The Tensions of Globalization in the Contact Zone: The Case of Two Intermediate University-level Spanish Language and Culture Classrooms on the U.S./Mexico Border

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation centrally explores understandings of foreign/second language and culture learning and its potential to prepare learners to participate in a globalized world. Much research has already been conducted on how globalization has influenced understandings of what it means to learn languages and cultures, how they are taught, and what their ultimate goals are in terms of learning (Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta, & Räisänen, 2012; Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Kramsch, 2014). This dissertation study adds to this research by responding to Scarino's (2014) call to expand theoretical understandings of language, culture, and learning in relationship to processes of both globalization and neoliberalism. More specifically, this study explores the potential of a dynamic or complexity orientation (Wesely, 2012) to understand how beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions towards language and culture learning are constructed and negotiated in the relationship between learners and instructors, as complex social beings, and the learning site, as "contestatory discursive site" (Mckay & Wong, 1996)

The site of this ethnographic study can be understood as interconnected *contact zones*, as defined by Pratt (2008), or social spaces "where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (p. 7). These contact zones are two Spanish language and Latino cultures classrooms situated at a university in San Diego on the border between the United States and Mexico. Primary participants include two third-semester university level Spanish instructors, Yesenia and Vicente, and their respective students.

I collected data in two learning spaces: the language learning classrooms and the sites where students from Yesenia's class completed community-service learning (CSL) projects; all of these latter CSL sites involved the students' engagement with local immigrant populations. In both spaces, I employed qualitative methodology with an ethnographic focus, which involved participant observation, extensive field notes, audio- and video-recordings of classes, and collecting class-related textual artifacts and pedagogical materials. I applied discourse analysis to explore classroom interactions, teaching materials, and interviews with a focal group of students from each class, the instructors, the department chair, and personnel related to the CSL program, including staff, site coordinators, community leaders, and community participants.

My analysis suggests that the two language and culture classrooms not only reflect the larger tensions of globalization, but also produce new tensions. The instructors and the learners

have differing perceptions of language and culture and the importance of their learning. These understandings are constructed in relationship to their positionings within the classroom, the university, the community, and the local context. The two instructors struggle with their conflicted positioning within the power structure of the university and in the broader relationship between the United States and Latin America, particularly as they are both Mexican immigrants. They also grapple with the instrumental approach that is imposed through the textbook in which learners accumulate grammatical forms and vocabulary while culture is consumed through superficial representations of "Otherness," presented as imagined tourists visits and the accumulation of geographical and historical information (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010; Kramsch & Vinall, 2015).

In the first classroom, Yesenia accepts the instrumental approach, encouraging the accumulation of largely decontextualized language forms, and she participates in the construction of what I call a tourist gaze on Latin America (Sheller, 2003; Merrill, 2009, Urry, 2002), believing that it will facilitate learners' appreciation of her cultural heritage. In the second classroom, Vicente rejects the instrumental approach: he wants to facilitate language and culture learning through critically understanding, reflecting on, and proposing alternatives to the social, economic, and political realities of the contact zone. In both classrooms, however, learners resent these pedagogical choices, their resistance revealing tensions in their own understandings and goals. Learners express a desire to develop cultural awareness so that they can care about the realities of Latin America yet doing so uncomfortably implicates them in larger global relationships in which they must confront their privileged positionings. This process was particularly evident in their CSL experiences in which "putting a face on it" reproduced problematic binaries, such as that of "us" and "them" and "server" and "served," and in the process reinforced larger power structures and reproduced privilege. Even though the learners want to engage in more than superficial communication they also recognize the limited role of their language and culture learning in their current lives, namely to successfully complete the language requirement, to engage in tourism, and to compete in the global marketplace.

The findings of this study suggest ever increasing tensions between understandings of learning language and culture in the classroom in contrast to the potentiality of this learning as applied outside of the classroom. In both classrooms, the learners and the instructors demonstrate an awareness of the conflicting attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions that they bring to the classroom and how these interact with the teaching materials as well as the local context, yet they do not engage in critical reflection on these understandings. Doing so would require engaging with the central question of power, and how their language and culture learning experiences (re)produce social structures both in and outside of the classroom. In this regard, one of the central limitations of the dynamic or complexity orientation (Wesely, 2012) that I have employed is that it does not centrally interrogate this question of power.

This study points to the need for future research in field of second language acquisition that considers how institutional structures influence understandings of language and language learning, the pedagogical choices that are made in the classroom, and the possibilities for agency on the part of both instructors and learners to explore their own understandings of language in relationship to pedagogical choices and learning. In the end, if one of the primary consequences of globalization and neoliberalism is the exacerbation of asymmetrical power relations and social structures, in order to understand how they have influenced language and culture learning and how to prepare learners to participate in a globalized world would require additional theorizations of how this power is operating.

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To my father, whose perseverance and determination have been my guidance and my rock.
Thanks to you I always know that everything will be ok.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Symbol	**Name**	**Function**
word	Bold	Indicates stress
(1)	Timed Pause	Measured in seconds
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause of less than (0.2)
wor:::d	Colon(s)	Prolongation of previously indicated sound, syllable or word
↑↓	Arrows	Indicates a rise or fall in intonation
-	Hyphen	Self-interruption

Adapted from:

Jefferson, G. (1984). Transcription notation. In Atkinson, J. & Heritage, J. (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action,* pp. ix-xvi. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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INTRODUCTION

1. MAPPING THE JOURNEYS

This dissertation is one that centrally involves journeys. The first is my own as a researcher and graduate student undertaking this project. The second is based on those of two instructors and many learners as they explore and negotiate understandings of linguistic and cultural Otherness in two university-level Spanish classrooms on the U.S. / Mexican border. These understandings speak to larger questions around the role and purpose of foreign / second language learning and its potential to prepare learners to participate in a globalized world. Indeed, the location of this research project at the intersection of several borders, between the United States and Latin America; San Diego and Tijuana; and the university campus and local community, bring to light the many tensions of globalization and the asymmetrical relations it can produce. These border zones reinforce the need to examine the purposes and processes of language and culture learning, particularly in the case of Spanish, as learners and instructors negotiate their own positionalities in the meeting of disparate cultures. Primary participants included two third-semester university level Spanish instructors, Yesenia and Vicente, and their respective students. I collected data in two learning spaces: the language learning classrooms and the sites where students from Yesenia's class completed community-service learning (CSL) projects; all of these latter CSL sites involved the students' engagement with local immigrant populations.

Instead of beginning with these two dissertation journeys, my own and those of the participants, I briefly consider the journey of another, Ernesto (Che) Guevara, as represented in the movie *Diarios de motocicleta* (Motorcycle Diaries) (Tenenbaum, Nozik, & Tenkoff, 2004). Like the instructors and learners in a Spanish classroom, this filmic journey also represents an encounter with "Otherness." The gaze that is constructed focuses back in time, yet new meanings emerge as the journey is resignified, recontextualized, and told anew in a contemporary moment. At the same time, by retelling this journey here, in the context of this research project, I also imbue it with new meanings. In doing so, I hope that these meanings serve to situate my own positionality as well as the central concerns that gave rise to this dissertation.

2. ERNESTO AND ALBERTO'S JOURNEY

Diarios de motocicleta is based on Ernesto (Che) Guevara's travel log of his 1952 expedition with his friend, Alberto Granada, from his home in Buenos Aires, Argentina, to his final destination, a leprosy colony in Venezuela. I highlight one particular scene in this journey that takes place in the Atacama Desert of Chile. Ernesto and Alberto are en route to Chuquicamata, the world's most productive copper mine owned by the largest mining company in the world: the U.S.'s Anaconda Mining Company[1]. They meet a young couple, a nameless man and woman, who, by the warmth of a fire, relate their journey. The conversation begins with a map, the man points to a spot and says, "here Yes. Right there. Home":

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[1] In 1971 Salvador Allende, the newly elected socialist president of Chile, confiscated the Chuquicamata mine and Anaconda and it lost two thirds of its copper production. After the military overthrew Allende in 1973 and General Pinochet took power with U.S. support, ushering in almost 20 years of brutal repression, the government paid Anaconda $250 million in compensation.

Man:	We didn't have much, just some tough, dry land.
Woman:	It belonged to his grandpa.
Man:	It was ours. Until a land speculator forced us off.
Woman:	That's what they call progress.
Man:	So we had to leave our son with the family and hit the road, looking for work, trying to escape from the police who wanted to toss us in jail.
Alberto:	Why?
Woman:	Because we are communists[2].
Man:	Now we are going to a mine. If we're lucky, I'll find some work. It's so dangerous they don't care what party you belong to.
Woman:	(turning to Ernesto and Alberto) Are you two looking for work?
Ernesto:	No, we're not looking for work.
Woman:	No? Then why are you traveling?
Ernesto:	We travel just to travel[3]. (Tenenbuam et al, 2004)

The woman looks at the man and he looks at her. The look on her face is one of incredulity, the pause is pregnant with meaning as is this encounter with difference. Then she blesses Alberto and Ernesto and their travels. Ernesto hands them a blanket, which she uses to cover herself from the cold night air while Alberto offers them his *mate*[4]. As they share it in silence, Ernesto finishes their story through his own interior monologue:

> their faces were tragic and haunting. They told us of comrades who had mysteriously disappeared and were said to be somewhere at the bottom of the sea. It was one of the coldest nights of my life, but also one which made me feel closer to this strange, for me anyway, human race. (Tenenbuam et al, 2004)

Together, these are the faces of globalization in its complex economic, political, and cultural dimensions. There are many understandings of globalization. Most emphasize integration and mobility, dual processes unequally distributed within geopolitical space and that have differing implications as illustrated in this movie scene. For the privileged, like Alberto and Ernesto, globalization is characterized by unfettered mobility. These are the tourists, who chose to travel out of desire and easy access. For others, like the nameless couple, it means compulsory mobility that is restricted and controlled by others. These are the migrants, forced to travel out of economic necessity and survival. The two do not exist independently, but rather their material lives and desires are intertwined. As Bauman (1998) explains:

> What is acclaimed today as 'globalization' is geared to the tourists' dreams and desires. Its second effect –a side-effect, but an unavoidable one- is the transformation of many others into vagabonds. Vagabonds are travellers refused the right to turn into tourists.

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[2] Gabriel González Videla was a member of the radical party and was elected president of Chile in 1946. Although he originally won based on the support of the Communist party his presidency took a sharp right in response to U.S. economic and political pressure. He expelled all of the communists from his cabinet and in 1948 he passed a law that banned communist and like-minded parties.

[3] Translations were taken directly from the subtitles of the movie.

[4] Mate is an infused drink common in South America, particularly Argentina, Uruguay, and parts of Chile.

> They are allowed neither to stay put (there is no site guaranteeing permanence, the end to undesirable mobility) nor search for a better place to be. (p. 93)

The word "vagabonds" is problematic in its association with vagrancy; nevertheless, in connoting this idea of lawlessness, the word captures the reality of these migrants' lives, which consist mostly of walls, both literal and figurative. These walls are designed to legally perpetuate their uncertainty and deny them the realization of their desires (Bauman, 1998). The man and woman are communists, and once the party was outlawed, they travelled surreptitiously and accepted the most denigrated, dangerous, and exploitative work: that of the copper mines. For tourists, these borders do not exist because in addition to capital, goods, and wealth, they move seamlessly, as they simultaneously collect dots on their maps. In contrast to the couple, as Ernesto and Alberto move through Latin America, they are greeted with welcoming faces. The two pairs, Ernesto and Alberto and the nameless couple, uncomfortably coexist for a moment under the desert sky. The exchange that closes their interaction symbolizes their interconnectedness: the nameless woman offers her blessing and they offer their material possessions in return.

The "progress" which the nameless woman evokes is the cause of their forced migration, namely ongoing processes of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2005). According to Harvey (2005), accumulation by dispossession is the result of neoliberal policies that dispossess the public of their wealth and land, through practices such as privatization, and that ultimately result in the centralization of power in the hands of a few. Once the couple lost their land to speculators there was no choice but exodus. Upon the pronouncement of the word "progress," the camera in the movie scene follows Ernesto's gaze as he looks askance at Alberto. His subsequent interior monologue alludes to the importance of this moment as one of the realization of his own privilege, as he has benefited from these policies as a member of the upper middle class, and of the injustices suffered by others.

Overall, Ernesto and Alberto's journey as portrayed in *Diarios de motocicleta* moves through geographic space as Ernesto confronts the social, economic, and political realities of Latin America and the new realities of emergent neoliberal globalization. Since the Great European Immigration of 1880-1920, the city of Buenos Aires, birthplace of Ernesto and Alberto, has historically maintained its gaze eastward, modeling itself after the urban spaces of Europe, an enlightened symbol of progress, civilization, and modernity in contrast with the supposed barbarism of the rest of Latin America[5]. While Ernesto's upper middle-class family is initially reticent to see him abandon his studies, even temporarily, his father confesses that he too has always wanted to see the world. For both Ernesto and Alberto, the journey is also inwards as they discover their own personal privilege. With them they carry a map, a technology of empire that is "a projection of discovery and conquest" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 137) that marks their geographic movements and their personal positionings.

Upon its release this movie, *Diarios de motocicleta*, became very popular in the United States, despite the negative historical associations with the legendary Che due to his role in Cuba's revolution. Perhaps this is because this resignified journey resonates with a middle-class, white U.S. audience: the image of Ernesto and Alberto riding their motorcycle, "el poderoso" (the powerful), through the Argentinean countryside. This image awakens other images of macho

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[5] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) an Argentinean author, activist, president, and member of the Generation of 1837 had a tremendous influence on 19th century Argentina and on the barbarism vs. modernity trope that has characterized Latin American literature to the present.

cowboys riding the vast open plains on their horses, conquering space and making the United States what it was manifestly destined to be. The gaze of the camera also captures the exotic natural wonders of Latin America celebrated in the imperial travel narratives (Pratt, 2008) of the Spanish conquerors and reproduced in contemporary travel brochures and Spanish textbooks: the rolling plains of the pampas, the majestic mountains of Chile, the dense jungles of Perú, and the mighty Amazon. The protagonists, like the conquerors and the cowboys, must overcome these natural obstacles through their sheer moral and physical strength. In the end, the journey differs, however, from both that of the lone "American" cowboy hero fulfilling his destiny and that of the Spanish conquistador facing the challenges of the new, exuberant, and mystical Garden of Eden (Sheller, 2003) as the two characters become aware of the man-made realities of poverty and of oppression.

The Ernesto that emerges from this filmic journey is not the revolutionary, Marxist Che, who experienced a political awakening. Instead, he is represented as a tamed and romanticized neoliberal reincarnation of a modern, globe-trotting cowboy. In the end, this Hollywood-influenced version of Ernesto celebrates the individualistic journey of the modern hero that recognizes the dignity of the human spirit without exploring or questioning the structural conditions under which the very conditions of poverty and oppression that are exoticized were created. Neoliberalist practices do not just result in dispossession of land and wealth, but, of cultural forms (Harvey, 2005). The cultural dispossession of the figure of Che as represented in this movie makes his journey palatable and consumable, particularly in the case of a U.S. audience that can now rest assured that the revolutionary, violent history of Latin America has now been "civilized" (or humanized). In the same way, current tourist depictions of Latin America prevalent in the media and in Spanish textbooks sweep away any past conflict and the United States' role in it. Instead, these representations highlight Latin America's marketability and desirability both for its rugged adventure and new luxury options.

In the end, as travelers, Alberto and Ernesto have achieved their goals. They have eaten new fruits and gazed upon new lands unmatched in their beauty. They have gazed upon the faces of injustice and inequality and they have experienced difference. In the process, perhaps they do become more than just tourists passing through. Meanwhile, the man and woman remain nameless. They have a history, beliefs and practices, and dreams and desires for the future: all of these become significant to Ernesto and Alberto. Yet in this commodified movie version of Ernesto's life, this awareness remains static: it does not provoke a critical interrogation of the underlying causes of their history or a struggle for change.

3. THE DISSERTATION JOURNEY

The two instructors and the students in the two intermediate-level Spanish classrooms that are the focus of this dissertation also experience an encounter with difference, albeit within a physical space composed of four walls and a chalkboard. Their journey is a cultural and linguistic one. It is also a journey that is based on their mobility, both figurative and literal, and it begins with the map on the front page of their textbooks. Like many current Spanish textbooks on the market, theirs is organized by geographic space, each chapter takes students on a virtual tour of a different country (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). At each stop they accumulate information and gaze on glossy photos presenting images of popular tourist destinations and marvelous landscapes, much like those presented in *Diarios de motocicleta*.

The central goal of this dissertation involves understanding how these larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism as exemplified in this movie scene have influenced language and culture teaching and learning. Like Alberto and Ernesto and the nameless couple, this requires considering the meanings constructed from students' and learners' encounters with otherness as well as their own understandings of their positionality vis-à-vis larger global processes. What meanings do the learners construct from their journey? How do they understand cultural and linguistic difference? How do these meanings interact with those of their instructors?

Therefore, at a broad level, I analyze how larger cultural representations of Latin America interact with learners' own previous experiences with cultural and linguistic difference, which are also resignified and recontextualized through their classroom learning. At the same time, I consider how these representations and the meanings ascribed to them interact with those of their instructors, both Mexican immigrants who have also undertaken personal and professional journeys and, in the process, experienced difference. Finally, the meanings constructed in the classroom interact with representations of Latin America in the U.S. media, and all are situated in and influenced by the larger context of a neoliberal, globalized world.

More specifically, to understand the influences of globalization and neoliberalism on language and culture teaching and learning also requires a consideration of how both instructors and learners understand the purpose of their language and culture study, how these understandings are manifested in pedagogical practices and materials, and how these multiple understandings are negotiated through classroom interactions. In addition, the learners in one of these classrooms participated in community service-learning (CSL) activities, all of which involve interacting with local Latino immigrant communities in San Diego. Therefore, another central focus of this study is to understand what these experiences contribute to understandings of Otherness and how these interact with their classroom experiences.

4. MY OWN JOURNEY

At the same time that I document the language and culture journey of others, I also engage in my own journey, one that has been greatly influenced by the scene analyzed above from the movie *Diarios de motocicleta*. For me, this scene represents many of my own preoccupations with constructions of cultural difference as well as the political, economic, and cultural repercussions of globalization and neoliberalism. Therefore, the interpretation of this movie scene that I have offered here and the preoccupations that it brings to the fore have influenced this research project. Much like Alberto and Ernesto, I as researcher am in a privileged position, interpreting the experiences of the instructors and learners. And, much like the camera that frames the scene between them and the two nameless migrants, my own gaze frames this dissertation. While the movie scene portrays an awareness of the history, beliefs, and practices of the nameless migrants, it fails to critically interrogate the encounter with Otherness. This commodified representation of Che does not demonstrate the reflexivity necessary to consider the underlying historical, political, and economic causes that frame the encounter. In this dissertation I attempt to provide this critical interrogation, not only in relationship to the learners' and the instructors' explorations of linguistic and cultural Otherness but including as well a consideration of my own positionality and privilege.

As a speaker of Spanish who has also travelled extensively in Latin America and Spain and who has lived on the U.S./Mexico border, I contribute my own representations of cultural

and linguistic differences and these interact with those of the instructors and learners. As an intellectual, my understandings of language and culture have influenced the framing of this project and the research questions that I ask. As first a student of Spanish and then a teacher, I bring my pedagogical and methodological training and experiences to bear on my classroom observations. Finally, as a researcher, the methodological choices I made in the overall project design have been influenced by my training as a graduate student. All of these experiences have in turn influenced the design and outcome of this project. Throughout this dissertation I attempt to account for my own positionality as an integral part of my own journey.

5. JOURNEY THROUGH THE DISSERTATION

In the following chapter, Chapter 1, I provide a literature review that explains the importance of this research in light of previous research on instructor and learner attitudes and beliefs as well as on community service-learning (CSL). In Chapter 2 I attempt to account for the contextual and theoretical frameworks that have influenced this research as well as my own positioning in several interrelated fields. In Chapter 3, I outline the methodological design of this project and I include a reflection on my own positionality. To respond to my research questions and to explore the complexity of meanings and perspectives that they involve, I develop case studies based on each of the two Spanish classrooms. The first classroom, whose instructor is Yesenia, is the focus of Chapter 4. The second classroom, whose instructor is Vicente, is considered in Chapter 5. Finally, I elaborate the CSL experiences in which Yesenia's students participate separately in Chapter 6. In my conclusion I consider the broader implications of my analysis for the teaching and learning of foreign/second languages and cultures

CHAPTER 1
Literature Review

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation project centrally involves exploring the complex relationships between language and culture learning and teaching in the context of an increasingly globalized world. Much recent research has explored these relationships between changing global realities, such as globalization and neoliberalism, and language and culture learning. The goal of doing so is to better prepare language learners to participate in an ever more diverse multilingual and multicultural world and to better prepare language teachers to support this process for themselves and for their learners. Yet, there is much research that remains to be done.

Recently, Scarino has argued that: "in the context of the dynamic process of globalization, language learning requires an expanded theoretical understanding of three fundamental concepts in the theory and practice of language teaching and learning: *language*, *culture*, and *learning*" (2014, p. 389). From her perspective, learning is a process of reciprocal and interpretive meaning making. When understood thusly, she argues, it "becomes necessary to focus on how to develop the understanding that teachers and students, equally and both, bring their own interpretive resources to their learning: how they both see the subject, the language and culture being learnt, the process of learning, and their roles as reflective interactants" (Scarino, 2014, p. 398).

In this dissertation, I explore the three fundamental concepts in language teaching and learning that Scarino (2014) identifies, namely, language, culture, and learning, in relationship to how the two instructors and the learners understand language and culture and their learning; how these understandings influence the instructors' pedagogical choices and instructional goals as well as the learners' goals and instructional experiences; and how these various understandings are negotiated through classroom interactions. In this regard, to some degree I am continuing and expanding upon a line of research that examines instructors' and students' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in relationship to various personal, environmental, and structural factors. These include instructors' and learners' attitudes towards the learning situation and instructional techniques, perceptions of themselves and the learning environment, and beliefs regarding language learning more broadly understood. In this chapter, I explore this prior research on both teachers' and learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of language and culture learning and teaching.

At the same time, language and culture learning has increasingly incorporated community service-learning (CSL), both as a means to connect learning to local communities as well as to prepare learners for global citizenship. Therefore, I also include in this section a consideration of previous research on CSL in general and with respect to language and culture learning and teaching.

2. LEARNERS' AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES, BELIEFS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE LEARNING AND TEACHING

Much prior research has been conducted on teachers' and learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of language and culture learning and teaching in relationship to various aspects of

learning outcomes. In this section I consider this prior research from the perspective of three different foci: 1) studies that focus on learners; 2) studies that focus on teachers; and 3) studies that focus on the interaction between teachers and learners. I conclude with a consideration of some of the limitations of this research and how the present study attempts to respond to these limitations.

