships and the funding they would provide was also a regular source of consternation and the knowledge that all of my focal participants would be given a teaching assistantship during their second year an enormous relief. One MATESOL student from the same 2017 cohort who agreed to be observed but did not actively participate in this research met with me to discuss alternative possibilities of funding and ended up leaving the program, citing financial reasons. As was discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 190), in the first year of this research, my participants were directly affected by two labor conflicts, one involving the Teaching Assistants at CSU (including their second-year MATESOL student colleagues) and one involving the IEP teachers who were serving as their mentors. This surrounding context was surely a factor in our often-narrowed focus on the perceived social class of our students (see Excerpt 4N) and our frequent attention to the economic realities of working as a teacher in the United States. Huck's comments during our first interview (11-20-17) as discussed in Excerpt 4K[142] offer a poignant example of the sense of economic precarity that emerged time and again in our discussions. Indeed, the environment of my participants was a microcosmic example of the global trends towards the precarity and "proletarianisation" of teachers and of ESOL teachers in particular (Gray & Morton, 2018).

However, despite Huck and the others worrying about finding and maintaining financial stability, it is noteworthy that they did exercise some freedom (even during the limited number of class observations I made) in introducing critical perspectives into their language classrooms. For example, in Excerpt 5D, Huck encourages a critical take (introduced by one of his students) on the celebration of Valentine's Day.

[142] Huck commented that his future professional goal was "to be able to see people I love outside of work" and to have "hours that don't destroy me" (11-20-17, Excerpt 4K).

Excerpt 5D (February 14th, 2018)

S1=Student 1 S2=Student 2 H=Huck

S1: Student 2 said Valentine's Day is just for money (.) I said no hahaha
H: Sure just for money um (.) yeah
S2: This is a commercial day
H: Yeah good (.) does anyone agree↑
Many: Yeah
H: Okay (.) cool (.) that's great (.) do you know you guys know the card brand there's a card brand that's really famous in the United States (.) at least (.) the name do you know the name of a very famous card brand↑ (.) you buy cards for someone for Christmas birthdays Valentine's Day (.) do you do you know the word Hallmark↑
Many: Hallmark↑
H: Hallmark (.) if you go to the grocery store if you go to QFC or Safeway and there's like the card aisle there will be this whole brand of cards that's just Hallmark cards brand (.) the brand is Hallmark ((writing "Hallmark" on the board)) and some people call Valentine's Day a Hallmark holiday (.) because Hallmark makes a lot of money on Valentine's Day

This excerpt reminds us of a number of important points, namely that students themselves are, of course, not incapable of exercising critical thought, with or without their teacher's assistance; that teachers can be prepared to support such thinking organically as it arises; that critical perspectives can be smoothly integrated into the pragmatic elements of language teaching (in this case vocabulary and the cultural applications of linguistic terms), and that such critical teaching can easily occur even within the restrictions of a neoliberal IEP. With prior preparation and more practical support, Sync would have been in a much stronger position to handle the topic of immigration threatening "American identity" (Excerpt 5C) in a similar, critical fashion.

5.2.5 Positioning Our Students and Our Relationship to Them

As was evident in our fifth and sixth dinner discussions near the end of the research (see Excerpts 4N and 4S), my participants and I narratively constructed the student population of the CSU IEP as being composed primarily (Chiara) or wholly (myself) of what Vandrick (2011) has described as Students of the New Global Elite (SONGEs). According to Vandrick's description, these are students who are characterized by their affluence and the privilege and global mobility that have resulted from their wealth. While Vandrick supports the argument, implied by our dinner discussions, that these students'

wealth and privilege make them less likely to feel the full effects of discrimination against less-privileged aspects of their identity (e.g., race and linguistic nativeness), her conclusion is that these students are nonetheless very much in need of teachers who encourage them to take a more critical attitude towards their own status, for they, after all, will have "disproportionate power and influence in the world" (p. 168). The logic behind this conclusion was indirectly supported numerous times in the narrative constructions of my participants. For example, my participants regularly constructed narratives where the choices of teachers were considered at odds with or inconsequential next to those of the administrators[143] and business owners[144] supervising their work. Indeed, many if not most of the difficulties my participants expressed in enacting a more critical, socially just pedagogy could be removed or mitigated if the people who had more institutional power were also convinced of the need to make changes. In other words, if the global elites (who disproportionately control companies and institutions like the ones that Liz and I characterized as disreputable and exploitative (Excerpt 3P), who Sync found lacking in egalitarian motivation (Excerpt 3Q), who Kevin found to be focused on commodification (Excerpt 3O), and who the TA Coordinator identified as fixated on immediate customer satisfaction (Excerpt 4O) were educated into a more critical, anticolonial perspective on the role of English language teaching, then this would clearly be a step in the right direction towards enacting more systemic change. The fact that we repeatedly dismiss the global elite as less-than-ideal students for critical pedagogy is thus an unfortunate missed opportunity and reveals a gap in our own education as transformative intellectuals.

Additionally, although Vandrick (2011) primarily focuses on the intersectionality of the SONGEs in her research to show how their social class helps them deflect and circumvent discrimination based on other aspects of their identity (i.e., race), it is worth noting that her participants were still experiencing such discrimination despite their relative financial privilege. The SONGEs in Vandrick's study, as well as any privileged students in the CSU IEP would also benefit directly from an anti-racist, anti-colonial

[143] For example, in Excerpt 4I when Liz argues that it isn't fair for the teachers to have to "fight the system" or during her second interview with me (5-8-18) when she similarly observes that correcting power asymmetries resulting from the "discourses of power" should be more of the "administrators' responsibility" and that it is "not fair to make it the teacher's responsibility."

[144] For example, in Excerpt 4Q when Sync argues that she "has to" go against her MATESOL education because "it's [her] job now"; or during the practicum seminar (2-19-18) when Huck asked "Am I still going to have a job tomorrow?" when discussing the consequences of enacting a social justice-oriented pedagogy.

pedagogy that takes a broader, intersectional approach to discrimination. As the literature I referenced in Chapter 1 makes abundantly clear, even in situations where English learners are "elites," they are not immune to the "native" norms and racializing and discriminatory cultural hegemony of English-dominant, "inner circle" (Kachru, 1992) countries.

Our short-sighted attitude towards our wealthy students matches a general approach to global inequality where action is generally taken to address the symptoms of (neo)colonialism in a piecemeal approach that, at best, offers a short-term benefit and at worst may actually reinforce colonial systems of oppression. For example, "aid" in the form of predominantly white English language teaching volunteers from the global North can reinforce the linguistic hegemony of prestige dialects and cater to raciolinguistic stereotypes (Lee, 2016; Phillipson, 2016). Such linguistic "aid" parallels the monetary "aid" provided by the International Monetary Fund for poverty relief, which has often instead resulted in the reinvigoration of what Harvey (2005) calls "an old imperial practice," namely the "extraction of tribute via financial mechanisms" (p.74) as so-called developing countries are forced to adopt neoliberal policies disastrous for their local economies (but incidentally lucrative for their "aid" givers in the global North). Refugees and immigrants are clearly in need of support, but by discursively constructing these groups as the only legitimate targets of anti-colonial pedagogy, we perpetuate a patchwork approach to decolonizing TESOL and neglect the larger systems of which we all, and particularly the global elite, must have a role in dismantling.

This is all bound up as well with the discussion I touched upon in Chapter 4 of the "savior" approach to English language teaching. As Cole (2012) introduced in a series of social media posts (and later elaborated in a popular magazine) the White Savior Industrial Complex serves as a structural "valve for releasing the unbearable pressures that build in a system built on pillage" (n.p.), particularly pressures amongst Whites to relieve their feelings of guilt over their relative privilege. So described, this complex is tightly connected to White emotional and financial interests and bolstered by its frequent and favorable treatment in popular media where White "saviors" are frequently depicted as rescuing poor people of color (Cann, 2015). This form of "saviorism" is an ongoing facet of the oft-criticized notion of the "White Man's Burden" popularized in the eponymous poem by Kipling (1899) and critiqued by postcolonial scholars who have observed that this construct served as a clear vehicle for justifying the colonial

ambitions of European colonial powers (Said, 2001) and has contributed to toxic, racialized notions of self-identity (Fanon, 1967). More recently, the White Savior Industrial Complex has been taken up and critiqued for reproducing racist ideology in English language and literacy education (Johnson, 2018) as well as in teacher education (Matias, 2016), for similarly reproducing racialized notions of "nativeness" (Jenks & Lee, 2020), and for helping to fuel neoliberal educational policy through racist ideology (Brown, 2016).

This study thus suggests that language teacher education programs like that at CSU might consider dedicating even greater attention to the way English learners are framed and positioned as well as to what kind of teacher-student relationship is suggested by the transformative intellectual identity. As both Freire (2012) and Giroux (1988) are cautious to note, social transformation is not something that teachers can simply transmit wholesale to their students and they both anticipate critiques, like that from Ellsworth (1989), that observe that a poorly considered application of critical pedagogy can actually reproduce oppression. Freire (2012) states simply that "rationalizing" one's "guilt through paternalistic treatment of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in a position of dependence, will not do" (p. 49). And although Giroux (1988) frequently speaks of *giving* students agency, he uses a quotation from Gramsci (1971)[145] to ensure that his readers understand that there is "no room for elitism or sterile pedantry" in transformative teaching (Giroux, 1988, p. 203). Giroux warns against savior perspectives of teaching, stating that "teachers need to look critically at the nature of their own relationship" with students from oppressed groups and actively seek to address the "hegemonic practices that are sedimented in the social relations of the classroom encounter" (p. 203). It seems likely that the colonizing, racist, and neoliberal understandings of "White saviors" and "aid-giving" that are popular in U.S. media colored our constructions of what it means to "give agency" to our students. If the way we have, in the above conversational excerpts, approached giving agency and "aid" to students is not atypical, language teacher educators might consider offering more explicit instruction regarding the multilateral, collective nature of knowledge production that is implied by a transformative teacher-student relationship and offer their students greater opportunities to reflect on their own ideological understanding of who English language

[145] "every teacher is always a pupil and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 481)

learners are and how hegemonic beliefs and socio-economic identities are implicated in their relationships with these learners.

5.3 Conclusion

As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have recommended, I have taken a “spiral” approach to this research, returning again and again to examine similar themes and even the same interactive moments. Now that I have, with the conclusion of this dissertation, finished a first accounting of my data, I find myself in particular sympathy with Andrews’ (2013) observation that our interpretations of data are tightly connected to our own, ever-changing perspective. Each time I returned my attention to a coded theme, a note in my research journal, or a single transcribed passage, I brought a slightly different perspective. Most of the relatively few moments I have chosen to analyze in detail for this report did not immediately stand out to me. Indeed, I was initially disappointed that my focal participants’ range of identity performances did not include more overt resistance to the Key Program Discourses, like those that I had noted as a casual observer of previous MATESOL cohorts, as I was keen to investigate such resistance. It was only after returning again and again to my data that I began to see the nuances of my participants’ identity performances, to see more definition and interconnected shape in their oral interaction, as though I were making a charcoal rubbing of a relief sculpture. Yet as with such rubbings, a shift in orientation will highlight very different aspects. Viewing all of the analytical selections I have excerpted here together at once offers a unique perspective on this research, a perspective that benefits from focused attention on selected elements put into juxtaposition, but also a perspective situated in time that rests on the many subjective decisions that produced these selections and their juxtapositions. In presenting this data, the earlier efforts I have made, as well as any subsequent efforts I may make, feature not only different perspectives from me but also a different selection and arrangement of data to suit shifting research ends. I concur with (Andrews, 2013), that although my ongoing and ever-evolving perspective has not necessarily given me a “truer” reading of this data, the length of time I have already spent on this project has offered me a multitude of viewpoints which, taken collectively, can be “most illuminating” (p. 209).

This research has taken place during a number of personal, institutional, and society-wide events of significance. It began almost precisely with my becoming a father, as I began my exams to advance to

doctoral candidacy the day my family returned from the hospital. It spanned two separate labor disputes between the CSU teaching assistants and the teachers of the CSU IEP, both of which impacted the timing and nature of this research. It was conducted through two of the most contentious presidential elections in recent U.S. history and the political unrest that has attended this political polarization. It was completed in the midst of a years-long global pandemic, during which my family moved first to a neighboring state and then across the country. The nation, Cascade State University, and I have all changed considerably over the duration of this project. Although it is presented tidily as one document, potentially to be comprehended over a few hours' time in one or a few sittings, it is perhaps, not unlike "identity," more useful to consider it as a collection of situated performances, a curated, summative take on a series of snapshot images, taken over years.

There are, of course, still major through-lines that connect my thinking throughout this study. Very early on, I was given the opportunity to present my plans to an audience of colleagues, mostly from my home department of English. One member of the audience had recently joined the English department but had decades of experience as a researcher in a STEM field. This member asked how I would "prove" my findings, and this question has stuck with me because it emerges, I feel, out of the same epistemological conflict that lies at the heart of conversations about equity in English language instruction. This conflict echoes in questions received from friends about why "we" (presumably a "we" that broadly encompasses all English teachers of all sorts everywhere) do not educate people more thoroughly into "proper grammar." How indeed, can I prove my findings? Why, indeed, do we not simply teach everyone "proper English grammar" and stop wringing our hands over moral concerns? These questions are quite reasonable when one subscribes uncritically to the received notion that knowledge and language can not only be universally true, complete, and correct, but that efforts to reveal the fragmented, partial, and situated nature of knowledge and language are unhelpful equivocations.

There is no doubt, of course, that positivist approaches to science have yielded enormous practical and material benefits, but it would be foolish to ignore that such approaches have also contributed to and continue to contribute to gross injustices across every hierarchized and minoritized identity category. To take one salient example from the current study, conceiving of the construct of "nativeness" as a natural, purely objective and easily measured, empirical fact suppresses the

understandings that can emerge from viewing it as a social construct embedded in webs of social signification and frequently deployed in a discriminatory fashion. The former, "objective," conception requires us to posit a reality that is directly named by language, whereas the latter acknowledges an external reality that is always subjected to localized, socially negotiated understandings.