2.1 Focus on Learners

Wesely (2012) provides a comprehensive review of research studies that have focused on exploring learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions and, therefore, I draw heavily from her review. She outlines how attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions have been understood prior to categorizing the particular research orientations of studies focused on examining them. More specifically, Wesely (2012) argues that *learner attitudes* have been understood in relationship to two targets: 1. attitudes towards the learning situation, which incorporates considerations of the instructor as well as the instructional techniques used (see Gardner, 2005); and 2. attitudes toward the target community (see Yashima, 2009). Explorations of *learner perceptions* from Wesely's (2012) perspective also include two interrelated focal areas: 1. learners' perceptions of themselves, i.e., how they understand and make sense of themselves and their own learning (see Liskin-Gasparro, 1998; Williams & Burden, 1999); and 2. perceptions of the learning environment, including how they experience the classroom and instructor behaviors (see Brown, 2009). Finally, whereas *learner beliefs* can be difficult to distinguish from perceptions, Wesely relies on Horwitz's (1988) description that beliefs are based on "student opinions on a variety of issues and controversies related to language learning" (p. 284, as cited in Wesely, 2012, p. 560).

Wesely (2012) categorizes research on learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions into three orientations, which include learner studies, state or environmental studies, and dynamic or complexity studies. I provide a brief summary of each prior to considering their limitations in relationship to this present study.

Studies that assume a learner orientation attempt to describe, measure, and understand the learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions. This orientation is further subdivided into four categories. The first category, which looks at attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions independently of the learning environment, have considered questions of learner motivation and self-efficacy for example, in addition to attitudes towards specific aspects of the language learning classroom such as first language usage (see Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney, 2008), the use of technology (see Peters, Weinberg, & Sarma, 2009), preferred classroom activities (see Mandell, 2002), and the university foreign language requirement (see Price & Gascoigne, 2006). The studies in the second category have included the relationship between learner and instructor perceptions in connection to the learning environment, more specifically various instructional aspects such as target language use (Levine, 2003) and understandings of effective FL teaching (see Brown, 2009). These studies will be further elaborated in a later section. A third category considers learners' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions in direct relationship to learning outcomes. These studies include considerations of learners' perceptions of themselves as learners, for example, factors such as enjoyment (see Brantmeir, 2005), as well as perceptions of language learning itself, for example, questions of achievement (see Donato, Tucker, Wudthayagorn, & Igarashi, 2000). Finally, the last category explores the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of a group of individuals with specific learner characteristics, for example studies that specifically focus on heritage language learners, as well as examinations of two groups with contrasting characteristics,

such as male/female or differing L1 backgrounds. Overall, one of the primary limitations of these studies, as noted by Wesely (2012), is a problematic understanding of these beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions as largely static and unchanging, and, this is particularly true when they are not considered in relationship to environmental and contextual factors, which is the focus of the next orientation.

The second orientation, a state or environmental orientation (Wesely, 2012), includes studies that explore learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions as influenced by their learning situations. It includes two primary categories: comparing attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions across different learning environments, such as different languages and/or different classes of the same language; and exploring how FL programs themselves influence learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions. With regards to the first category, for example, Thomas (2010) explored university students' reasons for taking a language using a questionnaire. Results suggested that learners who reported wanting to fulfill the language requirement tended to take Spanish whereas those that wanted to focus on communication took other languages, such as Italian, Portuguese, Hebrew, or Korean. Other relevant studies, enacted by Brown (2009) and Kondo-Brown (2001), have suggested that students in early levels of language instruction had slightly less positive attitudes towards their language study than those at more advanced levels. With regards to the influence of FL programs, studies have considered attitudinal change over the course of one FL class, with some results indicating no change (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004) and others negative change (Worth, 2008). Within this category, other studies have considered the relationship between teaching practices and how they are reflected, or not, in learners' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions. These will be reviewed in a later section.

The third orientation, dynamic or complexity orientation (Wesely, 2012), include studies that specifically focus on the interaction between learner, as a complex social being, and the learning site, the school, as a "contestatory discursive site" (McKay & Wong, 1996). This orientation can be understood in relationship to Barcelos' (2003a, 2003b) call for studies to focus on the "dynamic, constantly negotiated, embedded and interconnected nature of learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs" (p. 599). These studies tend to be more interpretative than purely descriptive, and, they rely on qualitative analysis as opposed to quantitative, survey-oriented studies that are predominant in the other orientations previously described. For example, Liskin-Gasparro (1998) analyzed learners' ambiguous and conflicting beliefs about a summer language program. On the one hand, learners noted their belief in immersion programs as the only way to learn language while on the other they expressed the belief that the only way to learn language was through formal grammar and vocabulary learning. In more recent years, additional studies have considered complex questions of learner identities (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) and how subject positions are negotiated through discourse in learner narratives (Kramsch, 2009).

2.2 Focus on Instructors

Much of the recent research on teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions has been situated in the context of changes in foreign and second language instructional methodologies, specifically those brought about by the shift from grammar-translation to communicative language teaching (CLT). Therefore, many of these studies focus on L2 teachers' beliefs with respect to the primary features of CLT, including the integration of culture, the use of cooperative learning strategies and group work, and the role of grammar instruction. Some studies have focused on specific methodological features. For example, Schulz (2001) examined

the relationship between teacher beliefs and grammar instruction and error correction and Levine (2003) examined beliefs regarding the use of the L2. Other studies have explored these beliefs more widely. For example, Bell (2005), explored teachers' beliefs through questionnaires distributed to 457 postsecondary teachers of French, German, and Spanish, in order to establish criteria to evaluate effective foreign language teaching. She discovered emerging professional consensus regarding effective teaching and most of these criteria were in alignment with the primary characteristics of communicative language teaching in addition to the use of small group work, the negotiation of meaning, and assessment. The most notable variations related to the role and place of error correction, focus on grammatical form, and the effects of learning differences on individual learners. Of note, Bell (2005) highlights the importance of future research that would allow instructors to express their individual opinions on the items included, through the use of open-ended questions, for example.

An additional area of research on teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions considers how teachers develop their beliefs and whether or not and how these evolve over time. Richardson's research (1996) suggested that preservice teachers' beliefs are strongly influenced by previous personal experience, schooling experiences, and formal knowledge. Other studies have also suggested that specific classroom practices and instructional decisions are influenced by teachers' personal beliefs (see Borg, 2003; Freeman, 2002; Williams & Burden, 1997). Whereas Pajares (1992) claimed that teacher beliefs are formed through their own formal schooling experiences and that these may be difficult to alter later, Barcelos and Kalaja (2003) found that these beliefs can and do undergo changes over time.

In light of this previous research, Kissau, Algozzine, and Yon (2013) argued for the need to conduct additional research that considers differences in beliefs across demographic groups, including experienced vs. inexperienced teachers, those with L2 teacher training vs. those without, teachers of different languages, and immersion and traditional teachers. Citing the dearth of research that includes a qualitative component, this mixed-methods study focuses on examining the potential for these differences among 222 K-12 teachers and their supervisors. Using five subscales, which include language and culture, teaching strategies, individual differences, assessment and grammar, and second language acquisition theory, the authors suggest that the teachers across demographic groups demonstrated a great degree of uniformity in beliefs and in the strength of their convictions. For example, all reported believing in the importance of communication in the L2 classroom and in the integration of culture, although in both cases the instructor beliefs regarding the nature of this communication or how they understood culture were not investigated. The interview data, in contrast, pointed to slight differences with regards to the teaching of grammar, with more experienced teachers believing more strongly in direct grammatical instruction. In addition, contextual factors played differing roles, for example, inexperienced instructors reported in their interviews more pressing concerns with regards to instructional challenges and those teachers that had not yet received instructional training reported more classroom concerns, specifically support with classroom management. In their implications, Kissau, Algozzine, and Yon (2013) highlight the need for additional research examining these contextual factors as well as calling for research that includes teacher observations in classrooms in order to tease out differences in what teachers say they believe and what they actually do.

An additional line of inquiry includes considerations of how contextual factors influence teacher beliefs, including curriculum mandates, resource availability, and features of the instructional setting (see Borg, 2003; Crookes & Arakaki, 1999; Johnson, 1996). Crookes (1997)

explores some of these factors, arguing that how and what L2 teachers teach is socially constructed and, therefore, limits foreign and second language instructors' autonomy, regardless of their own beliefs. For example, instructors do not design curricula in many instructional settings because it is mandated from above and frequently its objective is oriented towards preparing students for standardized exams. In line with the controlled nature of the curriculum, textbooks are also mandated and instructional flexibility and autonomy in selecting materials is limited. In the case of FL university programs, the language and literature divide has further limited instructional decision making in the case of language classes. As Graman (1988) explains: "the main objective of most university foreign language programs is not to foster second language acquisition, but rather to keep the program and teaching assistants uniform and orderly. In effect, the textbooks serve an administrative purpose in a context where the goal of departments is to promote the study of literature (p. 443). Finally, relying on the work of Pennycook (1990), Crookes (1997) argues that the field of applied linguistics continues to espouse the belief that language is apolitical and ahistorical because "such research never questions the status quo of the political enterprise of language teaching, except on grounds of 'efficiency'" (p. 72). Ultimately, Crookes (1997) calls for a recognition that languages and language teaching are political and that language teachers are political actors (or instruments), thereby opening critical spaces for instructors to participate in the construction of what and how they teach.

2.3 Focus on Learners and Instructors

According to Brown (2009) there has recently been renewed interest in exploring the relationship between teachers' and students' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions towards L2 acquisition and pedagogy, particularly with regards to notions of effective teaching. Much like the previously cited studies on teachers' beliefs, he attributes this interest to recent calls in both foreign language pedagogy and second language acquisition for more communicatively-oriented pedagogies that are democratic and student-centered and that engage students in meaningful communication.

Earlier research in this area, like studies conducted by Williams and Burden (1997), suggested that in some cases the students' perceptions of their teachers' behavior did not match with teachers' intentions. Additionally, Horwitz (1990), Kern (1995), and Schulz (1996) argued that these mismatches can produce negative reactions from students in terms of their satisfaction with the language class. More specifically, through the use of the questionnaire entitled "Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory" (BALLI) Horwitz (1990) and Kern (1995) discovered that beginning-level students had unrealistic expectations and narrowly defined perspectives regarding their language learning. For example, Horwitz (1990) found that 60% of Spanish and German students believed that language learning mostly involved translation from English. Schulz (1996) specifically compared instructors' and students' beliefs regarding error correction and grammar teaching, finding that the students' beliefs in both cases were more favorable than those of their instructors. A later study, conducted by Levine (2003) explored L2 students' and teachers' beliefs with respect to target language use, both its quantity and importance, and student anxiety in relationship to target language use.

Brown (2009) has argued that whereas these studies are important, and, they have contributed to understandings of teachers' and students' attitudes with respect to general issues, more work is needed to explore specific, concrete practices that allow comparisons between

individual teachers and their students. Therefore, he conducted an exploratory study in order to broadly examine how closely individual teachers' beliefs about specific instructional practices align with those of their students while also considering to what degree these beliefs are similar or different across several dozen teachers and their respective students. The results suggested significant discrepancies in that the students favored a grammar-based approach and the instructors preferred a communicative style approach. These differences were particularly evident with respect to target language use, error correction, and use of group work. In considering the implications of these findings, he calls for future research to consider how and where students formulate these beliefs regarding effective and ineffective L2 teaching and learning. In keeping with Barcelos (2003a, 2003b), who calls for more dynamic studies that consider the interconnected nature of these beliefs, Brown argues for the importance of including considerations of social and contextual variables, specifically mentioning exploring the possible relationship between students' learning and assessment experiences in other classes, ones which can rely heavily on discrete-point items such as multiple choice, and their expectations for their FL classes.

2.4 My Own Focus

Although the above-mentioned research on learners' and instructors' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions has revealed important insights, there are several limitations to consider. The first is related to the research focus. As Wesely (2012) notes, research on learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs has most frequently been studied in relationship to motivation, self-efficacy, and anxiety. Much of the research that consider instructors' perspectives focus on notions of effectiveness, particularly in relationship to CLT methodologies and strategies. In line with Scarino's (2014) call for an expanded theoretical exploration of language, culture, and learning, what is missing is a consideration of how instructors and students understand culture, how they understand language, and how these understandings are constructed through their learning in relationship to their lived experiences that accompany them into the classroom. The second limitation is related to methodological orientations. Since the 1990's there have been critiques of the prevalence of survey research, namely Likert-style scale items, as a means of exploring learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs (Dörnyei, 1994; Oxford, 1994). Whereas more recently there have important qualitative studies (see Norton, 1995) overall reliance on survey research has continued until today. Many of these surveys capture a fixed moment and not the complex interaction of factors that would alter beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions as constructed socially over time. The dynamic orientation that Wesely (2012) identifies, following Barcelos (2003a, 2003b) represents a response to this limitation. Finally, Wesely (2012) also notes that in many of these studies both causality and correlation are problematically attributed. I would argue that this is especially true in the absence of an ethnographic research focus that includes classroom observations, which would facilitate attempts to tease out the complex relationships between these ever-changing beliefs and what happens in the classroom.

Whereas this dissertation project explores learners' and instructors' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of language, culture, and learning it does so from a dynamic or complexity orientation as represented in an ecological approach to the research and to learning. My own research interest is not in describing or identifying these attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions as static entities that focus on pedagogical strategies or learning outcomes. Instead, I am interested in these attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions as related to teachers' and students' understandings of

language and culture and how these are constructed and negotiated in the classroom through pedagogical practices in relationship to learning. For example, I consider how the instructors' understand their own culture, how the students construct understandings of cultural difference, and how these relate to larger representations of Latin American culture that circulate in the U.S. I also explore how instructors understand the purpose and goals of language and its learning from the perspective of their own teaching philosophies and in relationship to the classroom materials, the students' own beliefs, and how these understandings are negotiated. In order to do so, I rely on classroom observations and interviews, in addition to a student survey, in order to document these practices and analyze the classroom interactions that result. I also take up Crookes (1997) call in that I consider languages and language teaching as political. Therefore, I consider the context of instruction at the level of the classroom, the university, as well as the surrounding community. Finally, I recognize that this research project was limited in time and space, namely, two classrooms over the course of one semester. While this scope has provided depth, it is limited in that I am not able to capture changes over time. As a result, I realize the potential to produce a problematically static and fixed understanding of the learners' and the instructors' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions. Indeed, an important next phase of this line of inquiry would include a longitudinal focus.

3. COMMUNITY SERVICE-LEARNING (CSL) AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

CSL has come to play an increasingly important and central role in institutions of learning. According to Wurr and Hellebrandt (2007), the initial impetus was largely in response to declining rates of civic engagement in the U.S. This prompted educators and political leaders to emphasize the importance of civic education, which they broadly define as "developing students' competence and motivation to engage actively in public problem solving in their communities as well as in the larger world" (Wurr & Hellebrandt, p. xxvi). Research has in fact shown that service-learning does increase civic participation in addition to enhancing academic learning (Wurr & Hellebrandt, 2007).

As its role and importance has grown, particularly in institutions of higher education, much research has been conducted on CSL in relationship to different models that have emerged and their perceived benefits and limitations. More specifically, this research has focused on how relationships between students and the communities they engage with are understood and structured, how learning is best facilitated, and how to conceive of civic education in relationship to possible social and community change. This interest has taken on new urgency as civic engagement has assumed global dimensions in the development of notions of global citizenship and a renewed emphasis on the importance of multilingualism and multiculturalism. At the center of much of this research are concerns about how difference is understood and negotiated and how to effect local and global change. For these reasons, research on and implementation of CSL in the context of language education has become increasingly important.

In this section I explore these broad conceptualizations of CSL, and their perceived benefits and limitations, in addition to specifically considering their relevance to language education. In addition, this discussion also serves to contextualize my later analysis of the CSL experiences of the students in one of the classrooms that is the focus of this dissertation (see chapter 6) .

3.1 A Question of Terms

Researchers and practitioners have historically distinguished two primary models for school-based service activities: community service and service learning. Both emphasize the importance of the relationship between the participants and the communities with which they engage. They both share two primary features: 1) the activities in which students engage are considered to be personally meaningful; and 2) the activities are beneficial to the community. The main differences between the community service and service learning models reside in understandings of the nature of the relationship between the participants and the community and the types of benefits accrued to each in terms of learning.

The community service model highlights the benefits that accrue to the participants as its main goal is for them to become more actively engaged in their communities so as to reinforce their own moral dispositions. Critics of this model point out that it consists of "purely altruistic or charitable activities in which the personal benefits of the service consist of a positive impact on the souls of those who perform the service, without their really *learning* anything significant in the process" (Pritchard, 2002, p. 7). Therefore, this model is referred to as a "charity model." In contrast to this charity model, service learning advocates emphasize students' intellectual development and the possibility to effect community change. The goal is for students to become active learners while integrating the experiences, skills, and information that is developed as part of their community work with the theories and curriculum of the classroom in order to produce new knowledge.

The generic term community-service learning (CSL) has come into use to represent an attempt to neutrally bridge both models while emphasizing both community benefits and educational objectives. There are many definitions of CSL but Zlotkowski's (1998) is one of the most a widely cited: "meaningful community service that is linked to students' academic experience through related course materials and reflective activities" (p. 3).

3.2 The Benefits and Limits of CSL

Overall research has demonstrated many of benefits to CSL with regards to student learning. It contributes to the foundational goal of a liberal education –education for citizenship- (DeVitis, Johns, & Simpson, 1998) as it promises the development of an engaged citizen through active, committed community participation (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Jones & Abes, 2004; Perry & Katula, 2001), and it promotes a heightened sense of civic responsibility (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda & Yee, 2000), particularly when it is conceptualized in opposition to charity models (Bruno, 2003), and it promotes an understanding of multicultural perspectives (Boyle-Baise & Efiom, 2000; O'Grady, 2000).

Researchers have also explored how CSL can contribute to understanding of social problems (Plann, 2002), which can lead to social justice advocacy (Tilley-Lubbs, 2003) and various forms of activism (Lesman, 2003). However, some critics point to the limits of this potential when many CSL models still rely on charity or forced volunteerism that ultimately serve to reinforce established hierarchies, an "us-them" dichotomy, while making students feel good and even mobilizing them to participate in and accept systems of privilege (Robinson, 2000). Varlotta (1997) warns:

> If students participating in a service-learning experience are instructed to look constantly for the things that make them like the people they are serving, then artificial homogenization is likely to result. While it is sure to be the case that college students enrolled in service-learning courses have something in common with servees, I believe it is dangerous, condescending, and offensive to suggest that they can put themselves in the place of a homeless person, a run-away teen, a battered woman, etc. Is it possible after serving at these types of 'safehaven' shelters for college students to understand what it is like to be homeless or victimized by family violence? Though students might improve their understanding of homelessness, domestic violence, and teenage street life especially if they reflect critically upon these social problems and contextualize the specific situations at play, it is still unlikely, in my opinion, to claim that service-learning allows them to 'know' what it is like to be homeless, abused, etc. (p. 80)

Overall, by not engaging with the root causes of social problems, by not engaging directly with systems of power and privilege through an examination of their own positionality critics argue that some CLS models may actually preserve and normalize unjust social structures.

These critics have called for conceptualizations of critical service-learning. The main distinction, according to Wade (2000), can be understood as that of service to individuals (service learning) vs. service for an ideal (critical service learning). By focusing on service for an ideal, a critical approach has a social justice orientation in that students are encouraged to engage with structural inequalities, to see themselves as agents of social change, and to use their experiences in the community to address and to respond to social injustice (Mitchell, 2008). In order to achieve this, advocates, like Mitchell, call for the following:

1. service learning experiences that are not designed solely for the benefit of students but in relation to community issues and concerns and that centrally involve community partners in the process such that everyone involved questions the distribution of power;
2. faculty, student, and staff participation in a dialectic and responsive process that uses materials, readings, and assignments to explore larger structural problems and to encourage all to reflect on their service in the context of these larger social issues;
3. engagement with differences in privilege and power whether it is based on race, class, age, ability, or education level while challenging the unjust structures that create these differences such that all involved are not working to 'fix' a community but to understand why and how some groups have differential access to power;
4. the creation of relationships that do not ignore the realities of social inequalities while also not artificially homogenizing participants, in other words, that interrogate similarities and differences and how they impact interactions. (Mitchell, 2008)

Ultimately, advocates argue that to achieve the transformative potential of critical service-learning requires the development of authentic relationships that are based on connection; altering classroom practices to interrupt the traditional relations of power and production of knowledge; and maintaining a commitment to dialogue, developing self-awareness, and critical reflection in order to build solidarity (Mitchell, 2008).

Camacho (2004) further reflects on questions of subjectivity and awareness of power inequities in the context of a class she taught in which students participated in community service learning activities in Tijuana, Mexico. She argues that ideally community service

learning can facilitate students' engagement with 'contact zones' (Pratt, 2008), unequal social spaces where authority and hierarchy encounter and engage with the Other. Of primary concern in these spaces is how to encourage students to critically reflect on their own social locations and to become aware of their own tourist gaze and how it is imbued with power. She argues that doing so requires reflexivity, on the service-learning encounter and on their own axes of privilege. The result is that students cross their metaphoric borders of identity and recognize power differentials at multiple levels and across various contexts. In this sense, she argues, border crossing is not a one-time experience that implies linear development but instead it is a haphazard process that produces varied and diverging experiences across students. And, these border crossings happen through sustained engagement and relationship building that involve individuals' particular histories in order to debunk stereotypes and to question essentializations, even when this means inhabiting the discomfort that results as opposed to enjoying the 'good feelings' that are more commonly the result of philanthropy or charity.

3.3 CSL and Poststructuralist Perspectives

Butin (2005, 2007, 2010) introduces another conceptualization that responds to the limits of "traditional" CSL models, what he calls an anti-foundational perspective, which closely aligns with poststructuralist perspectives on knowledge and meaning-making processes. Bruce and Brown (2010) criticize traditional models of service-learning because they have as an implicit goal that of the "haves" developing charitable attitudes towards the "have-nots" (see Kendall, 1990; Mitchell, 2007), as discussed above. Butin's anti-foundational perspective postulates that there is no neutral or objective foundation by which it is possible to know "truth." Instead, there are only local, contingent, and intersubjective "truths" and meaning itself is fragmented and partial. The focus of CSL is not necessarily that of fulfilling a predetermined end goal, the realization of a truth or the achievement of a fixed outcome, because doing so closes off discussion and meaning making. Instead, this perspective recognizes that what is constructed and experienced contains an excess of meanings, remainders, that can break with foundational understandings of truth by which we organize and understand the world. In fact, a Butin argues without acknowledging these implicit goals and the binaries in which they operate CSL can contribute to the problems it professes to address, the dichotomies on which the relationships are premised can be reproduced, including privilege and power relations, and knowledge is constructed and transmitted in a one directional manner.