As I have elaborated in Chapters 1 and 2, I have theorized language and knowledge production as necessarily situated and subjective. I find these theorizations far more compelling than those which pretend to an ahistorical universality and objectivity, and such theorizations apply to this report as well as to the data collected and analyzed for it. I therefore cannot provide replicable or testable claims about my work as researchers tend to do after conducting experiments in applied physics or chemistry, for this is not how I have structured this research. My research was with participants who were (and are) extremely complex human beings, not dry ice pucks moving along a smooth surface. Experiments with controlled variables are simply "not designed to explore the complexities and conundrums of the immensely complicated social world that we inhabit" (Richards, 2003, p. 8). Even if one imagines that we could, in principle, make empirical measurements of and experimentally verify human identities and beliefs in a productive fashion, such quantifiable proof is clearly not possible today. Thus, like many qualitative researchers, I have acknowledged the "inevitability of subjectivity" (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015) and chosen to study the identity expressions of my participants "from the perspective of the interacting individual" (Denzin, 1997, p. xv), namely myself.[146]

The partiality and qualified nature of my findings, which, it must be admitted, are real limitations of qualitative research like that I have conducted, are also a source of strength. By not confining myself to the rigidly quantifiable, I have been freed to explore the unquantifiable. I hope to have given the reader a holistic impression of the diverse and even, at times, contradictory identities that my participants and I performed over the course of this study and to have drawn plausible, however qualified, connections

[146] My qualitative approach does not mean, of course, that I see no place for more quantitative research into specific phenomena related to transformative teacher identities and more socially just pedagogy. While there is no way to definitively "prove" a best practice for language teaching and language teacher education, quantitative research can be used to give us insight into specific practices in the interest of furthering social justice, as long as care is taken to intervene in the dehumanizing, positivist traditions that often accompany such research (Strunk & Hoover, 2019).

between these performances and the institutional situations and discursive ideologies present in our environment.

After reflecting on the completed report of my study, I am still not certain that I have done full justice in my portrayal of the commitment to greater educational equity that every individual involved, student or faculty, expressed. There is a tendency in critical work, I feel, to focus on things that aren't working more than on the things that are, and I see this tendency reflected in my own writing. I should thus emphasize again that I have been inspired and humbled by my participants' (both faculty and students) efforts to humanize their teaching and their ongoing struggles for greater social equity. I have presented a case throughout this study for a more socially attentive approach to language teaching and English language teacher education, and this perspective naturally valorizes the CSU MATESOL program's Key Program Discourses as well as a socially transformative teaching identity. The moments recorded earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 4 where individuals express doubt or frustrations with these discourses or with this identity could therefore easily be taken as personal criticisms or as evidence of character flaws. Similarly, instances where we reproduce neoliberal ideology could be considered individual failings. I would like to reiterate my wish from Chapter 1 that these accounts not be read in such a way.

I have myself occupied many of the different institutional positions occupied by those who have volunteered their time for this study (MATESOL student, teaching assistant, observed teacher, full-time teacher in the CSU IEP, MATESOL seminar instructor, etc.) and have thus been subjected to the same social and institutional pressures. If I were to encourage the judging of individuals for their complicity in and reproduction of hegemonic systems, I am confident that I would not fair nearly so well as my participants. However, if there is one thing I hope this study has made abundantly clear it is that these discursive productions and identity performances can more productively be viewed as thoroughly embedded in the circumstances of their production—and not as emerging wholesale out of a supposedly innate and immutable moral character, whether good or bad. I thoroughly believe that decolonizing English Language Teaching is an imperative and moral good, but as my own comments in Excerpt 4N reveal, I am at least as susceptible to reproducing hegemonic, colonizing understandings as any one of my participants, given the "right" social environment. Recognizing the complexity and inconsistency of

people as individuals is an important stance to take in combating the colonizing, modernist, and reductive approaches to research that treat humans as if they were easily quantifiable robots.

In light of the social and institutional pressures that I have discussed over the course of this research, the extent to which the CSU MATESOL program prepares teachers to make a transformative difference in the inequitable status quo of English Language Teaching is already remarkable. As a former insider of the CSU MATESOL program, I had, of course, some understanding of the identity work that this program encouraged before I even began this research. However, the last several years of observations, interviews, and the concomitant reading of notes and the time and attention I have dedicated to transcribing oral interactive data from this program have permitted me to pinpoint with great specificity moments where this work is being done. Such attention has given me a clearer focus on moments like that in my discussion of Excerpt 3H, where Instructor A models her own vulnerability to hegemonic discourses, normalizing the challenge and struggle that all transformative intellectuals face in their efforts for greater classroom equity. Working intensely with this data has likewise enabled me to see how Instructor C, in Excerpt 3J, models for her MATESOL students the same critical, questioning approach that she is gently encouraging them to adopt with their English language students.

Similarly, I have nothing but respect for the faculty of the CSU IEP who have long labored with a passion for helping their English language-learning students despite the austerity conditions brought about by the neoliberal influence on their institution. I have worked closely with and benefitted from the generosity of the TA Coordinator and the teachers of the CSU IEP. As I noted above, I have *been* a teacher of the CSU IEP. During my time working there, I too had “English Only” clauses in my syllabi. This was not, I hope, indicative of any moral failing of mine, but rather the predictable symptom of hegemonic understandings of language and language instruction and local, institutional requirements.

A significant challenge for me in reporting this study has been to critique the manner in which we have reproduced an oppressive hegemony as well as the ways we may be hampering more positive social transformation while simultaneously recognizing, as Sync so poignantly pointed out during our very first dinner discussion (2-16-18), that such actions do not mean that we are acting with a “bad heart.” As Bonilla-Silva (2018) and others have noted in their efforts to combat White supremacist racism, it can be dangerously counter-productive to focus on individual moral character when oppression is systemic and

institutional. I believe that the overwhelming majority of English language teachers, as well as the overwhelming majority of all human beings, are working with a “good heart,” insofar as this means doing what they feel is best within the institutional structures and ideologies that they’ve inherited. It is, of course, precisely this desire to do “right” that can contribute to feelings of guilt, embarrassment, and shame when we see that we are responsible in some way for the inequities of the world. Avoiding all such feelings, even if it were possible, may not even be desirable since they are in some way corollary to a desire to make things better. It would certainly be a naïve and counter-productive comfort to simply deny the importance of combating coloniality, racism, and other inequities built into English language teaching. It is thus an important and ongoing challenge for English language teacher educators to acknowledge, in addition to and interwoven with ideological and institutional obstacles, the affective difficulties their students may have in taking on a transformative teacher identity and to scaffold these students through these difficulties in a positive, identity-affirming way. It is again my hope that this project has contributed in some way to this endeavor.

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APPENDIX A

(Recruitment Documents)

Initial Recruitment Email

Subject: An opportunity to participate in TESOL research

Dear current MATESOL students,

I am a former MATESOL student who taught English as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Bangladesh and as a JET program participant in Japan. I have returned to CSU to work on my PhD, which is focused on the social aspects of language learning and language teacher education.

For my dissertation, I will be doing some research on our MATESOL program. In particular, I would like to investigate how our teaching identities are adapted and constructed throughout the early parts of the program.

Specifically, I am hoping to get volunteers who are willing to meet and talk about teaching English and being an English teacher a couple of times a quarter for two or three quarters this year.

I am also hoping to find some MATESOL students who would be willing to let me observe some of the classes they are taking and some of the classes they may be observing and teaching in their Winter and Spring Practicums

I am hoping that we can use the information from interviews and observations to improve our understanding of how language teacher identity is constructed and reconstructed over time in a MATESOL program.

If you decide to participate, you can withdraw from participation at any time.

As I mentioned above, I have been through the MATESOL program and would like to offer myself as a potential mentor and answer questions about classes, theories, readings, courses in the IEP etc. as a way to partially reciprocate for your time.

If you have any questions or would like to volunteer, please contact me at tjwalker@csu.edu

Thank you very much!

TJ Walker

Informed Consent Form Template (MATESOL Student)

English Language Teachers' Pre-Service Identity Constructions: A Narrative Study

CONSENT FORM-
{MATESOL Student}

Researchers: TJ Walker/PhD Candidate/English/tjwalker@csu.edu

Faculty Advisor: Priti Sandhu

Researchers' statement

We are asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what we would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When we have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." We will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This project will aim to better understand how pre-service language teachers build their identities as language teachers through an analysis of the stories they tell about themselves and their teaching. More specifically, this project will seek to answer the following questions:

- If one of the goals of a social justice MATESOL program is to invite its students to become "transformative intellectuals" who work not only to teach the technical skills of English but to avoid or mitigate the social and political injustices of English language teaching—then what can be learned about this identity work through narrative analysis of students' oral interactions?
- What discourses are salient in dialogue with MATESOL students, and how are these discourses negotiated over time with the social justice discourses of the program?
- Many scholars have noted that oral interaction can be a pedagogical tool. To what extent might a "small story" approach to oral interactive data reveal how such interactions further the pedagogical goals of the MATESOL program?
- What subject positions are privileged/discouraged in these oral interactions and what contextual factors (time, place, interlocutors, etc.) influence this process and how do they exert influence?

STUDY PROCEDURES

Interviews

The researcher will schedule an initial, individual, semi-structured interview with you during the Fall quarter of 2017. Follow-up interviews will be scheduled a few weeks later, at the beginning and end of your practicum quarter, and, if you are available, during your non-practicum quarter (4-6 total 1-on-1 interviews). Examples of preliminary interview questions can be found in Appendix A. The researcher will also ask additional probing or clarification questions during the interviews. Participants have the right to refuse to answer any question. Follow-up interview questions will be determined as the research progresses. Each interview will last 60-90 minutes. Over the 2017-2018 academic year, the researcher will schedule two or three focus group interviews with all participants at once. The core research will conclude after Spring quarter, 2018—but interested participants may be approached for an interview near the end of their MA TESOL degree. **All interviews will be audio-recorded**. **Interview time commitment averages to 2-4 hours per quarter for this academic year**.

Observations

Several times each quarter, the researcher will attend the classes you are taking (as well as those you may be teaching in the practicum) to make audio recordings and ethnographic observations. The researcher may also request to observe your out-of-the-classroom preparations for coursework and meetings between you and your instructors and teaching mentors. The researcher will request permission each time for any out-of-class observations and for classes in which you may be teaching. **These observations will not require any additional time commitment on your part.**

Document Collection

The researcher will also collect written artifacts relevant to the study. These artifacts will mostly be work you have produced over the regular course of your classes, but you will occasionally be asked to produce some writing specifically for this research project. [For example, you may be asked to make any changes you wish to your English 571 teaching autobiography after the quarter has finished.] These artifacts will include (but are not limited to): teaching philosophy statements, language teaching autobiographies, teaching journals, metacognitive reflections, lesson plans, teaching handouts, syllabi, assignments, and the MATESOL practicum booklet. You will have the final say in which documents to share with the researcher. Document sharing will take **1-2 hours per quarter for this academic year.**

****Total time commitment for participation 3-6 hours/quarter (9-18 hours/year)****

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

As with any social interaction, sometimes things may be said in in interviews or during observations that would cause us embarrassment and discomfort if they were to be made public, even if published anonymously. *The audio recordings from this research will be kept indefinitely and used in future presentations and publications*.

To alleviate this potential source of stress, participants will have access to the recordings that concern them, and they will be given the chance to delete portions if they wish.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

All participants will directly benefit from the chance to think metacognitively about their identities as teachers. All participants, as language teachers or future language teachers, will also benefit indirectly from the knowledge about language teacher identity construction that will be produced through this research. The primary participants (MATESOL students) will also benefit directly from the sharing of the researcher's experience and advice as a recent graduate from their same degree program. For MA TESOL student participants who wish to perform their own research in the future, participating in research first-hand will also be a direct benefit.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF RESEARCH INFORMATION

All the information you provide will be confidential. However, if we learn that you intend to harm yourself or others, we must report that to the authorities.

Government or university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE STUDY

You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

RESEARCH-RELATED INJURY

If you think you have been harmed from being in this research, contact lead researcher TJ Walker (tjwalker@csu.edu) or the faculty advisor Priti Sandhu (sandhu@csu.edu).

Subject's statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, or if I have been harmed by participating in this study, I can contact one of the researchers listed on the first page of this consent form. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098 or call collect at (206) 221-5940. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Printed name of subject Signature of subject Date

Copies to: Researcher
Subject

Appendix A: Initial Interview Questions:

1. Have you taught English before, and if so, for how long and in what capacity?
2. What motivates you to become an English teacher or to continue being an English teacher?
3. In your opinion, what are some of the most common motivations students have for learning English?
4. According to your experience, what are some of the ways that English teachers make an impact on the world?
5. What qualities do you think a good English teacher should have?
6. What kind of work do you envision yourself doing after your MATESOL degree?
7. What other languages have you studied, and why did you study those languages?
8. What kind of language lessons did you appreciate the most when you were learning your second, third, etc. languages?
9. Where there any kinds of lessons that you thought were unhelpful?
10. Have you ever felt discriminated because of your language choices or language abilities?
11. Can you think of a time when you might have discriminated against someone else because of his or her language choices or abilities?
12. Have you ever noticed people treating one language or accent as better or worse than other languages or accents?
13. If you met someone from London, England, and they told you that your English was “not proper” what do you think that your reaction would be?

Informed Consent Form Template (CSU Instructor/Faculty)

English Language Teachers' Pre-Service Identity Constructions: A Narrative Study
CONSENT FORM-
{MATESOL Instructor}

Researchers: TJ Walker/PhD Candidate/English/tjwalker@csu.edu

Faculty Advisor: Priti Sandhu

Researchers' statement

We are asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what we would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When we have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." We will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This project will aim to better understand how pre-service language teachers build their identities as language teachers through an analysis of the stories they tell about themselves and their teaching. More specifically, this project will seek to answer the following questions:

- If one of the goals of a social justice MATESOL program is to invite its students to become "transformative intellectuals" who work not only to teach the technical skills of English but to avoid or mitigate the social and political injustices of English language teaching—then what can be learned about this identity work through narrative analysis of students' oral interactions?
- What discourses are salient in dialogue with MATESOL students, and how are these discourses negotiated over time with the social justice discourses of the program?
- Many scholars have noted that oral interaction can be a pedagogical tool. To what extent might a "small story" approach to oral interactive data reveal how such interactions further the pedagogical goals of the MATESOL program?
- What subject positions are privileged/discouraged in these oral interactions and what contextual factors (time, place, interlocutors, etc.) influence this process and how do they exert influence?

STUDY PROCEDURES

Interviews

The researcher will schedule an initial, individual, semi-structured interview with you during the Fall quarter of 2017. Up to 3 follow-up interviews will be scheduled over the course of the research study (1-4 total, 1-on-1 interviews). Examples of preliminary interview questions can be found in Appendix A. The researcher will also ask additional probing or clarification questions during the interviews. Participants have the right to refuse to answer any question. Follow-up interview questions will be determined as the research progresses. Each interview will last 60-90 minutes. The core research will conclude after Spring quarter, 2018—but interested participants may be approached for an additional interview during the 2018-2019 academic year. **All interviews will be audio-recorded**. **Interview time commitment equals 1-6 hours total.**

Observations

Several times each quarter, the researcher will attend the classes you are teaching to make audio recordings and ethnographic observations. The researcher may also request to observe your out-of-the-classroom meetings between you and your students. The researcher will request permission each time for any out-of-class observations. **These observations will not require any additional time commitment on your part.**

Document Collection

The researcher will also collect written artifacts relevant to the study. These artifacts will mostly be work you have produced over the regular course of teaching your classes, but you may occasionally be asked to produce some writing specifically for this research project. These artifacts may include: teaching philosophy statements, language teaching autobiographies, teaching journals, metacognitive reflections, lesson plans, teaching handouts, syllabi, assignments, and the MATESOL practicum booklet. You will have the final say in which documents to share with the researcher. Document sharing will take **less than 1 hour per quarter for this academic year.**

****Total time commitment for participation 4-9 hours ****

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

As with any social interaction, sometimes things may be said in in interviews or during observations that would cause us embarrassment and discomfort if they were to be made public, even if published anonymously. The audio recordings from this research will be kept indefinitely and used in future presentations or publications.