3.4 CSL and Language / Culture Education

CSL has been increasingly integrated into the second/foreign language classroom and many researchers have explored its benefits. CSL provides the opportunity to practice oral and written language "in authentic situations" (Weldon & Trautmann, 2003, p. 575). As such it is understood as a means to improve language communication skills in conjunction with the development of cultural and linguistic understanding (Beebe & DeCosta, 1993; Caldwell, 2007; Darias, Gómez, Hellebrandt, Loomis, Orendain, & Quezada, 1999; Hale, 1999; Jorge, 2003; Mollica, Nuessel, & Cedeño, 2004; Mullaney, 1999; Varas, 1999; Varona 1999), which can ultimately contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards the target language and culture and the increased motivation of language learners (Boyle & Overfield, 1999; Morris, 2001a, 2001b). Many of these goals are explored in relationship to fulfilling the objectives of the

ACTFL Standards for Foreign Language Learning (see Mullaney, 1999; Plann, 2002; Weldon & Trautman, 2003). These language and culture goals are not disconnected from broader educational goals as Abbott and Lear (2010) demonstrate in their examination of students' civic growth vis-à-vis the Connections goal, arguing that it is necessary to "infuse civic engagement in an explicit manner throughout Spanish CSL courses and curricula" (p. 242).

3.5 My Own Focus

Like the general research on CSL, many of the studies that focus on the relationship between CSL and language and culture learning emphasize the benefits to learners while largely ignoring the questions of power and privilege raised by proponents of critical service-learning or a focus on pre-determined end goals as questioned by the anti-foundational perspective introduced by Butin (2005, 2010). Such considerations are perhaps even more central in the case of the present study that focuses on the teaching of Spanish in the United States and more specifically on the San Diego / Tijuana border. Therefore, this study attempts to fill this important research gap by closely examining how students understand the relationships that develop with Latino communities in this contact zone in relationship to their own positionality and privilege. In the process, I consider the relationship between these understandings and the meanings that emerge and their classroom learning.

4. THE STUDY

The context for this research project is a third semester Spanish classroom at a private university located on the U.S. / Mexico border. At a broad level, this project is concerned with not only the processes of language and culture learning. In addition, it speaks to larger ideological understandings of the Spanish language and representations of Latino cultures in the United States vis-à-vis historical, social, and economic processes of (neo)colonialism, imperialism, and immigration. In order to interrogate this conflictive history, I frame this study within larger considerations regarding the role and purpose of studying Spanish in the United States today, not as a foreign language, but as a second language. This framing simultaneously highlights the related and equally conflictive questions of who is learning Spanish, for what reasons, and how is it being taught?

On the one hand, for predominantly white, middle-class students learning Spanish as a foreign language is additive, it increases their cultural capital and, as a result, it provides access to this increasingly globalized world, through jobs and tourism. Indeed, the communicative language-teaching paradigm as currently applied in many university classrooms emphasizes functional language use and it has been extended to new course offerings that teach Spanish for the professions, such as Spanish for business. This approach simultaneously positions students as cultural and linguistic tourists that acquire language skills and cultural knowledge in many cases in order to facilitate foreign transactions (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015).

On the other, for the 54 million Hispanic immigrants living in the U.S.[6], who are racialized and marginalized, their educational language experiences are mostly subtractive (Valenzuela, 1999), they are pushed to abandon Spanish and learn English, thereby reinforcing

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[6] This number is based on the U.S. Census Bureau data from 2013. See http://www.infoplease.com/spot/hhmcensus1.html

assimilationist policies and practices. For them, knowing Spanish is not understood as cultural capital, but as an impediment to constructions of national identity. Indeed, the dismantling of bilingual programs in secondary schools by mandating English-only instruction (e.g. Proposition 227 in California and Proposition 203 in Arizona) stand in stark contrast to the rising emphasis on multiculturalism and multilingualism in an increasingly globalized world. As Gutiérrez, Asato, Santos, and Gotanda (2002) argue, these propositions constitute part of a larger political backlash intended to reestablish power and white privilege in the face of perceived threats to the status quo by attacking the political gains of racial and linguistic minorities. Even the experiences of 'heritage' speakers of Spanish is still largely subtractive, as they must replace their imperfect, colloquial Spanish with its academic "standardized" variety as sanctioned by the Real academia de la lengua, a Spanish neocolonial institution (see for example Paffey, 2007; Parodi, 2008; Peyton, Lewlling, & Winke, 2001; Roca & Colombi, 2003; Valdés, 2005; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci, 1998; Villa, 2002).

Much important research has considered the implications of this subtractionist agenda for marginalized Spanish-speaking immigrants and heritage language students studying Spanish in the United States as a second language vis-à-vis questions of identity and the reproduction of power (see García, 2005; Potowski, 2002). However, fewer studies have considered the implications of an additive agenda for privileged students learning Spanish as a foreign language in the United States. This includes considerations of how they understand their privilege, how they understand their language and culture learning experiences, and what value they place on these experiences. This present dissertation study attempts to fill this gap.

On a related note, this framing also highlights related questions of how Latino cultures are represented in the classroom, how students come to understand the historical relationships between the United States and Latin America implicit in these constructions of cultural difference, and how they positioning themselves in relationship to these emerging understandings. In the present study, this consideration is particularly significant given that the instructors of both Spanish classes are themselves immigrants to the United States from Mexico. Therefore, an important additional point of inquiry is a consideration of how the instructors position themselves vis-à-vis the constructions of cultural difference as represented in the textbook and how they mediate these constructions through their own teaching practices and the materials they develop.

In what follows I consider these larger ideological constructs as I respond to my central research questions, which are:

a. How do the two instructors understand the nature of language and culture teaching? How does this understanding influence their pedagogical choices and their learning objectives for their students?
b. How do the learners in these classrooms understand their own culture- and language-learning processes and objectives? How do the students' understandings interact with the goals of their instructors?
c. How are the community service-learning experiences framed for learners? How do learners understand their community service-learning experiences?
d. How do the two instructors and the learners negotiate all of these understandings through classroom materials, artifacts, and interactions?

In Chapter 2 I first consider the larger contextual and theoretical framings for this dissertation project. In Chapter 3 I outline the research design of this project, highlighting the research setting, participants, the procedures for data collection and analysis. The following two chapters are case studies of both Spanish classrooms, the first, Chapter 4, focuses on Yesenia's class and the second, Chapter 5, focuses on Vicente's class. In both, I consider the constructions of cultural difference and understandings of the role and importance of language instruction from the perspectives of the instructors, and their own teaching and learning philosophies, as well those of the students as these are negotiated through classroom materials and interactions. In the last chapter, Chapter 6, I focus specifically on the CSL experiences from the perspective of Yesenia's students in relationship to how the CSL activities are framed and the meanings that students attach to them.

CHAPTER 2
Contextual and Theoretical Frameworks

I. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation project responds to the call by Scarino (2014), and others (Kramsch, 2006, 2014), to further expand theoretical understandings of three central concepts, namely language, culture, and learning, in the context of globalization. Like Scarino, I assume a perspective on learning that engages with its reciprocal and interpretive dimensions. From this perspective, as previously elaborated, the central goal of the project is to explore how two Spanish teachers and the learners in their classrooms construct meaning from their learning experiences: how do they see the Spanish language and Latino cultures being taught, how do they understand the process of learning, and how do they negotiate their own roles in relationship to these understandings and the meanings that emerge.

In this chapter, I establish the contextual and theoretical frameworks in which I have grounded my research. I explore previous understandings of language, culture, and learning from the perspective of varying and related fields of inquiry, including second language acquisition, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and cultural studies. More specifically, I establish a contextual framework for this research by exploring three interrelated facets of new global realities, namely globalization, neoliberalism, and contact zones. In the second section, I turn to an examination of changing theoretical perspectives on meaning making and their relationships to teaching methodology and pedagogy with regards to both language and culture. Together, these considerations anchor my analysis of the two classrooms, the interactions between the learners and the instructors and the meanings that they construct of language, culture, and learning.

2. CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section I outline the contextual framing of this dissertation project at several interrelated levels. I first consider larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism and their relevance, broadly speaking, to language, culture, and learning as well as to the conceptualization of my research. Second, I situate my work locally and globally by considering the relevance of these global processes to the multiple contact zones that comprise the research. As Scarino argues that "mobility, mixing, and political dynamics are now central concerns in the study of languages" (2014, p. 388), I focus my discussion on the tensions that have emerged from these processes in terms of material and political realities.

2.1 The Tensions of Globalization

Globalization has been variously understood and defined. As a point of departure, I use Blommaert's (2010) definition, that globalization is "shorthand for the intensified flows of capital, goods, people, images and discourses around the globe, driven by technological

innovations mainly in the field of media and information and communication technology, and resulting in new patterns of global activity, community organization and culture" (p. 13). These intensified flows have resulted in greater mobility, a supposedly borderless world in which people, goods, cultural representations, and languages flow unhindered (Friedman, 2005; Ohmae, 1992). The media and information and communication technology have increased the velocity of interactions, exchanges, and movement as time and space are compressed (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1989). The forces of mobility and velocity have altered communication networks (Castells, 1996), bringing cultures into increased contact and conflict (Featherstone, 1995).

These globalizing forces are not without tensions as access to and participation in them are unevenly distributed (Bauman, 1998; Appadurai, 1996). Together with neoliberalism, to be discussed in the next section, globalization has resulted in new forms of political control (Harvey, 2007), increased social inequalities, and intensified economic exploitation (Harris, 1995). While the borderless world of travel and mobility certainly exists for some, for others mobility is compulsory, a question of economic survival, and it is regulated by border fences and restricted by punitive laws (Bauman, 1998).

Globalization and its many tensions and contradictions have also influenced foreign and second language instruction. It has altered understandings of what it means to learn languages and cultures, which languages and cultures are taught, how they are taught, and what their ultimate goals are in terms of learning (Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta, & Räisänen, 2012; Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Kramsch, 2014). This dissertation seeks to further explore these understandings of the nature of language and culture teaching and learning in an era of globalization. In doing so, I consider the differing positionalities and disparate realities that the tensions of globalization create and reinforce among language instructors and students in relationship to this broader context. I also explore the potential of language and culture learning to prepare learners to understand these positionalities as they participate in this increasingly globalizing world.

Specifically, this dissertation explores the perspectives of learners and teachers in a third semester university-level Spanish language and culture classroom. Both already participate in these global movements of people and ideas: the two teachers that are the focus of this research are immigrants from Mexico and the learners have all travelled abroad as tourists and many imagine themselves as future business women and men working and living in international contexts. The learners have already been exposed to cultural representations of Latin America as they are constructed and circulate through the media and information technology, while instructors have lived and continue to live the actual cultural and social realities of Latin America. All bring to the classroom both different and similar expectations for their language and culture learning.

2.2 The Discourse of Neoliberalism

Like globalization, neoliberalism is also variably understood, although I rely on Harvey's definition, that neoliberalism is "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (2005, p. 2). Calling it a hegemonic mode of discourse, Harvey (2005) argues that neoliberalism is now a commonsense means of organizing not only the economy, but, that it has become part of how we centrally make sense of the world, one which has at its center

free market principles. From the privatization of public assets to the propagation of consumer values, Giroux aptly states that "under neo-liberalism, everything either is for sale or is plundered for profit" (2005, p. 3). In addition to exacerbating global inequalities, neoliberalism has resulted in the solidification of class power as capital is increasingly accumulated and controlled by the elite (Harvey, 2005).

Through its emphasis on individual freedom, the liberty of consumer choice, entrepreneurial values, privatization, and the construction of a market-based populist culture (Harvey, 2005), neoliberalism has altered the conditions under which we teach and learn. Universities have been transformed into what Marginson and Considine (2000) have called "enterprise" universities, where knowledge is offered as a skill to increase human capital in the construction of students as "entrepreneurs" (Ward, 2012). More and more teachers have become replaceable knowledge workers, part-time adjuncts in tenuous positions without security of employment or benefits (Ellis, 2013; Machado, 2015; Schmidt, 2015).

Neoliberalism has also altered the value of languages and of the language and culture learning enterprise itself. As Heller and Duchêne (2012) argue, knowledge of a foreign language now has "added value": it increases one's economic and social capital and the ability to compete in the global free market. As a result, language has become a commodified skill; knowledge of a foreign language allows speakers to fulfill their consumer needs, for example, by consuming the "other" through tourism (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015; Vinall, 2012). At the same time, culture itself has become a commodity, it has been mythologized (Barthes, 1972) "as an ahistorical and frozen product used to market nation-states and to encourage learners to cultivate desires to consume" (Bernstein, Hellmich, Katznelson, Shin, & Vinall, 2015).

This dissertation seeks to further explore how neoliberalism has potentially influenced understandings of language and culture, the overall value of language and culture learning and the specific value of learning the Spanish language and about Latin American cultures. More specifically, I examine how teachers and learners understand their own learning objectives in relationship to teaching materials and curricular goals and how these understandings are negotiated in the classroom. This exploration is connected to the material conditions of reality of the two instructors who, in this case, are both adjunct faculty without security of employment and with limited ability to make independent curricular decisions.

2.3 Language Ecology in Contact Zones

This research assumes an ecological perspective on language, on language and culture learning, and on the research itself. Originally defined in 1972 by Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen (2001) as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 57) language ecology, or ecolinguistics, is a broad, holistic perspective on the study of language that focuses on the multifaceted, multilevel, complex interaction between a speaker and his/her environment. According to Kramsch (2002), ecology as a metaphor "is a convenient shorthand for the poststructuralist realization that learning is a nonlinear, relational human activity, co-constructed between humans and their environment, contingent upon their position in space and history, and a site of struggle for the control of social power and cultural memory" (p. 5).

The context of this research is composed of multiple contact zones (Pratt, 2008), that is "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination –such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (p. 7). These contact zones include

the United States and Latin America, San Diego and Tijuana, and San Diego University (SDU) and the surrounding neighborhood community of Linda Vista. All of them are intersecting border regions, contested spaces that, as Anzaldúa (1987) describes are open wounds, "*una herida abierta* [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (p. 3). These can be violent spaces of conflict that encompass extreme socioeconomic inequalities through the reproduction of neocolonial political and economic structures. They can also be spaces of contestation, as subjects (re)negotiate their positionalities through contact.

Together, globalization and neoliberalism have contributed to growing inequalities. They have offered increased mobility for some: more than 300,000 people cross the San Diego / Tijuana border daily for work, schooling, and leisure. Privatization and the elimination of trade barriers have also allowed for the rapid and easy movement of capital and goods. Yet for an untold number of others these processes have meant forced displacement and perilous journeys ending in their vulnerable status as undocumented workers in the United States. Here they work in agriculture and construction: the current standard wage for their work in San Diego is between $8 and $10 an hour, which generally does not include food, water, or transportation. While this marginalized existence has allowed migrants to provide minimal support for their families in their home countries, it has not altered the conditions that forced their displacement. In fact, overall economic disparities have increased and, within this particular contact zone in Southern California, the asymmetrical power relations have intensified.

The language and culture classroom is also a contact zone, an ecological system that operates within and through these larger systems that include the university itself, the neighborhood of which it is a part, the city, the nation, and the globalized world. These social spaces can be understood as multilayered, and, through the relations that develop, larger structures of institutionalized power are produced and reproduced as new conflicts are engendered. The significance of the contact perspective is that it is dialogical, it:

> emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and 'travelees', not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, and interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. (Pratt, p. 8)

One of the thrusts of this dissertation is to analyze the constructions of the relations of these systems and how the instructors and the learners are constituted within them and through their interaction. Globalization and neoliberalism have created the conditions for learners in a Spanish language and Latino cultures classroom to meet, clash, and grapple with disparate cultures. This process centrally involves the operation of power, the organization of social relations, and learners' own identity constructions and understandings of otherness. Ultimately my analysis considers how learners and instructors understand their relationships to these multiple contact zones in order to situate their learning experiences and to interrogate their understandings of the purpose of language and culture study.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I outline the theoretical framing of this dissertation project by considering understandings of language and culture. I begin with a brief consideration of structuralist and

poststructuralist understandings of meaning making. I do so in order to situate myself theoretically and to explore their implications for language and culture learning and teaching, specifically with respect to the communicative language teaching revolution and conceptualizations of culture in this era of intensified globalization.

3.1 Perspectives on Meaning Making

From a structuralist perspective, the relationship between meaning and reality is transparent because language is a closed system that refers to a reality that exists outside of itself and the speaker. In contrast, a poststructural perspective is constructivist, arguing that language in fact constitutes reality. Thus, language, in addition to other signifying practices, is not a closed system, but, instead, it produces meaning: "meaning is *not* in the object or person or thing, nor is it *in* the word. It is we who fix the meaning so firmly that, after a while, it comes to seem natural and inevitable. The meaning is *constructed by the system of representation*" (Hall, 1997, p. 21).

3.1.1 Discourse and Power. Foucault's work (see Foucault 1980, 1994) explores the implications of this constructivist perspective as he highlights the importance of discourse in the production of knowledge and meaning making. From his perspective, language is a system that always exists in historically specific discourses and these discourses interact to give meaning to the world. According to Hall (1992), by discourse Foucault refers to, "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—a way of representing the knowledge about—a particular topic at a particular historical moment… Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But […] since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do —our conduct—all practices have a discursive aspect" (p. 291). An interrogation of discourse and its formation represents an exploration of what is sayable and what is knowable and by whom, i.e., the conditions of possibility within a particular historical moment. Ultimately, Foucault was concerned with relations of power in the production of this knowledge. He explored how dominant discourses come to be normalized and accepted as truths within particular historical contexts because these truths come to define and organize reality.

3.1.2 Identity and Subjectivity. From a structuralist perspective, language is a closed system that exists outside of the speaker. Structuralism also understands identity as a process of attribution. Each society has a set of pre-existing and stable categories that are permanent and classifiable structures of that society. In a similar fashion to Saussure's claim that "in language there are only differences" (1916, p. 120), these identity categories tend to be based on difference: indigenous or Westerner, male or female, black or white, for example. Furthermore, each category of these binaries has established characteristics and membership in that category represents the essence of that person. An individual is born into a category, such as the case of ethnicity or gender, or inducted through a process of socialization. In short, this is how identity is achieved and, once it is acquired, it is generally considered to be fixed and permanent.

Nietzsche (2002) undermined these essentialistic understandings of identity when he launched his attack on Descartes' "Cogito ergo sum." Identity was thus decentered; from a poststructuralist perspective there is no fixed, essentialized identity, but rather a continual process of subject formation. Furthermore, this process, or construction, occurs through language and, more specifically, in how we present or position ourselves through language. Weedon (1987) defines subjectivity as, "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the

individual, her sense of herself, and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (p. 32). These subject positions are not chosen in a rational, scientific way, according to the positivistic tradition of thought, but we position ourselves in a dialogic relation with others through language and we are positioned by dominant discourses (Kramsch, 2009b). In the end, our thoughts, emotions, and ways of understanding are never fixed because subjectivity is a site of conflict, it is constantly in process as it is being socially constructed in language.

As sites of conflict, the construction of subjects is intimately linked with relations of power. As Foucault (1994) explains:

> this form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence, and ties to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to. (p. 331)

Thus in poststructuralism, discourse is not unique to the subject, but instead operates on the subject so that he/she can reposition him or herself in a different intersection, or subject position, in order to realize personal, collective, and/or institutional change.

3.1.3 Communication and Language Learning. With its closed system and fixed identities, structuralism understands communication as information exchange: a rational, essential individual is at the center of the communicative act and language itself is a closed system of knowledge accessible to all because meaning is fixed. Language acquisition thus becomes a process of receiving input and producing output (Kramsch, 2002, p. 2), and language itself becomes a utilitarian tool to negotiate this process and realize this exchange. This process was best represented in the ubiquitous Saussurian talking heads, which represented the circuit of speech. A concept in individual A's brain is associated with an acoustic image, which represents it and is used to transmit it to B's brain through sound waves, whereby the process is reversed. From this perspective, it is easy to understand why discourse data is viewed as evidence of the thought processes underneath its surface. In other words, individual speech is considered the key to understanding individual thought (Kramsch, 2002).

Mary Louis Pratt (2012) questions this structuralist understanding of communication when she makes the following observations about these Saussurian talking heads:

> The two figures are an interesting combination of markings and absence of markings. They are identical in appearance, Caucasian, generally male, and young. Their expressions are serious but calm. Their eyes are open and they are looking straight at each other, suggesting equality of rank. They are unclothed, even hairless, bearing no marks of class, religion, place, or livelihood. No surroundings define where they are. Their bodies are outside the frame. Language operates identically and symmetrically between them. Only one language is in play in the situation, and it is identically shared by both. (p. 6)

Pratt goes on to wonder what is going on below their heads: are they perhaps holding a knife to each other or are they quite possibly hugging each other? (p. 9). She ultimately questions whether or not understanding is possible without bodies, social markers, or context (p. 9).

Taking into account these questions raised by Pratt, a poststructuralist framework displaces the individual and the learner from the center in order to take into account markers and context and, in the process, focus on the construction of meanings and the negotiation of subject positionalities. Ecological perspectives on language learning, which are influenced by poststructuralism, differ from structuralist perspectives by interrogating the individual's relationship to complex systems that simultaneously considers the following:

- The interplay between time and space,
- the interaction and relationships between components of the system,
- the struggle between and among structures of power, and
- meanings as emerging from these relationships that are discursively constructed.

Overall these systems are dynamic, emergent, unpredictable, and chaotic because they comprise a large number of components whose behavior emerges from their interaction and these systems are nonlinear in that effects are disproportionate to causes (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, 2002). Understood in this way teaching and learning do not involve "the transmission and reception of a closed system of knowledge, ecological models of language development see it as an open process mediated by various semiotic tools in various activities" (Kramsch, 2002, p. 20-21).

Thus learning is not a neat process of comprehending input and producing output but a messy, chaotic, and unpredictable one, which is full of potential conflict. Indeed as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue, interlocution is "a site for the contest of forces, not the cooperative exchange of information. […] The building brick of language is not the predicative sentence, the assertion, but the slogan, the mot d'ordre… the violence of interpellation" (p. 108-9). This perspective "opens up the possibilities of embracing the paradoxes, contradictions, and conflicts inherent in any situation involving semiotic activity" (Kramsch, 2002, p. 22) because it is in these conflicts and paradoxes that affordances emerge, moments in which an experience or an environmental element becomes salient and yields meaning (van Lier, 2000, 2002). It is in this sense that Kramsch argues that the role of ecologically oriented research is to identify and describe these affordances.