To alleviate this potential source of stress, participants will have access to the recordings that concern them, and they will be given the chance to delete portions if they wish.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

All participants will directly benefit from the chance to think metacognitively about their identities as teachers. All participants, as language teachers or future language teachers, will also benefit indirectly from the knowledge about language teacher identity construction that will be produced through this research.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF RESEARCH INFORMATION

All of the information you provide will be confidential. However, if we learn that you intend to harm yourself or others, we must report that to the authorities.

Government or university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE STUDY

You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

RESEARCH-RELATED INJURY

If you think you have been harmed from being in this research, contact lead researcher TJ Walker (tjwalker@csu.edu) or the faculty advisor Priti Sandhu (sandhu@csu.edu).

Subject's statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, or if I have been harmed by participating in this study, I can contact one of the researchers listed on the first page of this consent form. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098 or call collect at (206) 221-5940. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Printed name of subject Signature of subject Date

Copies to: Researcher
Subject

Initial Instructor Interview Questions:

1. What led you to educate English language teachers?

2. What motivates you to continue educating English language teachers?

3. In your opinion, what are some of the most common motivations students have for becoming English language teachers?

4. According to your experience, what are some of the ways that English teachers make an impact on the world? Ideally what should this impact be, and what are the differences (if any) between reality and this ideal?

5. What qualities do you think a good English teacher should have?

6. How would you describe your teaching philosophy?

7. What should be the goals of language education? Have you always had these same goals? If not, what has led you to your current state of mind?

8. How would you describe the model teaching identity for a MATESOL graduate? How are aspects of this identity encouraged throughout the program?

9. What are some of the reactions amongst MATESOL students to this model teacher identity?

10. Can you describe any institutional constraints that may prevent the CSU MATESOL program from being an ideal language teacher education program?

11. What kinds of work do your students do after graduation?

12. Have any of your former students communicated with you about difficulties in upholding the ideals of their MATESOL program in their post-graduation working environment?

APPENDIX B

(Self-Reported Identity Descriptions)

Note: In early February of 2019, I sent a blank version of the tables below (including the explanatory information found in the "Explanation" section immediately below) to each of my participants from the 2017 cohort of MATESOL students at CSU.

At the end of the study, not all of my participants wished to have this information included in its entirety. I have honored all requests to leave out portions of this raw data. The remaining information in each of the following tables is, unless otherwise noted, exactly as I received it from each participant, with the exception that names and places have been changed to help preserve anonymity.

Explanation:
Hi PARTICIPANT NAME
As I work on the dissertation, it will at times be helpful in the analysis to have your own understanding of certain aspects of your identity. In research like this, it is also customary to describe the participants in the "Methodology" chapter, and these descriptions are most valuable when given using descriptions offered by the participants themselves.

All categories can be answered or ignored as you deem fit. For example, if you would prefer not to identify as belonging to a particular category, simply leave that category blank or mark it with an "X."

For categories you choose to answer, please use whatever descriptive terms make the most sense to you.

There are separate columns for how you think others perceive you and for your own perception.

If you feel that some of your responses require further explanation or comment, there is a column for that as well.

As always, please don't hesitate to ask me any questions!
Thank you very much!
TJ

PS Please also verify the pseudonym that you would like me to use for you, and if you would like to change, just let me know!

Kevin

Chosen Pseudonym: Kevin			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	White	White	
Gender/Sex	Male	Male	
Socioeconomic Background	I'm not sure	Typical American middle class	Growing up in the 70s and 80s I thought of myself and my family as middle-to-upper-middle class. In my adult life I identify as middle-to-lower-middle class
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency	French and Korean (among non-native speakers of these languages)	I learned French to a high level of proficiency at one time in my past.	
Age	Others tend to perceive me as younger than my actual age. Many assume I'm mid-to-late 30s	Middle-aged.	To tell the truth, I often feel embarrassed to be in a grad program at my age, even though it isn't that uncommon.

Nationality/ Nationalities	American	I do identify as American, but I don't feel especially American, especially in recent years. I consciously try to construct my identity as a citizen of the world.	
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher	Veteran teacher ([an administrator] used these exact words to describe me recently)	Although I have a lot of experience on paper, I have lacked training and development in most of my teaching career. Most of what I have learned has been "in the trenches" without outside support	
Current/Future Profession(s)	ESOL instructor	ESOL instructor	I don't really have any ambitions to go into administration, author textbooks etc.
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession			Would you be able to clarify this question for me? What do you want to know?
Religious Preference	My family thinks I am a Mormon or lapsed Mormon. People who don't know me probably assume I'm Christian.	I am atheist. While my conservative religious upbringing definitely influences me (in both positive and negative ways) I don't currently subscribe to any religious or spiritual beliefs or practices	

Political Preference	liberal	LIBERAL! -- with leanings toward democratic socialism	
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study **Sexuality**	I think I pass as straight to a lot of my colleagues and students, not because I try to (I don't) but because of others' perceptions/prejudices of what a gay person looks/sounds/acts like	I identify as strictly gay. It's an extremely, and in my opinion valuable, part of my identity. I have never outed myself to a class, but I don't actively hide it either.	
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Huck

Chosen Pseudonym: Huck			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race **White** **Anglo-Caucasian** Our families were German and Polish on my dad's side, and a mix of Chicago mix of Scottish-Irish-French-German-Polish on my mother's side.	Bald, White, Blue-eyed, Middle-class, able-bodied, male: the spitting image of the dominant hegemon. In the past - after getting to know me - people have expressed that it's hard to gauge my sexual orientation, as well as generally what I'm thinking. A former 'doukyuusei' at university said that I came across as arrogant. A former housemate once commented that I was, "Child-like but not childish." These are a few of the stories I've been told about myself. However, all of those stories are from different social contexts than this particular program and cohort. I have	I don't identify *with* or *as* Huck, but there are similarities between us: thus the chosen nickname. For example: Huck is a character who exhibits racist behaviours (whether he knows it or not) while concurrently finding himself questioning more and more the systematic racism of the world he is written into. He, along with the other characters, and the world are written so by a white and historically esteemed man of letters: Mark Twain. Mark ostensibly wrote The Adv. of H. Finn with the intent a of addressing racism - among other things. However, seen from the year 2019, there is a great debate about whether Mark's approach - perhaps once	Though I don't know how others perceive me, I think it's important to note that - of the other members in the cohort - I have taken the most classes together with Katie and Kevin. As such, I have some degree of comfortable interaction with them. Occassionally I'll see Kevin in the office and discuss work, school, and life. Similarly, since Katie and I share similar schedules this quarter (and as our desks were assigned next to each other) we end up having more opportunities to chat. Liz is rarely around when I'm in the office as our schedules (personal and academic) are not as aligned. When we do get a chance to talk, it's usually brief but

	no idea how people perceive me here. In the context of our current co-hort and program - as I've discussed with you before - I do not feel very connected to the other individuals. So, in that sense, I guess I feel that the other graduate students and professors view me in a way which leads to behaviours that lead me to believe that we all have very professional relationships with each other. I'd liken it most to the *tatemae* concept.	perceived as 'liberal' or 'progressive' for its time - is actually anti-racist or not. Is it just another priveleged, white, male enacting institutional racism? The words of the text, no doubt, are offensive. The impact, regardless of intent, is problematic. In the end, its still Mark's story - a priveleged, white, male - who gets to consctruct as an author what is presented as racism. The reader and society always have agency to engage with the text, of course, but Mark still weilds immense persuasive power, as well as historical authority given his identity as one of 'America's' most beloved authors. There is much more to say, I know. But suffice it to say that, I - like Huck - am a fool, on a journey. I have intentions on the one hand (which are not entirely my own) and I have impact on the other. The world I'm currently rafting through is a creation - if not 'literally' - ideologically and	nice. Sync and Chiara, by this point, have both finished their time as TA's in the program. Due to this, I rarely see either of them except for in our 574 Research Methods seminar. [A few lines have been redacted] Chiara has always been easy for me to converse with, but even so - except for her comments about how I'm an 'actor' (or something like that, I can't remember the exact interpellation ;P) - I really don't know how she perceives me other than she seems comfortable talking with me. In sum, I hope that explanation of my interpretations helps explain why I'm not really sure how the others view me.

		historically produced and maintained by what some might call the dominant hegemon. That is not to say that I'm fatalistic, or powerless, or what have you. It is to say that I recognize a certain degree of complexity about my situation and position within the MATESOL program and cohort. As far as how I perceive myself in other contexts, or how I would describe my behaviours depending on other sets of individuals...I'm sure I'd have something different to say.	
Gender/Sex Male, heterosexual			
Socioeconomic Background My parents were the first generation of their families to attend university and get Bachelor's degrees. We were middle class in a way that within our little community of [rural town]			

we were on the upper side of wealth but outside of our community it was clear that we were not as wealthy as the other middle class communities in more suburban and urban areas.			
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency Japanese and Spanish			
Age 30			
Nationality/ Nationalities 'American'			
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher Three years of teaching English abroad. 2 quarters of being an IEP TA at CSU. I previously taught private music lessons, but I don't know how to quantify that at the moment as it happened on and off over the course of a decade.			

Current/Future Profession(s) TA at the IEP at CSU I'm looking for work abroad in Japan, and I hope to teach at the university level.			
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession			
Religious Preference I don't belong to any organized religions or belief systems such as agnostics or atheists.			
Political Preference Peacefully sustainable anarchy that ensures the well being of traditionally perceived sentient and non-sentient beings, preferably. However, in the 2016 elections I voted for Hillary Clinton. That should say something about my political positionality.			
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Chiara

Chosen Pseudonym: Chiara			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	They probably see that I am white.	Human	
Gender/Sex		Female	
Socioeconomic Background		Middle class	
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency		Italian, Spanish, English, French (I studied French on my own-speak fluently but read Marcel Proust with difficulty--just to give you an idea. Write it with the help of a dictionary just to	

		make sure I get the verbs right.	
Age		57	
Nationality/ Nationalities		Venezuelan, Italian, Canadian, US.	
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher		-EFL Venezuela. 2 years. -EFL Vancouver, Canada. 1.5 years. Also, translation Italian-English-Italian. -Italian Bellevue, WA. Bellevue College. -EFL/ESL Immigration Center Bellevue. Jewish Family Services.	
Current/Future Profession(s)		-Plan to volunteer in Vancouver while looking for a part time EFL/ESL position.	

My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession		In the near future I plan to work with immigrants and with paying students. In terms of prestige, it all depends on where I will be teaching, which country, and which school. For now, I don't have enough information to fill in this category.	
Religious Preference		I am interested in religion from a philosophical perspective. I am not a religious person and I don't believe in any god or gods. On the other hand, I am spiritual, I love yoga, I love meditating...	
Political Preference		Democracy, not plutocracy. It is hard to see what is happening in Venezuela, and also places in Europe, including Italy, France, the UK, and most importantly, what is happening here in the US.	
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Liz

Chosen Pseudonym: Liz			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	White	White	
Gender/Sex	Female	Female	
Socioeconomic Background	Middle Class	Middle Class	
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency	English	English	
Age	26	26	
Nationality/ Nationalities	American	American	
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher	Little experience, but some proficiency for some people	Little experience or proficiency	
Current/Future Profession(s)	Teacher	Unsure	
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession	Beginner	Low	

Religious Preference	Christian, Atheist	None	Others probably label me one way or the other
Political Preference	Democrat	None	Raised by democrats
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study	None	Social anxiety	Others probably don't see that I suffer from anxiety
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Katie

Chosen Pseudonym: Katie			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	Caucasian/white	Caucasian/white	
Gender/Sex	female	female	
Socioeconomic Background	Middle class	Middle class	
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency	English	English	

Age	mid-20s	26	
Nationality/ Nationalities	American	American	
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher		3 years of direct classroom instruction experience	
Current/Future Profession(s)		IEP TA	
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession			

Religious Preference			
Political Preference	liberal	liberal	
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Maggie

Chosen Pseudonym: Maggie			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	White/Caucasian	White/Caucasian	
Gender/Sex	I've had a number of people tell me that they didn't see me as being very feminine, but as far as I know people generally see me as female.	I feel like it's a bit reductionist but I'm good with the label female.	
Socioeconomic Background	Middle class	Middle class	
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency	People who don't speak any foreign languages including my parents and husband tend to give me a lot of credit for what ability I have with other languages. My friends who do know multiple languages well are probably not so impressed.	I feel like English is the only language in which I have a high level of proficiency. However I have some accomplishment in Russian (particularly conversation); Uzbek (particularly reading); and French (also reading).	
Age	People tend to assume that I'm younger than I am. If that's relevant here at all it may be an asset in getting work as I transition careers.	42 (40 when we started)	
Nationality/ Nationalities	I'm guessing people generally see me as American.	With regard to birth and citizenship I was born in the US and am a dual citizen of the US and Canada. My background is a mix of	

		European origins, of which I culturally identify most with English and Swedish.	
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher	The information I have about this is mainly in the feedback I have from other teachers I have worked with or who have observed me, which has been remarkably positive. I feel like the teachers I have worked with generally trust me to do a good job and have respect for my ideas.	I am a relative novice. Before I started the MATESOL program, I had spent one year teaching Uzbek language classes as a TA at CSU, and one year teaching an ABE class in reading and writing (mostly to immigrants) at Literacy Source in [the city near CSU]. In both cases I developed most of my own curriculum materials and lesson plans, which I feel really enhanced the experience and developed my confidence in my ability.	
Current/Future Profession(s)		I'm hoping to teach at a community college with immigrants and/or international students.	
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession	I don't think there's a whole lot of prestige associated with being a community college ESL instructor in the view of the general public	I have always felt good telling people about my teaching. It's something I enjoy and feel proud of. Where I struggle in my view of my career path is that I have internalized some of the attitude found in academia that a person can't really be taken seriously without a PhD. At this point I don't plan to do that.	