A teacher, learner, and researcher who embraces this ecological approach might return to the representation of the Saussurian talking heads and ask: What discourse worlds are being constructed? How are these discourse worlds situated in time and space? How are the speakers positioning themselves within these worlds and with respect to others in the speech community and outside of it? What is the relationship between these discourse worlds and material reality? What other discourse worlds are they indexing and what semiotic tools are they using to do so? What conflicts, paradoxes, and struggles emerge from the interplay between these discourse worlds?

In this research project, I assume a poststructuralist perspective on meaning making, language, and identity as well as an ecological view on language learning. This perspective has influenced the research questions that I pose, which focus on understanding how teachers and learners construct meaning with regards to their learning, how they negotiate these meanings, and how they position themselves in and through language. This dissertation work is situated in a language and culture classroom, which has itself been influenced by poststructuralist thought

regarding language and culture learning, at the same time that the objectives and expected outcomes of learning have been influenced by both globalization and neoliberalism. It is to language and culture teaching that I now turn in order to explore some of these influences.

3.2 The Communicative Revolution

My consideration of foreign/second language teaching and learning begins with the introduction of the notion of communicative competence in the 1970s because it had a profound impact on curricular goals, teaching approaches, and pedagogical practices. Popular at the time was the audiolingual method, which favored drill-and-kill exercises that purported to facilitate the acquisition of grammatical forms through memorized exchanges and word-for-word translation. In general, this decontextualization of language reinforced and reflected the overall importance of grammatical form over meaning. However, Hymes' (1962) introduction of the notion of communicative competence broadened theorizations of competence to include knowledge of the rules of language use, namely, how to use language forms appropriately in different contexts. With this advent of the communicative revolution, meaning took center stage and the goal of language study shifted to focus on the ability to communicate accurately, effectively, and appropriately.

Thus arose communicative language teaching (CLT), an approach that has as its core, according to Savignon (2007), "the engagement of learners in communication in order to allow them to develop their communicative competence" (p. 209). Since the 1970s, CLT has assumed many forms such that it cannot be understood as representing a monolithic, singular methodological or pedagogical model. Indeed, there is no one understanding of what CLT is or how it ought to be implemented in the classroom. In addition, it has spawned both task-based instruction (TBI) as well as content-based instruction (CBI), which also exist in multiple forms in theory and practice. My goal is not to attempt to account for all of these multiple iterations over time. Instead, I focus on challenges to some of the current understandings of CLT and the concomitant debates regarding its possible limitations. I do so taking into account poststructuralist influences on understandings of meaning making, language, and identity. Finally, I situate these debates in the context of an increasingly globalized world that has been influenced by neoliberal discourses.

3.2.1 The Negotiation of Meaning. In their landmark paper, Firth and Wagner (1997) highlighted the imbalance between cognitive orientations vs. social orientations in the field of SLA, calling for, "a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use" (p. 286). This social turn in SLA influenced conceptualizations of CLT. According to Berns (1990), one of the key tenets of CLT is based on a view of language as "a social tool which speakers and writers use to make meaning; we communicate about something to someone for some purpose, either orally or in writing" (as cited in Savignon, 2002, p. 6). In a CLT classroom, activities tend to emphasize contextualized language use such that students not only focus on what is being communicated but they learn how to use appropriate language in a particular context in order to negotiate meaning. Therefore, the curricular and pedagogical goals of CLT focus on "the development of functional language ability through learner participation in communicative events" (Savignon, 2007, p. 209).

The interaction hypothesis (Long, 1996) greatly influenced conceptualizations of how to attain these goals. Its main tenet is that learners learn language in context whilst attempting to

complete a communicative task, hence the growing emphasis in the CLT classroom on task-based activities. The completion of these tasks, generally involving the transmission of knowledge, presumes the use of communication strategies in order to negotiate meaning. As Long (1996) elaborates:

> negotiation for meaning is the process in which, in an effort to communicate, learners and competent speakers provide and interpret signals of their own and their interlocuter's perceived comprehension, thus provoking adjustments to linguistic form, conversational structure, message content, or all three, until an acceptable level of understanding is achieved. (p. 418)

Block (2002), in his criticism of how this negotiation of meaning has been understood by some, further explains: "in order for the negotiation of meaning to be successful, the individuals involved have to be attentive, efficient, and willing communicators who are aligned in their goal to sort out communication problems as they arise" (p. 122). From the perspective of the interaction hypothesis, communication is based on a functional understanding of language, i.e., the ability to use language in context to exchange knowledge and information and to negotiate meaning. There is thus a fixed goal to this negotiation and it is understood instrumentally: language is an instrument to achieve this understanding.

As Kramsch (2006) states, "in the educational world, communication has been slowly resignified to mean the ability to exchange information speedily and effectively and to solve problems, complete assigned tasks, and produce measurable results" (p. 250). This view of communication reflects both the influences of globalization and neoliberalism. As both Fairclough (1995) and Cameron (1995) elaborate, the technologization of discourse and verbal hygiene involve the framing of interpersonal and workplace communication as a set of technical skills that can be defined, made more efficient, quantified, and ultimately controlled. From an instrumental, goal-based perspective of language education, students are not just acquiring language but these technical skills: they learn how to exchange information and complete tasks efficiently while demonstrating their language use, which can be measured and standardized because it is decontextualized and independent of personal subjectivities and social and historical realities. As Block (2002) argues, the emphasis on efficiency, calculability, predictability, control and standardization is an example of McCommunication, the commodification of discourse at the service of capital.

As a result of these concerns, many criticize current understandings of communicative competence that are based on this functional use of language, the acquisition of these technical skills, and the attainment of these instrumental goals. Tucker (2006) explains "communicative competence has become fossilized in its most reductive sense, as functional language (usually oral) stripped of its interpretative content" (p. 265). For example, classroom activities, such as task-based activities, focus on successfully exchanging information as opposed to a consideration of the nature and the purpose of the task itself. In other words, absent from many CLT practices that focus on achieving an instrumental goal are critical perspectives on the process, which includes not only the nature of the task but the very language used to complete it, the nature of communication and meaning making, the larger contexts in which communication takes place, and the positioning of students and instructors within these contexts. These considerations speak to some of the underlying and persistent influences of structuralism on SLA.

3.2.2 Language Use. The insistence on functional language use in CLT frequently presumes that 1) the knowledge that is communicated preexists the communicative event; and 2) this knowledge exists in a transparent relationship to language. It is a perspective that emphasizes the referential dimension of language, which is one that assumes that there is a one-to-one correspondence between language and reality such that communication simply involves mapping linguistic signs onto the entities and processes that they describe. This perspective is reflected in the conduit metaphor, the Saussurian talking heads previously discussed, which according to Reddy (1979), involves the following beliefs about communication:

1. Language is a conduit used by human beings to transfer thoughts, feelings and ideas from one person (the sender) to another (the recipient).
2. In the process of speaking and writing, human beings package their thoughts, feelings and ideas *in* the words.
3. Words maintain the meanings intended by the sender.
4. The receiver unpacks or extracts the intended meanings from the words.

<div align="right">(as cited in Block, 2002, p. 122)</div>

As Kramsch (2009a) further elaborates, in the context of second language acquisition, language:

> has been viewed as a transparent and neutral tool for the formulation of thought, for interpersonal communication, and social interaction. In part because of the rationality of its grammar and the logic of its vocabulary, language has been taught and learned mostly as a tool for rational thinking, for the expression and communication of factual truths and information, and for the description of a stable and commonly agreed-upon reality. (p. 2)

As a consequence, as Kern (2000) has argued with respect to written texts "by suggesting that meaning exists a priori (on the printed page or in the writer's head), no account is taken of the interactive, collaborative, and intersubjective dimension of communication" (p. 49).

The concerns have been taken up in the field, particularly in the 2007 MLA report titled *Foreign Languages and Higher Education: New Structures for a Changed World*. While this report reconfirmed the importance of language study in the context of an increasingly globalized, post 9-11 world it also recognizes that the goals and means of language study are currently being debated because "divergent views concerning language and its many functions are reflected in differing approaches to the study of language" (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007, p. 2). These divergent views, as identified in the Report and as reflected in this current discussion, include an instrumentalist view, which understands language as a skill used to transmit thoughts and information, and a constitutive view, which emphasizes how the very language used constructs those thoughts and the worldviews they create. The report argues for the need to develop an integrated approach to curricular reform that "situate(s) language study in cultural, historical, geographic, and cross-cultural frames within the context of humanistic learning" (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007, p. 4).

As a result, the MLA report advocates for the development of students' translingual and transcultural competence, understood broadly as the ability to "operate between languages" (2007, p. 3-4). More specifically, students develop the ability to comprehend and analyze cultural narratives from essays, fiction, advertising, amongst others, and come to reflect on the

world and on themselves through the lens of different languages and cultures. Kramsch (2012) elaborates on this opportunity:

> language teachers must continue to teach the structures of one symbolic system and ensure that their students master those structures, but the committee [the ad hoc committee on foreign languages] wanted to go beyond structure. It saw language teachers as teachers of meaning –social, cultural, historical, and aesthetic meanings, that become contaminated, infiltrated by other meanings when in contact with other languages. (p. 18)

In the end, the goal of the MLA report is not necessarily to argue that one viewpoint, the instrumentalist or the constitutive, is better or correct. Instead it suggests that these viewpoints need to be understood relationally. Historically language and culture teaching has emphasized the acquisition of language structures to transmit information and to facilitate the negotiation of meaning. The new challenge in this globalized era is to shift the focus to how cultural, historical, and aesthetic meanings are constructed between and through languages and other symbolic systems. This requires not only considering the referential dimension of language, but also its symbolic dimensions. According to Kramsch (2009a), the word symbolic refers, "not only to *representations* of people and objects in the world but to the *construction* of perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, aspirations, values through the use of symbolic forms" (p. 7). The result would be that "in the course of acquiring functional language abilities, students are taught critical language awareness, interpretation and translation, historical and political consciousness, social sensibility, and aesthetic perception" (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007, p. 4). Without such an interrogation, the CLT approach potentially cuts off critical and reflexive thinking for the language learner because it lacks a consideration of how texts construct representations of the world, social identities, and social relations through discourse and what is at stake in these representations.

      3.2.3 The Role of Context. As suggested by the previous discussion, in addition to debates regarding the limits of instrumental views of language, current discussions emphasize the need to consider the cultural and historical realities that are represented and constructed to teach languages as these realities are presumably fixed and neutral. In her book *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*, Kramsch (1993) expands understandings of context, explaining that:

> contexts are alignments of reality along five different axes: linguistic, situational, interactional, cultural, and intertextual. Context is shaped by persons in dialogue with one another, saying things about the world and thus making statements about themselves and their relationship to one another. Through this dialogue, they exchange and negotiate meanings that belong to a community's stock of common knowledge and that draw on the variety of past and present 'texts'. Context is the matrix created as discourse and as a form of social practice. (p. 46)

This understanding of context takes into consideration how language indexes worldviews, emotional resonances, affective stances, lived experiences, and sedimented layers of meaning at individual and societal levels, for example, not as part of information to simply be exchanged but as part of the construction and expression of meaning that is by nature incomplete and always in process.

In the CLT classroom there are concerns that current practices may ignore these larger questions of social practice such that context is still limited to context of use, in other words, the communicative event at hand and the information that is to be exchanged. As such, language is still decontextualized in that it does not include a consideration of the broader social, cultural, historical, political and economic contexts of instruction (see for example Bax, 2003) as well as language use, particularly as evidenced in dominant language ideologies (for example, regarding English, see May, 2011; Phillipson 1998, 2009) and material realities. This might include a consideration of the purported goals and purposes of language instruction in the immediate community, in the U.S., and in an increasingly globalized world. Finally, running through all of these dimensions of context are ideological considerations and power structures that, from the perspective of CLT, are not interrogated in relationship to meaning making and communication.

3.2.4 Identity. Alongside this understanding of language as a closed system and context as limited to contexts of use, in a CLT classroom students' and instructors' identities are frequently understood based on fixed, structuralist notions of identity, particularly categories of nation, class, or race, which are attributed to them in addition to the cultures that are studied. Furthermore, this process of attribution is understood as divorced from the larger contextual operations of power. From the perspective of poststructuralism, these identities are not fixed, but rather language constructs notions of self and others as multiple and constantly changing subjects. These constructions of self are directly implicated in the operation of power and the options available for resistance and repositioning.

Early on researchers began questioning these fixed, structuralist notions, starting with an interrogation of the very construct of the "native speaker," which is based on idealized understandings that reinforce a monolingual bias and the existence of standardized language forms (see for example Kramsch, 1997; Firth &Wagner, 2007). Of the many political and personal consequences of this native speaker construct researchers have considered the problematic implications that L2 speakers are deficient (see for example Cook, 1999). In the context of globalization, Blommaert's notion of truncated multilingualism calls into question the existence of complete language repertoires (2010).

Researchers have also explored the implications of the imposition of such fixed identity categories, such as race. In the field of TESOL, Motha (2006) questioned the presumed relationship between native speaker status and whiteness, particularly in the case of teachers that are not constructed as white. In their Introduction to the Special Issue of the TESOL Quarterly on race and TESOL, Kubota and Lin (2006) further brought to the fore questions of persistent understandings of race based on fixed biological characteristics vs. its socially constructed nature in relationship to the construction of the idealized native speaker of English in relationship to "Americanness." They argue that in the case of Asian Americans, recent research has confirmed that those who are native speakers of English are constructed as perpetual foreigners, which, according to Takaki (1993), is reflected in the common question in the United States "your English is excellent. How long have you been in this country?."

These fixed categories and their attribution have become even more problematic in the context of intensified globalization given the movement, and displacement, of peoples around the globe. For example, Ibrahim's (2003) research focuses on French-speaking immigrant and refugee continental youth attending a Franco-Ontarian high school in Canada. He explores how these students resist the constructions of "being Black" that are imposed on them by dominant discourses in relationship to their language and culture learning, specifically their appropriation

of hip-hop culture and rap. Globalization has also led to internationalization, which has altered nationalist-based understandings of identity. For example, based on her work in francophone Canada, Heller (2010) explores changing conceptualizations of national identity in relationship to language. She argues that whereas previously language was a mark of belonging as part of an ideology of authentic nationhood, language has now become a technical skill and marketable commodity as part of an ideology of commodification, and these two understandings interact and reinforce each other as further elaborated in the concepts of pride and profit (see Duchêne & Heller, 2012).

To consider subject positioning in the CLT classroom includes taking into account how language constructs notions of self and Others not as fixed positions but as multiple and constantly changing subjects. Kramsch (2009a) has explored these constructions through an analysis of the published testimonies and language memoirs of former language learners in order to consider the construction of the symbolic self. The implications, she argues, for language and culture teaching in an era of globalization include that:

> teaching the multilingual subject means teaching language as a living form, experienced and remembered bodily, with a relation to the Other that is mediated by symbolic forms—an experience that an increasing number of students nowadays have already had at home or by living in multilingual neighborhoods. Learning another language in an academic environment can give them words to understand that experience. (Kamsch, 2009a, p. 191)

Overall, through preceding discussion I have tried demonstrating that CLT does not represent a monolithic or fixed understanding of language and culture education, at the same time that it has undergone changes over time. Debates that consider poststructural perspectives as well as the influences of globalization and neoliberalism continue to raise important questions and concerns regarding some current manifestations of CLT with respect to the negotiation of meaning, language use, context, and identity, as outlined here. Certainly these concerns also influence what happens in the language and culture classroom, where the macrolevel of theory intersects with the microlevel of pedagogical practices. This dissertation project attempts to account for and to understand how these larger debates influence and play out in the classroom in order to consider their implications for students and instructors and for learning. Most importantly, it attempts to capture how these divergent views, as identified by the 2007 MLA Report, play out in terms of participants' own understandings of language itself, of the goals of language and culture learning, and the role of this learning in their lives.

3.3 Culture as Discourse

Culture has been variously understood and the goals of teaching it in the second/foreign language classroom have changed in accordance with varying methodologies and perspectives. Historically, the grammar-translation method limited understandings of culture to literature and the fine arts, big "C" culture (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011), which is also based on strictly delimited national boundaries (Kramsch, 2013). The introduction of both the direct and the audiolingual methods shifted the focus to little "c" culture: the everyday lifestyles and behaviors of those that speak the languages being learned (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011). These

were still largely understood as belonging to an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) that was also constructed in relationship to national boundaries (Kramsch, 2013).

In addition, the overall role of culture in relationship to language instruction has changed. Culture has not always been seen as integrated into instruction or even central to language learning. For example, the 4Fs approach, which emphasizes folk dances, festivals, fairs, and food, tended to relegate the teaching of culture to the back of the book or to special "culture days," something of a fifth skill that was tagged on once the 'real' work of language learning had been completed. With the communicative revolution, culture took center stage since CLT views the learning of culture as integral to the learning of language (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011).

At stake in considering how culture is understood and what role it plays in the classroom are larger questions of how cultural representations are constructed and how cultural difference is understood. In addition to the varying methodological influences, explorations of these latter questions have been influenced by structuralism and poststructuralism. Whereas structuralism reduces culture to fixed categories of time and place and emphasizes the transmission of factual information, poststructuralism sees culture as discourse: a site of struggle for meaning itself (see Kramsch, 2009b; Kubota, 1999; Lin & Luk, 2002; Pennycook, 2001). From this perspective, we construct social and cultural realities through discourse at the same time that these realities construct us (Kramsch, 2009b). In addition to poststructuralist influences, intensified processes of globalization have brought into question the fixedness of culture, particularly in relationship to national identities. The increased movements of people and ideas through immigration and technology have given new meaning to multiculturalism that includes notions such as the third culture, also understood as the third space, and cultural hybridity (Kramsch, 2013).

In order to further explore these conceptualizations of culture and how cultural difference is understood in relationship to language education, in this section I consider two constructs that have greatly influenced the foreign/second language and culture classroom: the National Standards and intercultural competence. After considering their theoretical limitations I consider the contributions of poststructuralist thought in some critical perspectives on the teaching of culture.

3.3.1 National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (1996). Prior to the introduction of these *Standards* in 1996, and even through today, culture teaching has tended to focus on the accumulation of factual information about the Other: history, geography, customs, music, food, etc. The 4Fs approach, as previously mentioned, epitomizes this perspective. This understanding of culture, based on the accumulation of factual information, is still present in many current textbooks, although it is now at the service of facilitating foreign travel and the consumption of the Other (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015; Vinall, 2012), and it can be understood in relationship to the influences of neoliberalism on the commodification of culture. Generally, this factual information is divorced from its historical, economic, political, or sociocultural meanings. As such, this representation of culture frequently reproduces stereotypes that also exoticize the Other while the students' and instructors' own cultural perceptions are largely ignored.

The *Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21*[st] *Century* (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1996) is a document that was created by several professional organizations in order to develop learning goals in various subject areas for primary and secondary students. In many ways it contrasts with the 4Fs perspective on culture by bringing to the fore the products of culture and their sociocultural contexts of use. The sociocultural aspect of culture is highlighted through the emphasis on *perspectives*, namely the

meanings, attitudes, values, and ideas in relationship to *practices* or patterns of social interaction and *products* or books, tools, foods, law, music, or games. The purpose of learning culture is to develop L2 cultural proficiency in order to know how to respond appropriately in what are considered "authentic" cultural situations. This functional emphasis parallels to some degree the development of communicative language teaching, as already elaborated, that also stresses the functional use of language.

There have been numerous critiques of how the *Standards* represent cultural difference. For example, Kubota (2003, 2004) argues that the *Standards* essentialize and polarize cultures of the Self and Other. From this perspective the nature of the relationship between cultures exists as a binary—first language culture (C1) and foreign language culture (C2)—and the speakers of the cultures represented also exist in a binary relationship—us-them and self-others (Kramsch, 2009b). Basing her arguments on Osborn (2000), Kubota (2004) explains that the culture being studied is presented as truly "foreign" whereas U.S. culture is presented as homogeneous, a culture of shared values and social practices, which does not reflect the multicultural reality of the United States. In other words, the existence of cultural differences within the U.S. is effectively eliminated. Furthermore, the *Standards* emphasize learning correct information in order to reduce stereotypes. However, this goal fixes culture objectively in the construction of another binary, that of true and false information (Kubota, 2004).

Kubota (2004) further argues that from the perspective of the *Standards* culture is constructed as largely closed, existing outside in a vacuous context that does not take into consideration "the politics and ideologies underlying the ways the culture of the Other are interpreted" (p. 26). As an example, she analyzes the essentialization of cultural difference in understandings of Japanese communication style, classified as indirect, inductive, non-logical, ambiguous and, therefore, backward, in contrast to U.S. communication style, which is seen as rational, directness, coherence, logical, and therefore modern. This essentialization of cultural difference reinforces colonized/colonizer dichotomies and power hierarchies as the U.S. communication style is not only homogeneous, but it is favored as representing modernity and Western values (Kubota, 2004).

Kubota's (2009) solution to avoid this essentialization as well as the reproduction of power relations is a poststructuralist one: to view culture as a discursive construct, namely that images of culture are constructed by discourses. From this perspective, cultural knowledge is produced with ideological and political purposes in order to exert, maintain, or resist power. As a result, she argues, we need to politicize cultural differences as discursive constructs.

Without these ideological and political perspectives and a concomitant consideration of power relations, culture is largely structuralist. As framed by the *Standards*, culture is presented as static, monolithic, and fixed in time. The *Standards* maintain the binaries between C1-C2, self-other, and us-them because these perspectives are not explored relationally. On a related note, the *Standards* do not theorize multiple ways of positioning oneself vis-à-vis the other culture and how this positioning influences one's understandings of his/her own culture. As Byrnes (2008) indicates, the goal is for students to develop "an identity as a competent non-native user of the language" (p. 107), in other words the ability to use situationally and contextually appropriate language. This is presented as a seamless process of acquiring cultural information that presumes no conflict, between the students' or instructors' culture and that which they are learning.

3.3.2 Intercultural Competence. The notion of intercultural competence, in all of its variations, arose in conjunction with communicative competence in the eighties as Europe began to focus on increasing dialogue and cooperation across national boundaries within a global economy (Kramsch, 2013). Intercultural competence represents a shift in perspective from the *Standards* in that it centrally involves comparisons between learners' C1 and C2 in order to understand differing worldviews that, according to Crozet, Liddicoat, and Lo Bianco (1999), involve participation in otherness. In order to do so, the previously discussed binaries between C1-C2, self-other, and us-them are considered relationally.

This participation is variously conceived. Agar's (1994) notion of languaculture, which is central to certain understandings of intercultural competence, focuses on what he calls "rich points," those moments when difference is perceived, and how in response to this difference we naturally or consciously construct new frames and/or modify our own existing frames in order to understand the difference. The goal is to denaturalize one's own cultural point of view and to understand the other's by creating and inhabiting the space between the two positions. As a result, learners are not just observers of difference but they experience difference in order to appreciate it.

In contrast, Carr (1999) criticizes conceptualizations of intercultural competence that are based on a Hegelian dialectical synthesis, referring to them as 'discourses of containment,' i.e., a means of avoiding conflict in order to achieve understanding, awareness, sensitivity, sympathy, and tolerance. She argues that cultural difference implies struggle and conflict, and that the disruption, slippage, and hybridity that result can be productive, not destructive, forces. As such, she relies on a Bakhtinian (see Bakhtin, 1981) dialogic model, a recognition of the multiplicity of voices from different historical, social, and political contexts that are constantly creating new meanings. The point then is not to tolerate difference but to interact with it and the conflicts it produces, through reflection, analysis, and practice in addition to observation.

Byram's (1997) work on intercultural competence further complicates this understanding of participation in cultural difference in that he emphasizes two additional aspects. The first is that the goal of becoming an intercultural speaker is to be a sojourner and not a tourist because, as he argues, the tourist remains unchanged through cultural interaction whereas the sojourner gains an understanding of self and of the other culture, leading to critical cultural awareness. This is accomplished in a supposed relation of equality between the cultures represented. To teach culture involves not only acquiring knowledge and exploring attitudes, but also developing these skills of discovery, interpretation, and relating to otherness. Whereas on the one hand Byram includes an interrogation of power insofar as notions of standard language are questioned and monolithic cultural constructs are undermined, he still reifies these constructs as an entry point for students and in assuming that all cultures are viewed equally, he fails to fully engage with questions of power and ideology.

Overall these understandings of intercultural competence break with the construction of problematic binaries between the C1-C2, self-other, and us-them in order to view cultural difference relationally. The ultimate goal is to participate in difference, albeit conceived of as harmonious difference or full of productive conflict. However, these conceptualizations still to some degree rely on fixed understandings of culture, for example national cultures, that do not take into account multiple positionalities between or in culture or uneven power dynamics influencing the construction of these differences. It lacks what Phipps and Guilherme (2004) consider a critical perspective.

3.3.3 Critical Perspectives on Cultural Difference. Poststructuralism, as already highlighted, undermines structuralist understandings that are based on fixed, static notions of culture, frequently understood as a series of binaries between C1-C2, self-other, and us-them, by theorizing culture as discourse. In viewing these binaries relationally, this perspective opens up the possibility to consider how cultural difference is constructed and what is at stake in these representations in terms of questions of power and positioning. This understanding has been further influenced by critical pedagogy, notions of the third space, and the multilingual turn in SLA. I address each of these briefly in turn.

From the perspective of critical pedagogy, Crawford and McLaren (2003) argue that culture cannot be understood as an isolated, bounded, and cohesive meaning system nor can it be taught as standards of behavior and beliefs that can be classified and organized, akin to the *Standards*. This information-centered cultural perspective does not address cultural change over time, it neglects individual and regional variation, and it reproduces stereotypes. Instead, culture is a system of meanings, which reflect and is constitutive of a multiplicity of voices within conflicting and competing discourses. However, unlike most understandings of intercultural competence, they argue that not all of these competing meanings carry the same weight or power because cultural knowledge is produced in the context of power. As such, culture is a contested terrain, a site of struggle and transformation, where hegemony is exercised and counterhegemony is produced (Giroux, 1992). According to Williams (1977), "a culture must finally be interpreted in relation to its underlying system of production" because "a culture is a whole way of life, and the arts are part of a social organisation which economic change clearly radically affects" (p. 13). Therefore, culture must be understood as grounded in material struggle over competing discourses and social practices, which is always in-process and constantly changing.

In the classroom, Crawford and McLaren (2003) argue for an approach to culture in which beliefs, practices, etc., are historically and ideologically situated and they are multivoiced such that teaching a homogenized view of mainstream, middle-class culture is to deny the myriad voices of subordinate and marginalized groups. Furthermore, they recognize that the position of teachers and students in a classroom is never politically neutral such that to teach culture as fixed is to deny both the teachers and students multiple positionings and constructions of culture. This perspective also recognizes that whereas all have subjectivity not all have historical agency to represent their cultures. Therefore, to recognize subjectivity is to make these positionings, reactions, and perceptions the basis for dialogue. Finally, they argue that materials that do not interrogate the dominant culture makes this dominant culture invisible and unmarked, making the culture of the other marked as marginal, deviant, and disaffected vis-à-vis this unmarked culture.

The notion of the third space has also influenced understandings of cultural difference in the teaching and learning of languages and cultures as a means of understanding the relationality of cultures, the self and others, and us and them. Perhaps the most influential of these theorizations originates in the work of Bhabha. From his perspective, cultural difference is articulated in the "highly contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation" (p. 37). In other words, culture does not pre-exist in timeless fashion but it is constructed in the moment of speaking and it functions to locate the speaking subject. It is also a process of signification, which serves to differentiate, discriminate, and authorize understandings of difference. The third space is a concept that explores the significatory boundaries of culture, it is a space where meanings and values are created, read or misread, and signs are appropriated or resignified. In

short, it is not a space of harmonious hybridity, reflective of certain notions of intercultural competence, but one of productive tension that opens the possibilities for cultural change.

In her extensive review of the notion of thirdness, Kramsch (2009b) explores this understanding of the third space proposed by Bhabha, in addition to others, and she considers how it has been taken up in language education. She highlights three main characteristics of the third place of the language learner in relationship to third culture pedagogy: 1) a popular culture; 2) a critical culture; and 3) an ecological culture. By popular culture she emphasizes the third place as an oppositional place, where the learner "creates meaning on the margins or in the interstices of official meanings" (p. 238) through language play and the invention of hybrid identities. Third culture pedagogy also offers a critical perspective on culture, one in which learners question dominant attitudes and worldviews, become aware of historical resonances of words, and recognize the political nature of the social categorization of experience. Finally, she highlights ecological perspectives that understand culture contextually and in relationship to the environment. This would encourage multiple interpretations and retellings of the same text through multiple modes and modalities of expression that open spaces to deconstruct signs and reconstruct them.

The multilingual turn in SLA, heavily influenced by globalization, has generated questions of understandings of national and social identity in relationship to both language and culture. Much like the challenges to fixed notions of culture and identity, evidenced in notions such as the third space, this turn has prompted challenges to fixed notions of language, particularly in relationship to strictly delimited national boundaries (May, 2014). It has also challenged the monolingual bias that not only assumes that languages are separate but that understands the purpose of language learning as acquiring native like proficiency in the other(ed) language (Ortega, 2014), and it has challenged notions of how languages are used, not independently but through translingual practices in which language varieties have related and fluid uses (Canagarajah, 2014). Thus the multilingual turn has resulted in lines of inquiry that consider not only cultures but languages relationally, by exploring the transnational linguistic repertories of speakers in what May calls "superdiverse linguistic contexts." New terms have emerged to try to capture and understand these processes and competences with regards to language, terms like Garcia's translanguaging (2009), Canagarajah's codemeshing (2011), and Pennycook's metrolingualism (2010). This multilingual turn hints at the possibilities of a corresponding multicultural turn, one that further theorizes understandings of culture and cultural difference in relationship to these emerging understandings of language. For example, it might include a consideration of how these superdiverse linguistic contexts interact with superdiverse cultural contexts. In addition to translanguaging, it might consider theorizing a comparable transculturing. Finally, such questions invite further exploration of classroom practices for the teaching of language and culture, particularly from the perspective of recent criticisms of the limitations of CLT, as elaborated in the previous chapter.

As previously elaborated, this dissertation research takes place in multiple contact zones (Pratt, 2008), including the United States and Latin America, San Diego and Tijuana, and San Diego University (SDU) and the surrounding neighborhood community of Linda Vista. I have also argued that from an ecological perspective the language and culture classroom is a contact zone. It is in these contact zones that cultural difference is constructed. More specifically, the classroom is a social space where teaching materials construct representations of cultural and linguistic Otherness. These meet and can clash with the instructor's and students' own multilingual and multicultural perspectives as all grapple with these interactions. At the heart of

this struggle is the relationship between self and other and how both are positioned by and position themselves within larger social, political, and economic contexts and discourses. In my research I attempt to understand these productive tensions. How is cultural difference constructed through teaching materials? How do students understand culture, broadly speaking and in terms of the Latin American cultures they study? How do the instructors understand culture? What dominant perspectives are (re)produced in relationship to cultural difference and how do these invoke the operation of power? How do the learners and the instructors' position themselves in relationship to these understandings?

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have defined two of the key terms that provide a contextual framing for this dissertation, namely globalization and neoliberalism, and I have considered how they relate to the central concern of this dissertation, which involve exploring how both have influenced language and culture learning and teaching. Following Scarino's call to further develop theorizations of language, culture, and learning I have attempted to first consider how they have been theorized in previous research in second language acquisition and how these theorizations have been understood in light of recent methodological trends in foreign language teaching. Highlighting the limitations of these understandings and drawing on recent research on critical pedagogy, the third space, and the multilingual turn in SLA, I have argued that responding to Scarino's call requires a poststructuralist understanding of meaning making that sees culture as discourse and language as more than just use.

My research questions reflect this poststructuralist perspective on language, culture, and learning as they do not presume that these understandings are fixed. Instead, my research questions open space to critically consider how these meanings are constructed in the classroom in relationship to the teaching materials, to the positionality and subjectivity of the learners and the instructors, and to the material realities and power dynamics of multiple border zones.

CHAPTER 3
Project Design

1. INTRODUCTION

My research explores how two instructors and the students in their third semester university-level Spanish classrooms understand the nature of language and culture teaching and learning as well as their community service-learning activities and how these understandings emerge and are negotiated through pedagogical practices, interactions, and classroom activities. I employed a qualitative methodology with an ethnographic focus, which involved participant observation, extensive field notes, audio- and video-recordings of classes, and collecting class-related textual artifacts and pedagogical materials in the creation of case studies of these situated learning experiences. I applied thematic and discourse analysis to explore classroom interactions, teaching materials, and interviews with a focal group of students from each class, the instructors, the community service-learning (CSL) office staff, and the community leaders and participants at the CSL sites. This chapter focuses on the design of my research project. It includes information on the research setting, the participants, the procedures for data collection, and the procedures for data analysis in relationship to my research questions.

2. RESEARCH SETTING

The research setting is a private university, San Diego University (SDU), whose campus occupies 180 acres atop a mesa in central San Diego in the neighborhood of Buena Vista. Both the name of the university and the neighborhood are pseudonyms.

In this section, I will provide a historical overview to both the neighborhood and the university, as both are relevant to the students' learning experiences. The specific learning spaces consisted of the Spanish 201 classroom as well as the CSL sites. Therefore, I will also consider the goals and objectives of the class from the official perspective of the department as represented in the syllabus as well as provide an overview of the history and functioning of the Center for CSL, located on campus, as well as the relevant CSL sites.

2.1 The Neighborhood: The Community of Buena Vista

The neighborhood of Buena Vista was built in the 1940's as part of a government project to house the rapidly arriving aircraft workers hired by Consair, which had defense contracts with the federal government (Davis, 2003, p. 62). These were low cost, mass-produced houses constructed in an area that at the time was poorly planned and that lacked proper infrastructure and water. According to Davis the federal government essentially constructed "future slums and ghettos" (Killory, 1993, p. 36). The construction of the neighborhood also produced opposition as the city of San Diego "had long manicured its City Beautiful ambience with housing policies designed to discourage immigration by poor families" (Davis, 2003, p. 60).

Today Buena Vista is a relatively low-income community composed largely of immigrant groups. In 2009 the average median income for the area was $49,828[7]. Approximately 22% of its residents are Asian, predominantly Vietnamese, and approximately 35% are Hispanic. Almost 18% of the population does not speak English (compared to 8.2% for all of San Diego) and 36.5% of the residents were born in another country. Finally, 29% of the population did not finish high school.

A central feature of the community is its Community Center, which offers health and safety classes, social services, housing assistance, and language and youth classes. For the past 28 years, this Center has also organized a multicultural fair and parade every spring that features a world arts village and an opportunity to share information about educational institutions and youth-based community initiatives.

As two of the CSL sites were located in this neighborhood I spent considerable time there and I met several local residents. Of these community members that I informally spoke to, none had ever visited the campus of SDU, a few did not know its exact location. Most of the SDU students reported not having visited the community of Buena Vista prior to their participation in their CSL projects. Instead, the students preferred to go to Mission beach and other affluent areas, such as Fashion Valley and Mission Valley, for entertainment, shopping, and restaurants.

2.2 The University Campus: San Diego University (SDU)

According to its website, the total student population at SDU is approximately 8,000 (undergraduates, graduates, and law students), 31% are classified as minority students. Tuition for the 2011-2012 school year for full time undergraduate students is $38,150, or $19,075 per semester. Overall, SDU offers 42 bachelor's degrees, 34 master's degrees, and 3 doctorates. It has 402 full-time faculty and 443 part-time faculty.

Originally founded in 1949, SDU offers a liberal arts education within the context of the Roman Catholic faith and grounded in Catholic social teachings. Professing the importance of the diversity of religious backgrounds, its webpage states that it welcomes faculty, students, and staff of every faith tradition, in fact 30% of students are of other faiths. SDU highlights its Catholic identity in its focus on a "campus-wide commitment to serving others, developing an active faith community and fashioning a more just and humane world" (university webpage). This orientation and identity are further elaborated in its official mission statement:

> The University of [] is a Roman Catholic institution committed to advancing academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse and inclusive community, and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical conduct and compassionate service. (university webpage)

To support this mission, the university has established 5 core values, that are not only found on their website but they are prominently displayed around campus on banners, and these include: academic excellence, knowledge, community, ethical conduct, and compassionate service. Its overall vision is to educate students, "who are globally competent, ethical leaders working and serving in our complex and changing world" (university webpage).

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[7] Data in this paragraph is from City-Data.com.

SDU's social justice orientation and emphasis on serving local, national, and international communities is evident in its commitment to direct community engagement. The Center for Community Service-Learning, which I will discuss below, plays a significant role in realizing this vision. In 2011 the campus received the Changemaker Status designation from Ashoka, a global organization that promotes and supports social entrepreneurs who seek creative and innovative solutions to social problems, primarily through online competitions for funding.

One of the founders of SDU, Mother Rosalie Clifton Hill, believed that beauty, truth, and goodness were significant in education and, among these, "the only one that attracts people on sight is beauty. If beauty attracts people, they will come and find truth and have goodness communicated to them by the kind of people here" (university webpage). This emphasis on beauty resulted in a 4 million dollar endowment to create a campus that was to be unrivaled in its beauty and design. Its buildings reflect a 16th century Spanish Renaissance architecture and its landscaping is impeccable. In fact, students joke that if a blade of grass turns brown due to lack of rain (a common phenomenon in San Diego, despite an extensive irrigation system) that it is immediately identified and painted green so that no one would notice. As one SDU student, Bart, explained:

> I think it's just the idea of how gorgeous the campus is it's very closed you can get into it from like two driveways that are protected by security guards and its once you get inside you'd think you're in a very rich city as opposed to down [Buena Vista] a couple miles where there are Mexican food shops and run down buildings

I asked several of the focal students to describe to me the typical student that attends SDU. Gary, who explains that he "doesn't come from money," described his first reaction to the campus as that of being "overwhelmed" by the money. To him, the typical student is a "trust fund baby come from money I would think they drive a really nice car or a really nice purse or whatever have a really nice house yeah pretty much always on their phone um pretty snotty snobby yeah pretty much."

SDU's location is significant given the class, race, and economic disparities between the students that live in what many refer to as the "bubble," the campus itself located atop a mesa, and "these people," the residents of Buena Vista that is geographically located in the valley below. Emily, a SDU student, described her experiences: "it's a very it's a very affluent campus and a very it's it's I think it's wonderful and I think the school has a lot of wonderful things about it." But she also highlights how the reality of the university campus contrasts with the surrounding community of Buena Vista: "it's so it's such a paradox being here and then going one mile down the street and being at head start where just the needs are so different and the resources that these people have are so different." Her words highlight the lack of interaction between the two spaces, how geography functions as a physical border and privilege a material and social border.

2.3 The Spanish 201 Class

The Spanish 201 class, which is the focus of this research project, is offered through the Department of Languages and Literatures, which is one of 21 departments that together form the College of Arts and Sciences. The languages taught include: Ancient Greek, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Latin, and Spanish. The university core curriculum requires

that students complete three semesters of a language. The primary goals of the language programs, according to the Department website, stress language learning, understood as grammar and vocabulary: "students acquire the basic structures and vocabulary necessary to communicate effectively in the target language in a variety of settings" at the same time that it emphasizes culture learning as they "develop a greater awareness of other cultures, develop skills in intercultural communication, and gain direct access to additional bodies of knowledge" such that ultimately they "will be better prepared to participate more fully and actively in the global community."

The Spanish section has ten full time professors. It has six adjunct instructors and seven lecturers, who together are primarily responsible for teaching the language courses. This is significant in that their working conditions are often not secure, with year-long contracts, and as a result their relationship to the department can be tenuous. Each of the three required courses, namely first, second, and third semesters, has an assigned supervisor.

There are an average of 13 sections of Spanish 201 offered per semester, each with 15-20 students, which are taught by approximately six instructors. The class meets three days a week for 55 minutes. On the other two days of the week students engage in independent study and submit online work.

According to the syllabus, the course emphasizes the development of the four skills in addition to linguistic knowledge, including previously studied structures and ones that are particular to Spanish 201 (specifically, the subjunctive, *nosotros* commands, past participles used as adjectives, present and past perfect, conditional). The course also emphasizes the development of cultural knowledge, demonstrated through "an understanding of the relationship between the practices, products, and perspectives of the culture studied; recognize that cultures use different patterns of interaction and apply this knowledge to their own culture; identify in a contextualized manner well-known historical and contemporary figures" (from course syllabus). An additional, significant aspect of the course is its emphasis on students' developing insight into their own languages and cultures by "looking beyond their customary borders and by examining their own relationship to other cultures so as to be able to participate more fully in local communities and global contexts" (course syllabus)

The textbook is *Vistas*, 3rd edition, and in Spanish 201 students study chapters 13-18. They also independently complete the online workbook, called Supersite, which contains practice vocabulary, grammar, reading, listening, and writing activities.

In addition to attendance/participation and homework (the Supersite activities), students also complete three in-class writing assignments, six quizzes, three partial exams, and a final exam. The three partial exams and the final exam are standardized so that students in all sections of Spanish 201 take the same exams. A final requirement is that students must 1) attend cultural activities on campus or in the community or 2) participate in community service-learning activities. In the past cultural activities have included conference events, lectures, theatrical performances, films, cultural celebrations and festivals. The community service-learning activities will be described in more depth below. At the end of the semester students complete an in-class presentation summarizing what they learned through their participation in these activities.

2.4 The Center for Community Service-Learning (CSL)

As part of its Catholic moral and social tradition, SDU is committed to serving with compassion, fostering peace, and working for justice by preparing students as future leaders to

promote social change and justice (university website). As a means of achieving this goal, the university encourages community service-learning (CSL), which led to the creation of the Center for Community-Service Learning in 1986. The mission of the center is: "[t]hrough service, we engage [SDU] students, faculty, staff and alumni to learn in partnership with the community, and make life-long commitments to promote social change and justice" (university webpage).

According to the Assistant Director each semester there are approximately 40 SDU courses that incorporate a CSL component, among which are the Spanish classes, such as Spanish 201. With six full-time staff positions, including a director, assistant director, associate director, and faculty liaison, program director, and executive assistant, the Center supports faculty members as they integrate service learning into their curriculum. It also supports building community-based partnerships as each of the CSL sites has a community partner, someone who is connected to the community program. In addition, for each site there is a coordinator, these are generally SDU students that either volunteer their time or work as part of the work-study program. Becky, the assistant director, highlights the role of the Center as being comparable to surfing. Like a surfer she sits and waits for a good wave, in this case a situation in which she sees a potential partnering between a community leader and a faculty member, whereupon she connects them in order to "make things happen."

Together the Center staff and site coordinators handle logistics for the service-learning projects, such as arranging transportation to and from sites, collecting permissions, contacting students in the case of changes or cancellations, etc. They also provide information and orientation sessions at the beginning of the semester. Other responsibilities are generally in response to instructors' and students' needs, concerns, or questions.

2.5 CSL Sites: Community Spaces

During the semester of my research, Spanish 201 students chose between four community-service learning sites. These are the language exchange program, the migrant program, borderlands trips, and Head Start. Except for Head Start, which is a national program and for which I did not collect specific data for reasons to be outlined below, all names of these programs are pseudonyms. In what follows I provide a brief history and description of each of these community spaces and their participants, including a consideration of the activities in which the university students participated.

2.5.1 Language Exchange Program. San Diego County is home to approximately 10,000 to 14,000 Mixtec migrants (Poole, 2004) who have traveled from their home state of Oaxaca on the southern Pacific coast to work primarily in agriculture. Oaxaca is home to several indigenous groups, of which the Mixtec, or Ñuu Savi as they call themselves, (numbering 450,000) and the Zapotecas (numbering 347,000) are the largest, and roughly 50% of the population speaks one of 15 indigenous languages (Poole, 2004). Migration is largely attributed to this population's extreme marginalization within Mexico, due to systematic discrimination that has persisted since the Conquest, in addition to declining agricultural yields from ecological destruction and decreased land availability (Poole, 2004). In fact, Oaxaca is one of the poorest states in Mexico, with limited infrastructure, access to education, and job opportunities.

In the United States, the Mixtec community has also suffered marginalization, discrimination, and exploitation. Due to the lack of educational access in Oaxaca many are illiterate and many do not speak Spanish or English. Their cultural heritage and language are not

understood or even valued, in Mexico or in the United States. The educational system in Mexico is not bilingual such that children that do attend frequently do not maintain their use of Mixtec and once they arrive in the United States even fewer children grow up speaking it. As one of the community partners explained to me in 1997 the Ve'e Tu'un Sávi, or Academy of the Mixtec Language, was created in Oaxaca with the goal of creating a Mixtec writing system in an attempt to preserve and to promote language maintenance.

Within San Diego, the Mixtec community created an organization dedicated to empowering the Mixtec and other indigenous peoples by providing language instruction, social services, and Mixtec language classes and cultural workshops. One of these programs is the language exchange program. It meets for two hours two evenings a week in the neighborhood of Buena Vista. Students from several local universities, including SDU, participate.