Religious Preference		I was raised Lutheran and am an active member of a Lutheran church now. I don't, however, think that Lutherans or Christians in general have a monopoly on God or the right way to be spiritual.	
Political Preference		Definitely toward the left end of the spectrum. I tend to vote democrat, or sometimes green	
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			

Su Zhang

Chosen Pseudonym: Su Zhang			
Identity Category	**Others' perception of me:**	**My own perception:**	**Notes or comments on responses**
Race	Asian	Asian	
Gender/Sex	Female	Female	I often feel that being Asian and female puts me in a disadvantage position at my work and beyond, so I have subconsciously tried hard and do extra work to "compensate" for that.
Socioeconomic Background	Lower middle class	Lower middle class	I was born in a family which is considered as the middle class within the local community, as my father is a doctor, and we are the only family that have supported all the children to attend college. However, from the large society, my family should be considered as the working class because of the relatively disadvantaged economic situation in my community.
Languages learned to a high level of proficiency	Chinese: native speaker with a bachelor's degree in Chinese English: fluent in professional use	Chinese: native speaker with a bachelor's degree in Chinese English: fluent in professional use	
Age	30-40	30-40	
Nationality/ Nationalities	Korean/Chinese	Chinese	

	I am often misrecognized as Korean.		
Teaching Experience and/or proficiency as a teacher	Some student left me comments on perceiving me as a new teacher but with great potential to be a great teacher. But I was told recently by one of my professors that I looked like one that has had 20 years of teaching experience based on my interactions with students (hahah…). I look at the student's comment is more objective, and close to the real me in my teaching; my professor's is more like an encouragement.	I have three years of Chinese teaching experience, and one year and half English teaching experience at the postsecondary level. For me there is still a lot to learn and explore in both the content and pedagogical l methods.	
Current/Future Profession(s)	Current: Part-time lecturer Future: work as either faculty or administrator or both in the school environment: K-12, two-year colleges, or four-year colleges. I have the above conclusion is because I have been told for a couple of times that I look like a teacher.	Current: Part-time lecturer Future: work as either faculty or administrator or both in the school settings: K-12, two-year colleges, or four-year colleges.	
My place in the professional hierarchy--status or prestige attached to chosen current or future profession	Unknown	Being somewhere in the middle might best describe my status in my current and future profession.	
Religious Preference	unknown	None	As a new immigrant, I did go to the local

			church for a couple of times. The reason I stopped going later is that I was not quite convinced by what I have been preached with. If for social purposes only, I would like to meet people in other places instead, and to keep room for those who truly believe in what they are practicing.
Political Preference	Unknown	The school environment has naturally provided me a basis of self-identifying as liberal rather than conservative.	I did not intend to be affiliated with any political party or organization, but if any of them serves to create educational equality and work for the overall benefits of student learning, that would be the one I would like to be part of.
Other category you feel may be relevant to your identity in the context of this study			My studies at CSU, in particular in the MATESOL program, help me become a more confident person. Being aware of the constructive reality and process of my personal identity, I have become more active in participating in my identity construction and in striving to become the person that I admire and would like to become. Overall, I am much happier now with my academic pursuits.
Other category you feel may be relevant to your			

identity in the context of this study			

APPENDIX C

(Noteworthy Assignment Prompts)

Language Learning Autobiography

(Initial Prompt and Revision Prompt- as given in the English 501 syllabus Autumn, 2017)

2. Language Learning Autobiography (3 pages) 10%

Central to the perspectives from which this course is taught is a belief that teachers are theorizers who practice and write from their own positionalities and experiences. In this assignment, which is designed to create a space that supports connections between teachers' lives and teachers' intellectual theorizing, you are asked to write about your experience of learning a second language. This paper should be a reflective narrative piece rooted in your personal experience. Examples are included on the course website under "Examples of Language Learning Autobiographies." For an example of an integration of biography and linguistic identity, see the following readings included on the course website:

Vandrick, S. (2002). ESL and the colonial legacy: A teacher faces her 'missionary kid' past. In V. Zamel and R. Spack (eds). *Enriching ESOL Pedagogy: Readings and Activities for Engagement, Reflection, and Inquiry*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Canagarajah, A.S. (2012). Teacher Development in a Global Profession: An Autoethnography. *TESOL Quarterly 46*(2), 258-279.

At the end of the course, you will be rewriting the paper, integrating your learning over the semester.

Evaluation Criteria

In your autobiography, you should:

2 Thoughtfully discuss your personal experience of language learning
2 Reflect upon the significance of your experiences
2 Raise questions about your language learning experiences
2 Write clearly, compellingly, and elegantly
2 Share a thoughtful, interesting 2-minute spoken précis of your narrative with your classmates

Total: 10

4. Language Learning Autobiography Revisited (4 pages, excluding references) 10%

It is not enough to know thyself. Teachers must also know the content of their fields and which issues are historically important and currently unresolved …That includes the theories of teaching, knowledge of teaching and communication skills, subject matter knowledge, pedagogical reasoning and decision-making skills, and knowledge of the context of teaching … curricular knowledge, [and] knowledge of educational purposes and philosophies.

(Casanave, 2004, p.15)

Rewrite the paper you submitted at the beginning of the course about your experience of learning another language, this time considering what you have learned in this course. Your paper should integrate your personal experiences with class readings, your reflections on these readings, and class discussions. You should include at least 5 references from class readings.

Evaluation Criteria

In your revised language learning biography, you should:
2 Include a critical examination of your personal experience
2 Include at least 5 well-integrated references to class readings
1 Demonstrate reflection on class readings
1 Situate your experience within a larger sociocultural context
1 Artfully integrate biography and linguistic identity
2 Write clearly, compellingly, and elegantly
1 Use APA or MLA style, including an appropriately cited list of references
Total 10

Language Teaching Autobiography

(Full Prompt as given in the English 502 syllabus – Winter, 2018)

II. Language Teaching Methods Autobiography (3 pages)

Central to the perspectives from which this course is taught is a belief that teachers are theorizers who practice and write from their own positionalities and experiences. In this assignment, which is designed to create a space that supports connections between teachers' experiences and teachers' intellectual theorizing, you are asked to write about your language teaching experiences. Reflect on some or all of the following questions: How did you learn to teach? Were you taught specific "methods"? What teaching methods have you drawn on in your past practice, and how did you come to use these methods? What role did methods play in your teaching? Provide specific examples. What methods were modeled to you? What did you like about your language teaching experiences, what did you dislike? How would you teach differently in retrospect? What were sources of knowledge in your past teaching (mentors, language learning experiences, apprenticeship of observation (Waller, 1932), supervisors, institutionally prescribed methods)? In the light of your past experiences, what do you need to know about TESOL methods that will support your intellectual skills in analyzing new situations and will equip you to teach in them? Use your own language, the language that makes sense for you as you describe the evolution of your ideas. It is not necessary for you to use TESOL terminology if it is not cohesive with your own voice. This paper should be a reflective narrative piece rooted in your personal experience.

Evaluation Criteria

In your autobiography, you should:

2 Thoughtfully discuss your experiences teaching languages

2 Reflect upon the significance of your experiences for your future language teaching practice

2 Raise questions about language teaching methods

2 Write clearly, compellingly, and elegantly

2 Share a thoughtful, interesting 2-minute precis of your narrative with your classmates

Total: 10

APPENDIX D

(Online Program Materials)

Program Guide

(As available to my participants before matriculating in Autumn, 2017)

Master of Arts for Teachers (of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Program Guide

Requirements

The requirements for the Master of Arts for Teachers (English as a Second Language) degree include at least 44 credits of coursework, and intermediate-level competence in a language other than English. The degree can be completed within six full-time quarters.

* Coursework
* Language Requirement

Timeline

The degree can be completed within six fulltime quarters, and completion within eight full-time quarters (or their part-time equivalent) is acceptable for satisfactory progress.