For the first hour and a half, the university students either tutor adult members of the community in English or Spanish, depending upon their preferences, or they work with the Mixtec Kids program by helping children to complete their homework. English classes are divided into English 1 and 2 and Spanish classes are also divided into levels 1 and 2. Class sizes varied by session, although generally there were no more than 3 to 4 community members in each class level with at least one if not 2 tutors. For the adults classes, there are no books, however, there are whiteboards and chalkboards available. There is no organized curriculum, in fact, in the orientation the community leaders recommended to tutors that they ask what people want to learn and negotiate goals based on these needs and preferences. I personally had volunteered at this organization tutoring English classes for an entire semester prior to conducting research. The most frequently identified needs from the community were related to work: the women needed to know how to receive and ask questions related to cleaning houses, as this was their primary occupation, and the men wanted to be able to communicate in an agricultural context. Occasionally they also requested assistance with practical matters such as how to set up bank accounts, how to apply for a job, and how to send packages at the post office. Others wanted more general practice with conversational style English. In terms of the Spanish classes, most wanted to learn to read and write Spanish, as they already knew how to speak it. With regards to the Mixtec Kids program once the homework was completed there was a plethora of books in English and Spanish that were read, the kids could play on the computers as long as they were educational games, and occasionally they would go outside and play.

For the last half hour everyone participates in a Mixtec language class, which is taught by 1 of 2 Mixtec speakers, who had already begun the process of learning the writing system. They use the chalkboard or on occasion hand-outs, such as images of body parts that are then labeled with the appropriate Mixtec word. Over the course of the semester we learned vocabulary for body parts, colors, animals, and everyday objects and food, and learned salutations, introductions, and how to express likes and dislikes. On occasion the entire community also engages in cultural activities, such as building an altar for the Day of the Dead.

2.5.2 The Migrant Program. The area just north of the city of San Diego is one of the most affluent. On the hills and plateaus there are million dollar houses and pristine subdivisions that have continued to expand in the past 30 years. In the canyons live migrant workers, predominantly from Mexico, who work in the surrounding strawberry and tomato fields, landscaping businesses, and construction. Due to the seasonal nature of the work, the exploitative nature of the working conditions, the inability to secure documentation to work legally, and the extreme xenophobia of the surrounding communities most of the migrants have lived a marginal

existence in make-shift homes without access to basic services, such as running water or electricity. The migrants are predominantly male, and their ages range from 18-60. Some of them are Mixtec indigenous peoples, and, while most are bilingual in Spanish and Mixtec a few only speak Mixtec.

In 1985, three women who belonged to a local church began delivering food to the men and, in response to their request, the priest began offering Mass. Thus began what was to become the Migrant Program. Originally the parishioners and immigrants planted a cross behind a bush to deliver Mass, but as it was private property they were driven off by the owner within a few months. The migrants then built "a Shrine," which consisted of an alter and picnic tables, on private property in a secluded area of the canyon where the parishioners arrived every Sunday with food and supplies and where the priest continued to deliver Mass. It was here that the parishioners began offering English tutoring prior to Mass and limited medical attention.

The documentary *The Invisible Chapel* (Lorenz & Frey, 2007) documents the conflicts that erupted in the 1980's and 1990's as the neighboring communities joined forces with the local Minutemen to launch an aggressive, racist, and false media campaign to drive the migrants away, citing concerns for safety and manufacturing hysteria based on the fabricated rapes of three girls in the area. They criminalized the migrants in the media and vandalized their canyon homes, destroying everything. After a long legal battle the landowner capitulated to the political pressure and informed the Migrant Program that they were going to have to leave the Shrine.

The Migrant Program continued to operate on make-shift sites, frequently alongside a main highway, until four or five years prior to the start of this research project when another landowner offered the parking lot of his landscaping business as a new permanent site, where it continues to operate today. The site is kept largely secret and they have mostly been left alone for many years now. It was requested that I not take pictures or videotape so that no identifying features of the current site would be made public.

The surrounding area has changed over the years and as a result the migrant population is dwindling, at the time of my research there were only around 20 migrants attending. Zoning changes resulted in the construction of subdivisions from what were previously agricultural fields and, together with the economic collapse, there were fewer and fewer jobs. At the same time, due to the continued, and in some cases, increased racism and xenophobia of the local residents and augmented border security under the Obama administration, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids have become more common, and, many migrants have been deported. Two years prior to beginning my research there was another 'abatement' in which the police evicted the migrants from the canyons and removed their belongings. Over the course of the semester in which I was doing my research the migrants reported at least 2 ICE raids of local work sites. Finally, it is also becoming more difficult for migrants to cross the border, it has become increasingly dangerous and expensive (the price to cross with a coyote had at the time reached $5000 according to the migrants). Over the course of my research one of the migrants lost her brother in the crossing, his body was found in the desert of Arizona. The parishioners and the migrant community raised money to provide a funeral.

The migrants that remain continue to live in the canyons and to work primarily as day laborers. There are 2 nearby sites where they gather every morning to wait for the pick-up trucks and cars of the local businesses and homeowners who tirelessly campaign to force them out yet ironically continue to exploit their labor at ever lower wages. According to the men, it is not uncommon to be offered only $8.00 to $10.00 an hour (not including water, lunch, or transportation) for hard, skilled labor that would normally be contracted at $50.00 an hour. In

fact, this was one of the most detrimental aspects of not speaking English, the men found it difficult to negotiate basic living wages and benefits. Some of them reported contemplating returning home to Mexico as they could no longer make enough money to survive and to provide for their families.

The Migrant Program operated every Sunday (in fact, it ceased to operate the summer after I completed this research). There are 5 teams of parishioners who coordinate and alternate the food preparation. In addition to Mass, migrants continue to receive some medical attention. On one occasion one of the migrants had an infected cut on his leg and his head, he had fallen when he crossed the border a few days earlier. His wounds were cleaned and antibiotic lotion was administered. The Border Angels, a volunteer non-profit organization dedicated to humane immigration reform and social justice on the border, also came one day to offer their support and information about the latest ICE raids. And, the English classes are still offered. Seven or eight years ago the university students from SDU took over these classes from the parishioners, who were largely Filipino and did not speak Spanish.

The SDU students meet on campus at 8:30 AM, they travel via 2 vans generally with 2 site coordinators and they arrive to the site around 9 AM. Due to the space restriction in the vans only 12 students could attend on any Sunday, and, generally there were between 9 and 12 students every week. The first arrivals, including students, migrants, and parishioners, set up the altar, the benches, and the large canopies that provide shade. The English lessons begin under the tarps around 9:15. There were booklets provided for these lessons, which largely consists of lists of vocabulary for things like days of the week, colors, etc. The site coordinators facilitated the class by deciding how to organize everyone and selecting what vocabulary to cover. Sometimes everyone sat in a large circle with the migrants at the center and on other occasions there were small groups of one migrant with 3 or 4 students. The lessons generally consisted of the students reading the vocabulary word in English and the migrants repeating it back, or, the students reading the vocabulary word in Spanish and the migrants providing the word in English. On occasion there were other conversations, for example, one morning the site coordinator requested that one of the migrants tell his story of crossing the desert into the United States, he had just completed this journey for the second time two weeks prior.

After the priest arrives the mass begins, approximately at 10AM. By this time many migrant families have arrived and generally the space is full. The priests mostly speaks Spanish and English, although the mass is predominantly in Spanish and a short summary of the homily is provided in English. After mass lunch is provided by the parishioners and everyone sits together to eat. Conversations commonly involve discussions of soccer teams and work opportunities. Frequently there are clothes, blankets, and boots that have been donated and so the migrants sort through these and take what they want. Students help tear down the altar and store the benches prior to their departure. They leave the site at around noon or a little after and arrive back at USD around 12:30 or 1:00.

2.5.3 Border Trips. These trips were organized and run by a 501(c)3 charitable, non-profit organization that is based in California and that has been in service for 35 years. They began primarily as a charity organization that functioned in the San Diego/Tijuana border region where volunteers worked to provide food, clothing, and other assistance to community members. The sites that the Spanish students visit as part of these trips vary each semester, I will only describe those that students visited during my research. There were 4 total trips that were offered, 2 to the San Diego area and 2 to Tijuana.

On both trips to Tijuana the first stop after crossing the border was the Salvation Army in the Colonia Libertad, which has been operating for approximately 50 years. The front functions as a store that sells used clothing, and the back functions as a shelter for recently deported migrants. It contains a large kitchen, dining hall, communal showers, a large sleeping area, and a chapel, which is where we sat as the Capitán, as they referred to him, explained how the shelter functioned. He explained that on any given night they feed and shelter approximately 100 men. They men arrive throughout the night as the "Migra," an often-used and derogatory term for ICE, prefers to deport people in the middle of the night. For many Tijuana is an unknown city, despite the fact that most are Latinos and speak Spanish (there are also Africans and other migrants that are regularly deported to Tijuana) they are frequently disoriented, tired, and hungry and do not know where to turn for help. Many find their way to the Salvation Army. After receiving this brief orientation, the students meet Alejandro, who is approximately 35 years old and who works at the Salvation Army. He recounts his own personal story: he was brought to Los Angeles when he was 6 months old, he entered a gang as a teenager and then at age 30 the police caught him for illegal activities and deported him to Tijuana, despite his never having been to Mexico and his inability to speak Spanish. The Salvation Army took him in, and, after he quit using drugs he has worked there, providing emotional and psychological support to the other migrants and learning Spanish himself in the process. Finally, the students receive a tour of the facilities.

The second stop was in a colonia, or neighborhood, of Tijuana where the SDU students completed a community project. On the first trip, students and a few community members, many of them children, painted the fence of a community center that had gang tags. While they worked women from the community prepared lunch in the center and, after a basketball game with local youth, everyone sat down to eat together. On the second trip, students and community members met at a church where students also painted a fence, they helped the children plant radish seeds in plastic cups, and then they painted pictures of what the plants might look like. The older kids and students organized a soccer game in the street and then lunch was served.

On both trips the last stop was a large market close to the border. Student spent approximately 20 minutes there. According to the instructions that were given the purpose of the visit was for them to get an idea of the prices of food so that they could think about what it would mean to feed a family on an average Mexican salary. From there it was only about 5 minutes to the border, and, on both occasions the line was approximately 1 hour to 1 ½ hours to cross on foot. After crossing the students were transported back to campus.

For the San Diego trips the first stop was actually a series of 3 stops at local parking lots where the day laborers wait to be contracted, these included a grocery store and several Home Depots. The students meet at the CSL office on campus beforehand in order to make peanut butter and jelly sandwiches for the day laborers. Students offered coffee, bottles of water, and sandwiches to the day laborers, all men, in exchange for talking with them about their experiences. Topics of conversation included the harassment they suffer from store managers and neighboring communities that accuse them of being criminals and on occasion attempt to chase them off, the fear of Migra raids, the low wages (several of the men agree that if they are offered less than $10.00 generally they will not accept the work), how long they have been living in the U.S., and the importance of their friendships as support networks. Several of the men asked the students where they were from and what they studied. Students were not at any of these sites for more than 20 minutes.

The next site is Friendship Park, where we were met by Pedro, a representative of the Friends of Friendship Park community coalition. The surrounding park, known as Border Field

Park, was inaugurated in 1971 by Pat Nixon, who stretched her hand through the single chain link fence to shake hands with those on the Mexican side. Since then it has been used as a space for families and friends from both sides of the border to meet. In 2009 Friendship Park was closed in order to construct a second fence. It has recently reopened, only on weekends and with armed agents, although it is no longer possible to communicate across the border. Due to recent rains it was impossible to drive, so, the group hiked for approximately 25 minutes and although we were not able to enter the park Pedro gave a short talk on immigration, including the perils of crossing Mexico on top of railway cars, the dangerous and frequently deadly trip across the deserts of Arizona, and the increased deportations under the Obama administration.

The final site was what I understood to be a detention center for immigrant youth below the age of 18, although I was frequently corrected by the staff and told that it was a shelter (it is guarded, there is a fence with cameras, and the youth are not allowed to leave). The youth are detained there as it is illegal to deport them without a legal guardian or parent. Therefore, they remain until either one is located, in the their home country, in which case they are deported, in the U.S., in which case they can be sponsored and obtain papers, or if either is impossible or they can demonstrate that they would be in danger if they returned to their home countries they can enter foster care (it is common for youth to leave their home countries due to attempted gang initiations or the threat of gang retaliation for attempting to leave). The average length of stay is 20 days and they can remain for up to 6 months if the case is complicated. On the day of our visit there were 20 boys. The center is a large house, with a communal dining area, industrial size kitchen, and a series of bedrooms. There is also a schoolroom, where they receive classes in literacy (a few of them are unable to read and write), English, and a few other subjects. There is a big yard outside where the youth care for animals, such as chickens and geese. There is also a playing field, a garden, and a painted rock garden. The university students and youth completed several ice-breaking activities after which they went to the field and played baseball and then soccer. At the end of the day, the students received a tour of the facility.

2.5.4 Head Start. I did not collect data at this site for both practical and methodological reasons. Originally it was not one of the CSL sites available to Spanish 201 students; however, it was made an option at the beginning of the semester. I had not requested human subjects permission to conduct research at this site, which involves minors, and this process would have required a significant amount of time. At the same time, I did not feel that interviewing the children would necessarily add anything significant to my analysis given its focus.

I did interview students that attended this site and, therefore, I will provide a brief summary of their activities based on information they provided. The Head Start school is located in the neighborhood of Buena Vista. The population of children is fairly evenly mixed between Asian (primarily Vietnamese) and Hispanic (primarily Mexican) and most of the teachers do not speak Spanish, or were very limited in their ability to do so. The biggest complaint from students is that they did not speak or hear much Spanish. The other frequent complaint is that students did not understand their roles at the site or how to insert themselves in a helpful way. They would spend an hour at a time in the classroom helping children, which means that they engaged in a variety of activities depending upon the time of day they were there, such as helping them prepare and eat their snacks or engaging in play time with them at different stations that are set up with computers, paints, or toys.

3. PARTICIPANTS

The participants include the instructors, the students of two sections of Spanish 201, the staff members of the Center for Community Service-Learning, the CSL site coordinators, and the CSL community members, consisting of the community leaders and the community participants. All names are pseudonyms.

3.1 The Instructors

3.1.1 Vicente. Vicente is from the village of Pachuca, in the state of Hidalgo in Central Mexico. He received his degrees in Mexico in biology and educational pedagogy. He taught primary school and biology in secondary school in Mexico City in addition to teaching methodology classes for teachers in training. He arrived to the United States in 1988 and he immediately began teaching at SDU, where he has taught ever since. He was instrumental in establishing relationships with community partners prior to the work of the Center for Community Service-Learning as shortly after his arrival he began taking his students to the Migrant Program. He no longer is active in CSL, and, none of his students chose to participate in the CSL activities. While teaching he completed his Ph.D. at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Tijuana (where he has also taught), specializing in information and communication technologies. He is currently the supervisor of Spanish 201 and he is a lecturer.

I first met Vicente in November, the semester before I began my research. I had contacted him via e-mail and requested a meeting. He was the first contact I made at SDU as he was supervisor of Spanish 201 at the time. At this first meeting, which took place in his office on campus and lasted about an hour, I explained the purpose of my research, I inquired as to the process of obtaining permission to conduct it, and I asked if he knew of any instructors that might be interested in participating. Given his extensive background and interest in teacher training and pedagogy he told me that he himself was very interested in participating. He also gave me the name of a colleague, Yesenia, with whom he had worked for many years and who he thought might also be interested.

3.1.2 Yesenia. Yesenia is originally from Tijuana. She is an adjunct professor that had been teaching at SDU since 1998. She received a master's degree from a local university where she also had her first teaching experiences. She has extensive experience working with community-service learning projects. In fact, she decided, independently of my research project, to require that all of her Spanish 201 students complete the CSL activities instead of having the option of choosing between them and the cultural activities. In fact, this was one of the primary reasons that I chose to work with this particular section. She has been dancing as part of a ballet folklórico for 20 years and in the past she has attempted to include dance and theater as part of these projects.

After Vicente suggested I contact her, I first met Yesenia in November, prior to beginning my research. We met in her office for approximately one hour. After explaining to her my project she was initially hesitant. She had just found out that she was pregnant and she was concerned that it would not be a "normal" teaching semester for her. In fact, in the end it was not in certain concrete ways. For example, normally she accompanies the students to their CSL sites, particularly the border trips to Tijuana, her hometown. However, due to complications with her pregnancy she was unable to do. After our meeting she contacted me a week later to tell me that

she had decided to participate in the project, particularly because she was interested in the CSL experiences of her students and she thought that it would be a good fit to know that I was accompanying them.

3.2 The Students

3.2.1 Section 1: This is Vicente's section of Spanish 201, which met at 9 AM. I attended class the first two days without collecting data. On the third day Vicente left the room for 15 minutes during which time I introduced myself, explained the purpose of my project and what it entailed, and I distributed the permission forms and offered to answer any questions. There were a total of 14 students enrolled, 13 of which consented to participate in the study, of which 9 were female and 5 male. According to the survey information they provided there were 1 freshman, 8 sophomores, 2 juniors and 2 seniors. All of them had studied Spanish in high school, 1 for four years, 9 of them for 3 years, 2 for 2 years, and 1 for 1 year, and 9 had already taken at least one Spanish class at this university. There were no Spanish majors, and only 1 minor. Only 2 students said that they might continue their study of the language and only 3 students reported using Spanish outside of the classroom.

At the beginning of the semester students self-identified as being willing to form part of a focal group. A total of 5 students volunteered and all were included: Sandy, Callie, Matthew, Camille, and Mallorie. All were white and all of them lived in the wider San Diego area. I did not collect specific data in order to identify their specific socioeconomic backgrounds. However, enough information was revealed through the interviews and personal conversations to have a sense of their class status. None of the students in this focal group were receiving financial aid, suggesting that their parents were sufficiently well off to afford the high cost of tuition. In addition, in their interviews many made reference to and acknowledged their own material and economic privileges, including previous trips that they had taken to other countries and attending private high schools, suggesting that they were not particularly concerned about financial issues and that their families could at least could be considered middle class, if not upper class. For example, Sara clearly aligned herself as well as the general population of students at SDU with a privileged position in discussing a protest organized on campus in support of the 99% movement. She dismissing the protest as ridiculous because "our parents are the 1% we grew up like that like."

Minus Callie, this group of students had taken their previous Spanish class together. Although Sandy has a German, Dutch, and Irish heritage she reports that unlike her family she has dark hair and darker skin color, so that since a young age many people would automatically assume that she was Hispanic and speak Spanish to her, leading her to feel bad that she was unable to respond. She is the only student in the focal group that reported using Spanish outside of class, she was at the time dating a student who was from Paraguay. Callie had taken a long break in her study of Spanish, she was a junior at the time of this research and she had not taken any Spanish classes since graduating from high school. She considered languages an area of study that was particularly difficult for her. Matthew was the only student not originally from the San Diego area, he was born in the Ukraine, moving to the U.S. when he was a little over a year old, and he considered himself somewhat fluent in Russian. Camille's family is of Italian origins, she attended a private boarding school where she started her study of Spanish, focusing on memorizing verb forms and vocabulary. Camille and Mallorie are very close friends. Mallorie is

of a German background. She also started studying Spanish in high school, although she reported hating it, and she still struggles with "feeling dumb."

Name	Year of Study	Major
1. Sandy	Sophomore	Marketing
2. Callie	Junior	Marketing
3. Matthew	Sophomore	Economics
4. Camille	Sophomore	Biology
5. Mallorie	Sophomore	Biology

Table 1: Section 1 Focal Group

3.2.2 Section 2. This is Yesenia's section of Spanish 201, which met at 11am. As was the case with Vicente's class, on the third day of class Yesenia left the room for 15 minutes during which time I introduced myself, explained the purpose of my project and what it entailed, and I distributed the permission forms and offered to answer any questions. This section had 20 students, of which 19 consented to participate, 11 females and 8 males. According to the surveys that they completed there were 1 freshman, 5 sophomores, 5 juniors, and 8 seniors. None were planning on majoring or minoring in Spanish, although 1 stated that it potentially could be a minor and another was planning on studying abroad in Madrid the following semester. Only 4 students did not take any Spanish classes in high school, 4 took 4 years, 9 took 3 years, and 2 took 2 years. Only four of the students had not taken other Spanish classes at this institution and 1 had taken both first and second semester classes abroad in Barcelona. Nine students stated that they spoke a little bit of Spanish outside of the classroom: at work (2), with family members (2), with roommates (1), with a girlfriend (1), and with friends (3). Ten said that they plan on continuing their study of the language in some capacity, both formally through taking courses and informally by speaking with friends and 5 want to eventually "become fluent." There was one heritage Spanish speaker in this section.

In this section 13 students self-selected to be part of the focal group although primarily due to time constraints only 9 students were included. There was an effort made to include students that participated in all of the different CSL sites. Of this group, all but one, Alberto, whose family was from Mexico, identified as white. As was the case with the students in the other section I did not collect specific socioeconomic information on these students or their families. However, based on information they provided in the interviews as well as in personal conversations I am able to make a rough assertion of their class-status. Alberto and Gary both received financial aid and both worked part-time in order to contribute to their studies. Alberto identified his family as "poor," and Gary, as previously stated, clearly distinguishes himself from the typical SDU student by stating that he "doesn't come from money." Nora mentions frequently how well positioned her family is economically, stating her parents are "wealthy," referring to the fact that she grew up in a "wealthy neighborhood in Marin," and mentioning that her family owns several houses in several different cities. Carissa recognizes her family's own socioeconomic status in her references to her experiences in Panama. Adam is the only other student that specifically mentions that his family is "well-off." None of the other students received financial aid and they too, like the students in the other class, frequently referred to their previous international travel as well as the cars that they owned, suggesting that they and their families were not concerned with money. Finally, all but three of the students were from the San Diego area: Adam's family is from Las Vegas, Nevada, Alberto's family lives in Northern

California, the Salinas area, and Nora's family splits its time with homes in both San Diego and Marin County.

Name	Year of Study	Major	CSL Program completed
1. Adam	sophomore	Undeclared	Language exchange program / Border trips
2. Gary	junior	business administration	Migrant program / Border trips
3. Bart	senior	Accounting	Migrant program / Border trips
4. Emily	senior	political science/sociology	Head Start / Border trips
5. Carissa	junior	Psychology	Head Start / Border trips
6. Jenny	sophomore	international marketing and visual arts	Migrant program / Border trips
7. Alberto	sophomore	Accounting	Language exchange program / Border trips
8. Cathy	senior	theology and religious studies	Head Start / Border trips
9. Nora	senior	international relations	Migrant Outreach / Border trips

Table 2: Section 2 Focal Group

3.3 The Staff Members: The Center for Community Service-Learning

3.3.1 Director, Center for CSL. Cody began working in the CSL office in 1998 as Assistant Director. He no longer participates in trips and he is not very involved with the pedagogy, his primary responsibilities are more administrative, maintaining the mission of the office, and working as a liaison with the university and faculty members. He was a key figure in the designation of the campus as a Changemaker Campus, in conjunction with a professor from the Business School.

3.3.2 Assistant Director, Center for CSL. A former student at the institution, Becky had been working as the Assistant Director for 5 years. Her primary responsibilities are to work with faculty to incorporate CSL and to work as a liaison with community partners, which includes responding to problems or difficulties that arise, and creating new community partnerships and building relationships. She also works closely with site coordinators, holding regular meetings with them to support them, helping them respond to problems, and mentoring them. She was on maternity leave for most of the semester that I was conducting research, Katy fulfilled most of her primary responsibilities.

3.3.3 Spanish Coordinator, Center for CSL. Katy completed her Master's degree at SDU in International Relations. She was in her second year in her position at the CSL office. She is mostly responsible for the Spanish CSL programming in addition to co-facilitating a class for student leaders. She works closely with the site coordinators for each of the CSL programs. She had no previous experience with CSL until she met Becky on a University Ministry trip in El Salvador.

3.4 CSL Site Coordinators

Site coordinators for the Spanish 201 CSL programs were all current students at SDU. They were not in Spanish 201, in fact they all have been speaking Spanish since childhood and therefore never enrolled in language classes. Camila was born in Mexico and her parents immigrated when she was 5 years old, and all of the parents of the other students migrated prior to their birth. Mariana and Saul had participated in community service prior to their arrival at USD, particularly as part of their high school experience. All of the students sought out the CSL office their freshman year and whereas some of them began participating through other classes they all chose to continue on their own after the classes ended. They generally became site coordinators after at least one year of experience as other site leaders graduated and the need arose and in most cases they were approached by one of the CSL staff members about doing so. At the time of my research they were all about to graduate and one of their responsibilities was to try to identify future site coordinators. They all stated that their work with CSL was significant in that it helped them to connect to the community and to feel like they belonged.

Name	Year of study	Site	Years as site coordinator
Eduardo	Senior	Border trips, he is primarily responsible for translating	4 years / 2 years
Camila	Senior	Language exchange program	2nd semester / 4 years doing CSL as work study student
Mariana	Senior	Migrant program	3 years / 4 years doing CSL
Saul	Senior	Migrant program	2 years / 4 years doing CSL

Table 3: CSL Site Coordinators

3.5 CSL Community Members

3.5.1 Community Leaders for CSL sites. For each of the CLS sites there was at least one community leader that organized and ran the program. They were normally present during CSL activities and they maintained regular contact with the staff of the Center for CSL as well as the site coordinators.

Jorge worked for the organization that ran the Border Trips; he had worked for this organization for 2 years. Originally from Mexico he previously worked in study abroad contexts. He organized the San Diego Border trips and he attended and participated in them.

Mara works for the church that organizes the Migrant program, she is the coordinator. She organizes the parishioners that supply food and other necessities such as boots, blankets, and tarps, and the university students that do English tutoring. She did not speak Spanish when she began facilitating the program but through community college courses and her experiences she can communicate on a basic level.

Orlando had been working with the language exchange program for the previous 4 ½ years. At the time of my research he was a graduate student in anthropology, he had been studying the Mixtec language for about a year when he began participating, and he has made several trips to Oaxaca. He became a part of the organization because he wanted to know more about the difficulties of the Mixtec migrants in San Diego and because he wanted to give back to this community. He primarily works with the children.

Vanesa is one of the founding members of the language exchange program. She has had strong ties to the Mixtec community, she identified with them as a Mixtec, and she was active in the community helping its members to fill out medical forms, to enroll their children in school, and to interpret at the doctors office but she wanted to do more. Upon completing her degree at a local university she took a leadership class at the same institution where my research was carried out. Through her experiences in this class she talked with the community about their needs, and learning Spanish and English was the most urgent. The language exchange program originally started with a small group of students who volunteered to teach but who also expressed interest in learning Mixtec. It was upon gathering the community and the volunteers together that the language exchange program was born.

3.5.2 Community Participants at CSL Sites. I originally wanted to include the community participants in order to consider their perspectives on their relationships with the students and their roles and perceptions of the CSL program. Unfortunately it was somewhat difficult to recruit them for differing reasons. With regards to the Migrant Program, the migrants were understandably suspicious of me and my presence given the history and difficulties of both the program and the increased harassment on the part of ICE officials and those of the surrounding communities, as previously described. Although they consented to talk with me they did not consent to be tape recorded or formally interviewed. The Border trips tended to involve short visits to several sites throughout one day, such that it was difficult to establish a relationship with the community members as the contact was so brief. At the same time, these were not sustained relationships with the students as there was limited individual contact.

Manuela and Ovidio, two participants in the language exchange program, consented to be interviewed. Both received English tutoring and they both alternated as Mixtec language instructors. The official policy of this community, according to Vanessa, is to not consent to be research subjects given a prior history with several researchers that they felt was negative and destructive for their community. In this case, I believe that they consented as they both knew me quite well, I had been working with the organization for a semester prior to beginning this research project. At that time they had undertaken a research project at another university designed to identify and document the various tones of the Mixtec language, a project that was personally significant to them. As these were positive experiences and they had learned more about their rights they were more open to consent to be interviewed. As part of their consent they required that I give something back to the community, a request that I felt was more than fair. In consultation with them we decided that this would be in the form of designing some Mixtec language practice activities and purchasing books for the program.

3.6 My Own Role

The reflexivity implicit in an ecological theoretical framing centrally includes a consideration of the role of the researcher in the production of new knowledge. As researcher, I am not divorced from the context nor do I exist outside of the relationships between the participants for as Kramsch and Steffensen (2008) explain, "it follows from the ecolinguistic emphasis on contextuality and open systems that the researcher sees him/herself as participant, i.e., as related to the object system under investigation" (p. 19). In other words, the research that I conducted and the data collection techniques that I used may actually contribute to the creation of the conditions of possibility for this learning. Therefore, part of my own reflections as a researcher will include interrogating this possibility and its consequences.

I have been a teacher of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures at the university level for 15 years. I have taught all levels of the curriculum, from first semester to upper-level language and culture classes. I began my own language and culture development in Spanish when I was 12 years old. For my family there was no value attached to language learning, indeed, being of working class origins the predominant preoccupations were generally far more practical in nature. For me, Spanish was additive as it gave me access, through my teaching, to the middle class and it has given me cultural and symbolic capital. Ironically, attending the university brought out my own struggle with feelings of inadequacy given my background at the same time that it gave me a language and a discourse to critically reflect on these feelings and to interrogate the underlying structures of power implicit in them. As a result, I remain committed to and passionate about social justice. And as I undertook this dissertation project I recognized and continued to reflect on my own history and relationship to language and culture development in addition to recognizing its role and influence in my research.

My own participation in the Spanish classroom and the CSL activities led me to question some of my own presumed binaries in the research process, between researcher and researched, subjects of research and objects of research, as I came to play the role of not only researcher but teacher, confidant, friend, activist, advocate, and linguistic and cultural mediator and translator. As an activist I had a history of participating in immigrant rights activities and protests in the San Diego area and I had worked in solidarity with the language exchange program independently for a year prior to conducting research. As an educator I had also taught university classes in various local institutions that critically engaged with constructions of the border and with immigrant rights. At a personal level, due to my working class background I identified with some of the struggles of this community and rejected the sense of entitlement I experienced from the middle to upper class university students, yet due to my white privilege and my citizenship these students recognized and identified with me as an ally. At the same time there were certain realities faced by the immigrants that I would never experience nor fully understand because of my whiteness, but tried acting in solidarity with. These tensions and this process of questioning was never resolved during my research, and, in fact it carried over to my analysis and I have tried accounting for it in each of the case studies included herein.

4. PROCEDURES FOR DATA COLLECTION

4.1 Field Notes and Reflexive Memos

4.1.1 Field Notes and Reflexive Memos from Participant Observations in the Spanish 201 Classrooms. I attended and prepared field notes for a total of 36 classroom visits for both sections of Spanish. Overall there were 43 class sessions; I did not attend on exam days (3) and the other days I missed due to illness and conferences. Field notes were handwritten and later typed, usually the same day. Reflexive memos were generally written at the same time as the field notes and these consisted of my own reflections on the class, concerns that I had about the direction of my research, themes that were emerging, and/or classroom exchanges or observations that in some way were striking or suggested a follow-up. In some cases these reflections also included notes on possible questions for the interviews that were conducted later. In the classroom I engaged in participant observation, which involves establishing relationships, participating in activities, and observing what is going on (Agar, 1996).

I generally arrived early to both classes in order to observe interactions between students in the hallway prior to the beginning of classes as this was often a space in which they reflected on the class, frequently expressing their frustrations, anxieties, and concerns. It was also a space in which I could interact with them at a more personal level, in order to develop relationships so that they felt comfortable with me and my presence. As I had little other contact with students it was also a time to finalize interview times and meeting locations.

During class I noted activity-types, instructions, instructor and student roles during the various activities, and I documented whole class and small group interactions. At times, I attempted a word-for-word transcription of what was being said or I was writing general summaries and impressions. On a daily basis I altered where I sat in the classroom in order to consider various perspectives and to observe different student interactions. I generally did not interact much with students after class as most left immediately or they had questions for their instructor.

My own role in the classroom varied as it was constantly being negotiated. In whole class discussions I almost never participated, save a few occasions when an instructor would ask me to verify a vocabulary word (Vicente) or information (Yesenia), as I was trying to record as much as I could. I would occasionally participate in small group activities either by choice or because students would invite me to form part of the group. On these occasions I struggled with my own history as a teacher and my role as a researcher, between organizing and leading the work and pretending that I was a student that was unsure of the answers. I do not believe that I ever successfully resolved this conflict, but, instead chose to do my best to imitate being a student. However, students knew that I spoke Spanish and would frequently rely on my to provide vocabulary items or verb forms. I never denied them these requests (these requests were never made during exams or quizzes). When I would not participate directly I would listen to the group sitting closest to me and focus on writing as much of the conversation that I could while still being aware of where the instructor was in the classroom, what he/she was doing, and what other groups were doing.

4.1.2 Field Notes and Reflexive Memos from Participant Observations at the CSL Sites. I attended the Migrant program a total of 8 times. As the vans used to transport the students to the site had a limited seating capacity and they were always full I drove separately from the students, which was unfortunate because according to the site coordinators there was a brief orientation on the 25 minute drive from campus to the site and a debriefing on the way home. I generally arrived at the site before the student vans. I observed and interacted with all of the various

participants (i.e., SDU students, parishioners, and immigrants) during all activities, namely setting-up, tutoring, Mass, lunch, and taking everything down. This was a small community and given the precarious nature of the legal status of the immigrants and the emphasis on community relationships I was not comfortable writing field notes while on site; therefore, I prepared them immediately upon returning home.

I attended the language exchange program 2 times a week for most of the semester. This is partially due to my research but also because I myself had been working with this organization for a semester already as a tutor/student and I continued these activities while collecting data. The data I collected at this site was limited as there were only 4 students that attended; they did not do so on a regular basis; and they worked with the Mixtec Kids program and I did not have human subjects permission to work with children. Therefore, I only prepared fieldnotes based on general observations of the students interacting with the adults, conversations I had with the students while at the site, and observations of their participation in the Mixtec language class.

I attended 3 of the 4 Borderlands trips, 2 to Tijuana and 1 in San Diego. My own participation was as a student, in other words, I engaged in all of the activities that the students did, including painting a wall, playing soccer with the children, and planting flowers, for example. I noted relevant information that was presented to them, I observed the students' interactions with the people they met and their reactions to the sites, and I took notes on conversations that occurred over lunch or in the vans. In many instances, the students turned to me as a translator when they were having difficulties communicating or they relied on me in their first moment of contact, such as with the day laborers, because they felt uncomfortable with their Spanish. Of the people that accompanied the students on these trips, I was the only one that they had consistent contact with and, in a sense, had gotten to know from my presence in the classroom. Perhaps for this reason during travel, lunch, and in between activities they also would approach me and comment on their experiences, concerns, or confusion, and ask me questions. These conversations were included in my fieldnotes. The actual field notes were written in the van or the bus in between sites, and, they were typed as soon as I returned home.

4.2 Classroom Audio and Video Recordings

Both Spanish 201 classes were video recorded once towards the end of the semester, Vicente's occurred on April 4th and Yesenia's occurred on May 7th. I had originally hoped to videotape the classes several more times, but both instructors feared that the presence of the camera would interfere with the classroom dynamic and requested that I not do so. At the same time, both classrooms were irregularly shaped: Vicente's was very small and cramped, calling even more attention to the camera, and Yesenia's was very large and rectangular, making it very difficult to videotape what was occurring on the other side of the classroom. Overall, audio recordings were much more effective in capturing classroom interactions and less obtrusive overall. The dates for the video recordings were selected in conjunction with the instructors. My intention was to capture both group work and whole class discussions so both recordings were planned on days the instructors felt comfortable with and ones in which a combination of activity formats was planned. In both instances, I set up the camera in the back corner of the room and I was responsible for the recording. The students who had not consented to participate were positioned in the opposite corner, and, after the videotaping I ensured that neither their voices nor their images had been recorded. In each of the classes a couple of students had also not

consented to their images being recorded. These students sat beside the camera and after the videotaping I also ensured that their images never appeared.

With regards to audio recording my goal was to record at least once a month, to try to record different activity types, and to also record on days when students completed their cultural presentations or CSL presentations. Vicente's class was audio recorded 7 times, on: February 6 and 22, March 16, April 16 and 18, and May 11 and 14. Yesenia's class was audiorecorded 6 times: February 14, March 23 and 30, April 18, and May 9 and 11. As with the video recordings, these dates were selected in consultation with the instructors. I generally used 4 audio recorders randomly placed at different spots in the classroom in order to capture as much of the different conversations as possible during group work. In the case of the students who did not consent to participate I never placed an audio recorder near where they sat.

4.3 Meetings

4.3.1 Meetings of the Center for CSL. I attended several meetings organized with different purposes by the Center for CSL. These included: 1) the CSL orientation with students for the migrant program, led by the site coordinators; 2) a monthly site coordinator meeting; and 3) an end of semester meeting with CSL staff to reflect on the semester. I was invited to attend all of these meetings. The orientation took place in a classroom in the same building as the CSL office and the other meetings took place in the main CSL office. The only meeting in which I actively participated was the end of semester reflection as I had been asked to give my general impressions and feedback. This meeting was audio recorded. In the case of all meetings I took notes and formally wrote them immediately afterward.

4.3.2 Meetings with Instructors. These meeting were mostly informal and they almost always happened after or before class in the hallways or the classroom. They generally revolved around practical issues, such as logistics for taping, requests for copies of classroom materials, or clarification of information although sometimes both instructors initiated a reflection with me on their impressions of that day's class or concerns they had about student participation or learning. I generally requested these informal meetings by asking the instructors if they had a few minutes or by sending them an e-mail in advance requesting a few moments of their time. These meetings ranged from 5 minutes to ½ hour. I included my notes from these meetings with my field notes.

4.4 Student Surveys

Students completed a survey at the beginning of the semester in which they provided information on their previous language courses, their goals and expectations for the class, and their attitudes and motivation towards language/culture learning and expectations regarding either the cultural activities or CSL experiences. They completed another survey at the end of the semester in which they reflected on the realization of their goals, their future goals, and their attitudes and motivation towards language/culture learning and experiences with either cultural activities or CSL experiences. Both surveys were written in English, they were administered in the classroom, and they took approximately 10 minutes to complete. The complete survey for the beginning of the semester and the complete survey for the end of the semester is included in Appendix A. Students in Yesenia's class only completed the section in Part III related to CSL activities, as they were required to complete CSL, and not the questions related to the cultural

activities. Students in Vicente's class only completed the section in Part III related to cultural activities as none of them chose to participate in the CSL activities.

4.5 Semi-structured Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with all participants (as previously identified): the 5 focal students from Vicente's class and the 9 from Yesenia's class; both Spanish instructors; 3 members of the CSL staff; 4 CSL site coordinators, 4 community leaders, 2 community participants. All interviews were audio-recorded and I transcribed all of them during the Fall semester 2012. All interview protocols are included in Appendix B.

4.5.1 Student Interviews (n=14). Except in the case of 2 students from Vicente's class, all interviews were individual. I interviewed Mallorie and Camille together as it was their preference, given their close friendship. I agreed to their request as I thought that it might make them more comfortable and as a result their answers might be more elaborate and extensive.

Interviews took place at various locations on campus. Given that I was requesting information about their reactions to their classroom experiences that if overheard could potentially have negative repercussions it was important to conduct these interviews in a private location. Originally this turned out to be something of a challenge as I did not have any campus privileges and could not reserve rooms. Several contacts volunteered their office space and, as a result, one interview was conducted in a borrowed office in the main library, although this situation proved to be difficult in terms of scheduling. The second interview was conducted in a study room in the library, although the student had to reserve it, which also added to scheduling difficulties. A staff member loaned me her office in the Languages Department as she did not use it in the afternoons. Three interviews were conducted there. However, there were complaints by the woman whose office was adjacent that the students' voices were too loud. Rather than hushing the students and risking her overhearing the content of the interviews I switched to using empty conference rooms in one of the campus building. I never had any difficulty finding one that was empty and available at the time of the interviews. Nine student interviews took place there.

I purposely chose to complete most of these interviews towards the middle and end of the semester as I wanted to question students about their impressions of the development of their learning and their classroom experiences. I conducted 5 interviews at the end of March, 3 in April, and 6 in May.

The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. I prepared interview protocols in advance; the questions were organized around the two learning sites: students' classroom experiences and their participation in cultural activities and/or community service learning. If not relevant, some follow-up questions were omitted from the actual interview and some questions were added to probe further a comment or to request an explanation. At the same time, because of my classroom observations and field notes I included in these interviews specific questions about classroom materials, activity types, assignments, and clarification questions (specifically in cases where I had noted reactions and wanted to follow-up on them). These interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 1 ½ hours, with the average being 1 hour. These interviews were conducted in English.

4.5.2 Spanish Instructors (n=2). Both Spanish instructors were interviewed at the end of the semester, after classes were over, Vicente's took place the end of May and Yesenia's the end of June as she was under the weather at the end of the semester and requested that the interview be postponed. I chose to complete both interviews away from the Languages Department to both avoid interruptions and to protect confidentiality as both are lecturers and; therefore, have temporary positions. Vicente's interview took place at an empty table in the main cafeteria (it was closed at the time) and Yesenia's took place outside at a secluded picnic table. Both of these interviews were also semi-structured and open-ended. Questions were organized around their personal information and background experiences, their classroom experiences, and their experiences and practices associated with community service-learning and cultural activities. Additional questions were added in response to their answers, as based on my classroom observations, and in relation to previous conversations that we had had. Both of these interviews were conducted in Spanish and Vicente's lasted 1 hour 4 minutes and Yesenia's 1 hour 5 minutes.

4.5.3 Members of CSL Staff (n=3). Staff members include Cody, Becky, and Katy. I originally interviewed Cody, the director, in February and then requested a follow-up interview at the end of the semester in May as some additional questions arose over the course of the semester. Becky's interview took place in May and Katy's took place in February. All interviews took place in their respective offices and lasted approximately 1 hour and were in English. Questions on the protocol focused on the history of the office particularly in relationship to the university mission, their roles and responsibilities, and their beliefs about CSL in relation to its practice. As there was a lot of information about the Changemaker status that developed over the course of the semester I also attempted to explore what this meant for the office, the university, and the students in the future.

4.5.4 CSL Site Coordinators (n=4). I attempted to interview the 4 CSL site coordinators at the beginning of the semester in order to understand better the histories of the sites and the experiences of past students as I thought that these reflections would better assist me in my own ongoing observations. Two were interviewed in February and 2 in March. Two were conducted in the CASA office, 1 in a local café, and 1 in a borrowed office in the Languages Department. They lasted approximately 1 hour and they were conducted in English. Protocol questions focused on their personal backgrounds, how they became involved in CSL, CSL beliefs and practices, their roles and responsibilities, and their interactions with students and community members. As it became apparent that these were not typical students of this university, they were predominantly students of color from low-income backgrounds, I also included questions related to their overall experiences and relationships to privilege on campus.

4.5.5 CSL Community Leaders (n=3). The 3 community leader interviews primarily took place in local cafes and restaurants perhaps given their geographic dispersion. In general, I let them choose the location. These also lasted approximately 1 hour. All but one were conducted in English, the interview with Vanesa was mostly in Spanish by her choice. Protocol questions focused on the history of the program, roles and expectations for its members, observations regarding interactions between participants, and the contributions of the different participants.

4.5.6 CSL Community Participants (n=2). The 2 community participants, both from the language exchange program, were interviewed on site during regularly scheduled tutoring

sessions. Both interviews lasted 1 hour and both were conducted in Spanish. Questions focused on their own personal histories, their participation in the program, and the nature of their experiences with students.

4.6 Class-related Textual Artifacts and Pedagogical Materials

Over the course of the semester I collected numerous examples of student classroom materials, including: written copies of presentations, homework papers, in-class writing activities, and, in the case of Yesenia's class, the student reflection statements on their CSL activities. I also collected instructor teaching materials, including all classroom handouts and worksheets, and I requested copies of all of the partial exams.

5. PROCEDURES FOR DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This project centrally involves understanding the two instructors' and the students' own experiences with and attitudes towards language and culture learning as they develop relationally through the negotiation of their subject positionings in classroom interactions and their participation in CSL activities. The first phase of my analysis of these understandings began on the first day I entered the classroom and continued over the course of the Spring 2012 semester. In other words, it began with the data I collected, in my decisions as to what I chose to focus on, how I chose to record it, and who I chose to include. In this sense, the process of data collection is simultaneously a process of data construction because in gathering data I was creating it (Erickson, 2004). This first phase continued as I began the process of organizing my field notes and transcribing the interviews and audio and video recordings during the Fall semester of 2012.

While I began this study with a set of research questions, which guided my data collection procedures, ethnographic investigation is an inductive process, involving the "reflective and dialogic interplay between theory and data" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 167). Through the first stage of my analysis, both the data collection process and the initial transcription phase, I became aware of the existence of emerging and multiple tensions in both classrooms around how the instructors' and the students' constructed meaning from their learning experiences and I wondered about how these perceived tensions manifested in classroom activities and interactional patterns. According to Wolcott (1996), the purpose of ethnographic research is:

> to describe what the people in some particular place or status ordinarily do, and the meanings they ascribe to what they do, under ordinary or particular circumstances, presenting that description in a manner that draws attention to regularities that implicate cultural processes. (p. 68)

In order to capture the complexity of my observations, to analyze the meanings that the participants ascribed to their experiences, and to understand the underlying tensions and processes I realized that I would need to construct case studies.