Coursework

The MAT(ESOL) program is designed to provide each candidate with theoretical background in linguistics and second-language acquisition, opportunities to apply theory to second-language learning settings, and a background in the target language, e.g., in English grammar. A grade of 3.0 or above must be earned in each course applying toward the MAT(ESOL) degree. The required total of at least 44 credits must include the following:

ENGL 501, 502, 504, 505 (or LING 401), 506; LING 200 or 400

2 courses (at least 6 credits) from ENGL 407, 408, 409, 506, 512, 514, 517, 519, 518; LING 432, LING 403/ANTH 403, LING 415, 425, LING 475/PSYCH 475, 462, LING 464/ANTH 464, 532

1 elective (Any course 400-level or above in English, Anthropology, or Linguistics, including those listed above, or any foreign language course not used to fulfill the language requirement may fulfill the elective requirement. An elective may also be approved from related courses in other fields.)

ENGL 507 (Practicum in TESL). The Practicum involves supervised teaching and seminar attendance. The instructional experience may be gained in a variety of settings. Students who are granted Teaching Assistantships should elect the Practicum during their first quarter as a T.A. The normal requirement for ENGL 507 is two quarters, five credits each quarter. Students with substantial ESL teaching experience may petition for exemption from five credits of the Practicum. When such petitions are approved, the total number of credits for the program is reduced.

Language Requirement

A student who has not fulfilled the language requirement at the time of admission should do so as early as possible. The requirement can be satisfied in three ways:

> by completing the second-year coursework (or its equivalent) of a language other than English with a grade of 3.0 or higher; the requirement maybe met by a course taken no earlier than three years before entering Graduate School at Cascade State University
>
> by completing one year of coursework (or its equivalent) of a non-Indoeuropean language with a grade of 3.0 or higher; the requirement may be met by a course taken no earlier than three years before entering Graduate School at Cascade State University.
>
> a passing score on a language exam administered by the Cascade State University Educational Assessment Center.
>
> approved professional verification of intermediate or native-speaker ability in another language.

Thesis Option

MATESOL students may choose to complete a thesis as part of their program, under the guidance of a thesis supervisory committee. The committee shall consist of 2-4 English graduate faculty members. Students writing a

thesis complete 10 credits of Engl 700, which can replace two of the elective courses.

Advising

Students in the MAT(ESOL) program are advised by the MAT(ESOL) Adviser, with whom they should meet before registering for first-quarter courses.
The Adviser will review degree requirements and assist in the choice of coursework. Throughout the student's program, the Adviser will continue to
provide advice on matters of scholarship and professional preparation and in planning further coursework.

Applying for the Degree

A student applying for the Master of Arts for Teachers (of English to Speakers of Other Languages) degree must submit that application to the Graduate School within the first two weeks of the quarter in which the degree is to be conferred and must be registered during that quarter.

Degree Requirements
(As available to my participants before matriculating in Autumn, 2017)

Master of Arts for Teachers (of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Degree Requirements

This pages includes degree requirements and information about the Master of Arts for Teachers (English as a Second Language) degree, including:

Requirements

The requirements for the Master of Arts for Teachers (English as a Second Language) degree include at least 39 credits of coursework, and intermediate-level competence in a language other than English.

Coursework

The MAT(ESOL) program is designed to provide each candidate with theoretical background in linguistics and second-language acquisition, opportunities to apply theory to second-language learning settings, and a background in the target language, e.g., in English grammar. A grade of 3.0 or above must be earned in each course applying toward the MAT(ESOL) degree. The required total of at least 39 credits must include the following:

Five Core TESOL Courses
Engl 501 (5) Theory and Practice of TESOL
Engl 502 (5) Methods and Materials for Teaching ESOL
Engl 504 (5) Research Methods in Second Language Acquisition
Engl 506 (5) Testing and Evaluation in English as a Second Language
Ling 401 (5) Syntax or Engl 505 (5) Pedagogical Grammar
Competency in Linguistics, which may be satisfied by
LING 202 (5) Introduction to Linguistic Thought or
LING 402 (5) Survey of Linguistic Method and Theory or
Equivalent (0-5)

Two courses selected from the following:
Engl 407 (5) Theory and Practice of Teaching Writing
Engl 408 (5) Language and Social Policy
Engl 409 (5) Lang. Variation and Social Policy in North America
Engl 506 (5) Nature of Language
Engl 512 (5) Discourse Analysis
Engl 514 (5) Current Rhetorical Theory
Engl 517 (5) Approaches to Teaching Composition
Engl 518 (5) Topics in Composition Studies
Engl 519 (5) Topics in Language and Rhetoric
Engl 508 (5) TESOL Colloquium
Ling 423 (5) or 532(5) Sociolinguistics I
Ling 403/Anth 403 (5) Sociolinguistics II
Ling 425 (5) Phonology II
Ling 475/Psych 475 (5) Language Development
Ling 446 (5) Syntax
Ling 446/Anth 464 (3) Language Politics and Cultural Identity

Ling 553 (5) Phonetics
Ling 554 (5) Phonology I or Ling 454 (5) Phonology I
EDC&I 435 (3) Teaching the Bilingual/Bicultural Student
EDC&I 485 (3) Content Area ESL Instruction
EDC&I 582 (4) Foundations of Language, Literacy and Culture
EDC&I 573 (4) Classroom Discourse
EDC&I 504 (3) Immigrant Schooling
EDC&I 554 (3) Multilingual Socialization and Development
EDC&I 574 (3) Sociolinguistics

Elective. Any course 400-level or above in English, Anthropology, Education, or Linguistics, including those listed above, or in any language other than English not used to fulfill the language requirement may fulfill the elective requirement. An elective may also be approved from related courses in other fields.

Engl 507 - Practicum in Teaching ESL (5-10)
The practicum involves a supervised teaching experience and seminar attendance. The instructional experience may be gained in a variety of settings. Students who are granted teaching assistantships should also elect the Practicum during their first quarter as a T.A. The normal requirement for ENGL 507 is two quarters, five credits for each quarter. Students with substantial TESOL teaching experience may petition for exemption from five credits of the practicum. When such petitions are approved, the total number of credits for the program is reduced.

Language Requirement

Students must demonstrate intermediate-level competence in a language other than English. A student who has not fulfilled the language requirement at the time of admission should do so as early as possible. The requirement can be satisfied by:

completing the second-year coursework (or its equivalent) of a language other than English with a grade of 3.0 or higher; the requirement may be met by a course taken no earlier than three years before entering Graduate School at Cascade State University; or

by completing one year of coursework (or its equivalent) of a non-Indoeuropean language with a grade of 3.0 or higher; the requirement may be met by a course taken no earlier than three years before entering Graduate School at Cascade State University; or

a passing score on a language exam administered by the Cascade State University Educational Assessment Center; or

approved professional verification of intermediate or native-speaker ability in another language.

Thesis Option

MATESOL students may choose to complete a thesis as part of their program, under the guidance of a thesis supervisory committee. The committee shall consist of 2-4 English graduate faculty members. Students writing a thesis complete 10 credits of Engl 707, which can replace two of the elective courses.

Timeline

The program is usually completed in five or six quarters. Completion within eight full-time quarters (or their parttime equivalent) is acceptable for satisfactory progress.

Advising

Students in the MAT(ESOL) program are advised by the MAT(ESOL) Adviser, with whom they should meet before registering for first-quarter courses. The Adviser will review degree requirements and assist in the choice of coursework. Throughout the student's program, the Adviser will continue to provide advice on matters of

scholarship and professional preparation and in planning further coursework.

Applying for the Degree

A student applying for the Master of Arts for Teachers (of English to Speakers of Other Languages) degree must submit that application to the Graduate School within the first two weeks of the quarter in which the degree is to be conferred and must be registered during that quarter.