5.2 The Construction of the Case Studies

Although case studies have been variously defined, I rely on Creswell's: "a case study is an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (1998, p. 61). Johnson (1992) argues that the purpose of a case study is, "to understand the complexity and dynamic nature of the particular entity, and to discover systematic connections among experiences, behaviors, and relevant features of the context" (p. 84).

Duff (2008) identifies 5 key recurring principles: boundedness or singularity, in-depth study, multiple perspectives or triangulation, contextualization, and interpretation (p. 23). I address each of these in turn in relationship to my analysis.

5.2.1 The "Cases": Boundedness or Singularity. Although the particular entity of a case study can be bounded social groups, such as organizations, institutions, and organizations or, more commonly in the case of linguistic research, the individual subject (Duff, 2008), in my research these entities are the two Spanish 201 classrooms and the CSL experiences. Thus I rely on multiple case studies. These are bounded in membership, the participants, as elaborated previously; in time, the course of one semester; and in space, the classroom as well as the CSL sites. They are also naturally occurring in that the classes as well as the activities that compose them would have occurred independently of my research project or my presence.

The fact that I have delimited the CSL experiences as a separate, bounded entity from the classroom perhaps deserves explanation. All of Yesenia's students both attended class and they participated in the CSL activities so, in theory, these two learning contexts were interconnected. However, in reality there was little connection between them. The initial framing and introduction of the CSL activities took place in the classroom and was conducted by Becky from the CSL office. Over the course of the semester, in the middle and towards the end, students were given 10 minutes in class to write and to submit reflections on their experiences. However, these were solely used by the instructor to prove that they had been attending the sites and nothing more was done with them. On two occasions, Yesenia provided the students with approximately 10 minutes of class time to verbally reflect on their CSL experiences. On both occasions; however, these discussions did not involve reflections on their experiences but instead revolved around practical matters, such as transportation, cancellations, or requirements. Finally, the students each completed a 5-minute presentation at the end of the semester summarizing their experiences. These were mostly descriptive, focusing on the specific activities in which students had engaged. Finally, in addition to this disconnect between learning in both contexts, the participants at the CSL sites, including site coordinators, community leaders, and community participants, were not involved in the classroom learning experiences. Overall, therefore, I felt that the CSL learning experiences warranted consideration as a "particular concrete instance" (Lewin, 1979, p. 26) and; therefore, I have treated them as a separate "case."

5.2.2 Data Collection: In-depth Study. I understand ethnography as involving sustained engagement in the lives of others while grappling with the understandings and ways of doing so, and not just "having been there" (see Geertz, 1988). Given that the scope of this project coincided with the duration of one class over the course of one semester I recognize the bounded and somewhat limited nature of this engagement. However, my various data collection procedures attempted to provide in-depth documentation of the diverging perspectives and

multiple realities present in the cases. More specifically, this was accomplished through field notes based on my participant observation in the classroom and CSL sites, semi-structured interviews with participants, classroom audio and video recordings, student surveys, and the collection of class-related textual artifacts and pedagogical materials.

Table 4 summarizes the data in relationship to my research questions.

Research Question	Data used in Analysis
1. How do the two instructors understand the nature of language and culture teaching? How does this understanding influence their pedagogical choices and their learning objectives for their students?	• Transcribed instructor interviews • Field notes and reflexive memos from the classroom • Video and audio transcriptions • Pedagogical materials collected
2. How do the learners in these classrooms understand their own culture- and language-learning processes and objectives? How do the students' understandings interact with the goals of their instructors?	• Transcribed student interviews • Field notes and reflexive memos from the classroom • Class-related textual artifacts • Student surveys
3. How are the community service-learning experiences framed for learners? How do learners understand their community service-learning experiences?	• Transcribed student interviews • Transcribed CSL staff, site coordinators, and community participants interviews • Field notes and reflexive from CSL sites • Student surveys
4. How do the two instructors and the learners negotiate all of these understandings through classroom materials, artifacts, and interactions?	• Video and audio transcriptions • Pedagogical materials and class-related textual artifacts

Table 4

5.2.3 Transcriptions: Multiple Perspectives or Triangulation. As evidenced in my data collection procedures in addition to Table 4, which shows the alignment between my data and research questions, the multiple kinds of data provided converging evidence in my analyses. This data was thus triangulated in order to "clarify meaning by identifying different ways the case is being seen" (Stake, 2005, p. 454).

Data collection results in large quantities of data, which then must be "meaningfully condensed, presented, and interpreted" (Duff, p. 44). For me, this process began with the transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews and the audio and video classroom recordings. As Ochs (1979) points out, "transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions" (p. 44). Given the holistic, inductive nature of ethnographic research, it was partly through the act of transcription that I began to identify the patterns and perspectives present in each of the cases thereby refining my analysis and its objectives.

How I chose to transcribe this data reflected the ways I would be using the data. The semi-structured interviews with students and the two instructors would be used to analyze how

they positioned themselves relationally as well as their perspectives on and their affective reactions to their learning and teaching experiences. Therefore, I used conversation analysis level of detail in order to consider not just what they said but how they said it, including considerations of pause length, stress, and intonation. In the case of the transcripts for the audio and video-recorded classes, I wanted to identify common, recurring activity types that characterized each of the learning experiences. These activity types were triangulated with my field notes from the other classes that were not recorded. I also wanted to analyze the classroom interactions in order to consider questions of positioning and language use over the course of the semester. In my transcriptions, I first focused on descriptions of the activities: what they focused on, how they were presented, and what the students and the instructors did during them. I then selected segments from each of the identified activity types in order to consider the interactions between students and between students and the instructors. For these segments I again focused on conversation analysis level of detail in order to capture exactly what was said in addition to how it was expressed.

5.2.4 Data Collection: Contextualization. Although case studies have definable boundaries they still exist in relationship to a larger context. At a macro level, I documented these multiple and interconnected contextual layers in section 2 when I consider the different settings: the department, the university itself, and the community sites, and some of their historical particularities. This contextual information was gathered through research, including books, the internet, and university newspapers and fliers; informal discussions with administrators, teachers, and students at the university; as well as through the student surveys and interviews with the community partners and participants at the various CSL sites. All of this information, in addition to the transcriptions themselves, allowed me to prepare and to contextualize profiles of the instructors and the students in a broader sociocultural context.

At the micro level of the classroom, this process of contexualization was also realized through the transcriptions of the audio and video recordings and through the preparation and organization of my field notes. With regards to the latter, the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) I employed through my participant observation allowed me to contextualize the individual classroom activities types that I had identified and the interactions that resulted, both within the lesson plan for the day and also within the larger scope and sequence of the class.

At the micro level of the CSL sites, this process of contextualization was largely realized through the interviews that I conducted with the different participants at the CSL Office, including the staff, site coordinators, community leaders, and community participants. My original goal was not to analyze per se their own perceptions of the learning experiences of the SDU students, but rather to use the information they provided to contextualize each of the programs and the learning experiences of the students in addition to using their perceptions as a further means to triangulate my own observations as well as the students' perceptions. Therefore, my original transcriptions were very rough, simply including the basic information. However, over the course of my analysis I began to realize that at least Becky, who coordinated the Spanish CSL experiences, directly influenced the framing of these experiences (Goffman, 1974), of creating a schema of interpretation, through her in-class introduction and this perspective continued to influence students' perceptions in her participation at the sites and her ongoing contact with the students. As a result of this realization I only later returned to her interview in order to transcribe it in detail, paying attention to both her exact wording as well as to the information that she chose to emphasize. In addition, given that Vanessa, Manuela, and Ovidio

were the only community participants that consented to an interview I also realized that their perceptions were important as the "other," whom the students were constructing in their own reflections. As a result, I also decided to transcribe these interviews in depth.

5.2.5 Data Analysis: Interpretation. While the multiple data sources allowed me to triangulate and to contextualize the data the multiple methods of analysis allowed me to refine my interpretations and the multiple perspectives that emerged. These analytical methods primarily involved thematic coding and discourse analysis. The thematic coding facilitated an understanding of how the participants understood their experiences and the discourse analysis allowed met to consider "how particular ways of acting, thinking, valuing, feeling, structuring and organizing social relationships are produced and are taken to be 'natural' and 'common sense'" (Bloome et al., 2008).

Thematic coding was applied differently to the field notes and classroom audio and video recording transcriptions in relationship to the interview transcriptions. As I wanted to identify patterns of activity types and the activity focus in field notes and classroom transcriptions I devised categories that included "grammar-focused activity" or "whole-class activity," for example. In the semi-structured interviews I was interested in students' perceptions of these activities and their content, thus I devised codes such as "videos," used any time a student refers to their reactions to the tourist videos used in Yesenia' class, or "in-class presentations," any time a student referred to the presentations that were a common practice in Vicente's class. Once I finished coding, I was able to identify common occurrences in pedagogical activities and orientation as well as students' reactions as well as counter-examples, when they occurred.

Once common pedagogical activities were identified, the students' reactions coded, and the instructors' understandings of their own learning philosophies were summarized I was able to identify interactions in the classroom that exemplified these perceptions. Taking a discourse analysis approach, I analyzed these interactions, attempting to understand how they were organized across turns at talk, the participation structures that were involved, and the learning outcomes.

5.3 Limitations of a Case Study Approach

There are many advantages of a case study approach. While Duff (2008) highlights their thoroughness, potential in terms of theory-building, and the possibility of considering atypical cases, she also highlights several disadvantages:

> (1) concerns about generalizability, (2) use of 'abnormal' cases to construct a model of 'normal' behavior, (3) issues connected with thick description and triangulation, (4) objectivity versus subjectivity in research, (5) the data-driven rather than theory-driven approach, (6) attrition; (7) constraints on quantitative analyses of small-sample (nonparametric data), and (8) ethics, especially difficulties protecting the anonymity and privacy of case-study participants. (p. 47-48).

I have tried to account for some of these possible disadvantages in this chapter and throughout the project, including taking care to protect the identities of the participants and locations of my research and considerations of my own positionality. I conclude with a note regarding generalizability as it is of particular relevance to larger considerations of the implications of this

research. Certainly the tensions that emerge in my analysis between the understandings of the nature of language and culture teaching, its processes and objectives, as well as the pedagogical choices that are made based on these understandings are unique to these bounded cases in a particular learning context. However, through my analysis I hope to demonstrate that there is enough evidence that these tensions reflect larger processes and changes in language and culture teaching to warrant such explorations. In fact, these unique cases can offer larger insights and possible alternatives not previously considered or developed.

CHAPTER 4
The Production of the Tourist Gaze in Yesenia's Classroom: Conflicting Constructions of Cultural Difference and the Negotiation of Social Roles

1. INTRODUCTION

The varied life experiences and backgrounds of this chapter's focal instructor, Yesenia, and the nine focal students come to bear on their views of language and culture learning, communication, and positionalities as mobile subjects in a globalized world. Yesenia is an immigrant from humble beginnings in Tijuana, Mexico. She migrated to the United States out of necessity: to study and to work. Unlike many other immigrants, Yesenia is privileged to have obtained a university education and to have achieved her professional aspirations: she has been working as an adjunct language instructor at San Diego University for 14 years. Throughout her life, she has crossed many literal and metaphorical borders related to language, culture, socioeconomics, and legal status. During the semester of this research project she was pregnant and routinely crossed the border to spend time with her family and to visit the doctor, as she was unable to pay for medical care in the United States. The long hours spent waiting on the border framed the harsh material reality of the Spanish language and Latino cultures that she was teaching.

The nine focal students are not a completely homogeneous group; however, they do share certain characteristics. They were all born in the United States; two are second- generation immigrants whose parents are from Mexico and Panama. They all inhabit the privileged space of the university and are middle- to upper- class or consider themselves upwardly mobile due to their education. All but one of the students, Alberto, identified as white. They are also geographically mobile, due to past travel experiences or future perceived potentials for travel. For example, Gary had visited various towns in Baja California, mostly with other students, to engage in recreational activities. Emily was planning to travel to South America. Cathy had engaged in extended stays in border communities as part of the university's mission program and was planning on spending her upcoming summer in Peru. Adam was participating in the Semester-at-Sea study abroad program the following semester. Jenny spent a summer in Europe as a child and was enrolled in a study abroad program the following year. Bart, Carissa, and Nora had all traveled extensively.

Outside of the classroom both the instructor and the learners participate in global movements of people and ideas that bring languages and cultures into contact and conflict. Yesenia crosses the San Diego / Tijuana border to maintain contact with her family as well as her heritage and out of necessity. Students cross multiple international borders mostly as tourists for leisure and fun as well as for religious conviction and study. All live a transborder reality in the San Diego / Tijuana contact zone (Pratt, 2008). They are constantly exposed to negative media representations of Tijuana, both as the city of vice where tourists go to fulfill their illicit desires (Berumen, 2003; Trujillo Muñoz, 2005) and as a haven for criminals and drug lords where violence reigns. These images reinforce larger cultural representations of the United States as civilized, developed, orderly, and a symbol of progress, and of Tijuana, and Latin America by extension, as barbaric, underdeveloped, violent, and a symbol of lawlessness.

To counteract these negative representations and to express her own cultural pride, Yesenia wants to communicate the "ameno"[8] (meaning pleasurable, entertaining, and enjoyable) aspects of her culture so that learners appreciate the beauty of her heritage. Given this desire, in addition to the structural and unstable realities of her teaching position, Yesenia aligns herself with the presentation of culture and language in the course textbook, *Vistas*.

Overall, the textbook, teaching materials, and activities utilized in this Spanish classroom present Latin America as an exotic tourist destination offering sand, sea, and adventure and construct a way of seeing the foreign culture through what Urry (2002) has called the "tourist gaze." Arguing that it is akin to the "gaze" as theorized by Foucault, Urry develops his own sociology of tourism based on an analysis of how tourism constructs and reinforces a particular gaze on the other, who or what authorizes the gaze, what implications the gaze has for the places being viewed, and how the gaze interacts with other social practices (Urry, 2002, p. 1). As a theoretical construct, the tourist gaze has been taken up by other theorists in critical tourism studies (e.g., Bruner, 2005; Favero, 2007; Meethan, 2001) who have analyzed the construction of the gaze in tourist encounters around the world and have added a consideration of how the locals both understand, exploit, and speak back to how they are constructed as the exotic "other" or objects of the tourist gaze. Tourism in general and the notion of the tourist gaze in particular has only recently been taken up in the fields of applied linguistics and second language acquisition. For example, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) explore the production and movement of tourism discourse in inflight magazines, holiday postcards, and newspaper travelogues in relationship to ideologies of globalization. In addition, the tourist gaze has been applied to analysis of second language textbooks in relationship to instrumentalist approaches to language and culture teaching (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015) and the exoticization of indigenous peoples (Vinall, 2012).

The tourist gaze centrally involves establishing ideologies of difference, particularly in global movements of people from the global north to the global south, it necessarily indexes larger power structures (Culler, 1981; Meethan; 2001; Urry, 2002, Favero, 2007). In the case of Latin America, whose cultures are the central focus in the classroom I am analyzing, this tourist gaze can be understood as the historical legacy of the gaze of the European colonizers. For this reason, I draw on postcolonial theory and researchers such as Pratt (2008), who has explored the construction of an imperial gaze on Latin America through travel writing, and Sheller (2003), who analyzes the rise of tourist literature from the 18th century onwards and how it has influenced how tourists conceive of, perceive, and experience the Caribbean. Central to these considerations is how Latin America is constructed as a barbaric and primitive "other," providing a contrast with and justification for the conquest, colonization, and current neocolonial relationship with the supposed modernizing centers that in the end consume its landscapes and resources, most notably in the form of tourism.

This present research extends and expands on this previous work by analyzing the construction of the tourist gaze in a Spanish language and culture classroom across the chapters of the textbook, the sequences of a video, and across the turns-at-talk and the activities in the classroom. This analysis takes into consideration the instructor's personal experiences and perspectives on her pedagogical choices and learning objectives as they interact with the students' own experiences, understandings, and reactions to those of their instructor. Based on Urry's work, I consider the implications of the tourist gaze for constructions of ideologies of cultural and linguistic difference, the organization and negotiation of the social identities of both learners

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[8] Unless otherwise stated all translations are my own.

and the instructor, and their positionings within larger transnational power structures. I also contextualize this analysis within historical representations of Latin America and the modern tourism industry. Finally, I conclude with a consideration of the implications of the production of the tourist gaze specifically in Yesenia's classroom and point to the larger implications for the teaching of second and foreign languages.

2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TOURIST GAZE: TEACHING MATERIALS

In this section, I consider how the tourist gaze is constructed through an analysis of the organization and the content of the textbook, *Vistas* (Blanco & Donley, 2008), and the videos that are incorporated into the Spanish 3 class. As one of the functions of the tourist gaze is to establish ideologies of difference, I also consider how representations of Latin American culture are produced. These ideologies of difference are not limited to the teaching materials utilized in the classroom but reflect wider representations of Latin America in the United States. Therefore, I conclude with a consideration of the historical and current economic implications of the tourist gaze for representations of Latin America by contextualizing it within the global tourist industry.

2.1 "Panorama": The Textbook

One of the primary features emphasized in the introduction to the textbook *Vistas* (Blanco & Donley, 2008) is that it includes "coverage of the entire Spanish-speaking world" (p. iii). Each chapter focuses on one particular country or group of countries in geographic proximity. In the six chapters that are covered in the third semester Spanish class nine countries are presented: Colombia; Venezuela; Bolivia; Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic; El Salvador and Honduras; and Paraguay and Uruguay.

The focal country (or countries) is highlighted in the last section of each chapter, titled *Panorama*. It literally provides a panorama of the country through the presentation of factual cultural information, which includes a map of the country/ies, pictures of important places, and bullet point facts such as population size, languages, currency, and famous people. In addition, it contains short, disconnected paragraphs describing cultural information related to folk art, natural features, customs such as food and holidays, and sports, amongst others. Students reproduce this information and practice the new vocabulary through comprehension questions in the form of one word or short answers.

The *Panorama* section of Chapter 14, which focuses on Venezuela, serves as an example (Blanco & Donley, 2008, p. 504-5). On the first page specific information is provided in list form on Venezuela's size, population, capital, principal cities, currency, language, and famous people including a musician, politician, poet, and Nobel Prize-winning scientist. A note explains that Yanomami is one of the languages spoken by the indigenous peoples that live in the rainforests of southern Venezuela. There is also a short description of Salto Ángel, the world's highest waterfall. This information is accompanied by a map and captioned photos of Caracas, a cowboy of the central plains, and a *piragua*, an indigenous canoe. On the other page there are three short paragraphs. The first focuses on the economy and the importance of oil; the second features the cosmopolitan city of Caracas; and the third describes the importance of Simón Bolívar, a general who fought in the wars of independence from Spain. Finally, the comprehension questions ask students to identify the currency of Venezuela, its primary export,

the name of its capital city, and when Salto Ángel was discovered and who Simón Bolívar was, for example.

The organization and content of the textbook suggest that it functions much like a tour guidebook (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). Its organization is based on strictly delimited national and cultural boundaries. A student using the textbook virtually travels across these boundaries and accumulates information, much like that found in tourist guidebooks: capital cities, geographic features, key historical moments, famous people, etc. (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010). Through the accumulation of this information culture is objectified and, as in the case of tourism, it is simultaneously commodified (Meethan, 2001), ultimately packaged to be consumed by the students using the textbook.

The student gazes upon images of landscapes, towns, people, and historical artifacts, these images are akin to tourist photographs and postcards. According to Urry (2002) representations of difference are (re)constructed as tourists gaze upon and accumulate these images. In the case of Venezuela, the images are based on several contradictory constructions: the modernity of Caracas vs. the indigenous peoples of the rainforest; the exuberant natural wonders represented by Salto Ángel vs. the cosmopolitan city with its metro; and the historical struggle for liberation from colonization vs. modern economic liberation through oil.

The information presented also reveals an underlying instrumentalist approach to the teaching of culture: it relies on the accumulation of facts. Through the comprehension questions students demonstrate their successful consumption of the information, which is formally and easily evaluated on department exams. There are no discussion questions that would lead students to explore underlying beliefs, attitudes, or perspectives or to reflect on the information through comparisons to their own culture or to other larger global processes. In other words, the activities do not invite students to participate in cross-cultural dialogues or an exploration of intercultural understandings. There is no engagement with conflict or contextualization of social, political, and economic realities: this particular textbook, like so many others, has been sanitized with safe topics, namely foreign travel (Block, 2002). In the end, the tourist gaze as constructed through the textbook represents Latin America as ripe for consumption as a tourist destination while its culture can be reduced to tightly bounded numbers, figures, images, lists, and fact-based questions.

2.2 "Join Uruguay": The Videos

Over the course of the semester Yesenia showed a total of 18 videos. They were not a required part of the course, rather she independently chose to include them. They can be divided into two categories, based primarily on their content and function: 1) miscellaneous videos (eight total) and 2) tourist promotional videos (ten total). Appendix C provides tables that summarize the content of the videos, their apparent purpose, and what students do with them. In this discussion I will only focus on the tourist promotional videos.

Although their intended audience and function were never discussed in class, the tourist videos were generally produced in association with the respective countries' Ministries of Tourism to encourage tourists to visit. Their content is similar: generally there is no dialogue, only upbeat music that accompanies beautiful images of beaches, cities, animals, and landscapes. The few people depicted tend to be tourists, identifiable by their appearance and the activities in which they engage. They are generally white, have blond hair, and their dress is indicative of belonging to the middle- or upper- class. They partake in pleasurable experiences such as riding

horses on the beach, dancing in clubs, and/or hiking and they are never shown working or engaging with people who would be employed or live at the various sites. The representation of the tourists and the lack of any dialogue that might require translation suggest that they are designed for a foreign audience.

The video on Uruguay is representative of the type of content and format of the other videos. It lasts two minutes. It contains a series of still images, and on each appears the url: www.joinuruguay.com. The images are accompanied by the song *Perfume* by Bajofondo, a group composed of eight musicians from Argentina and Uruguay that play a blend of tango and electronic music. The images include: a sand dune with water in the background; an unidentified body of water with an island in the middle; an aerial view of a city harbor full of yachts and boats; the Palacio Salvo, constructed in 1928, located at the intersection of 18 de Julio Avenue and Plaza Independencia; the main plaza, Plaza Independencia, from above with what appear to be soldiers in formation in front of the Artigas Mausoleum; two jockeys racing horses with a crowd behind them; a packed Solís Theater, Uruguay's oldest theater and then the main entrance of the theater; an aerial view of the coast with city skyscrapers; an areal view of one of the main beaches of the city with houses and no people; another shoreline view with trees and yachts in the water; an opulent mansion on the coast; a swamp with trees; a large group of sea lions sunning themselves on rocks; and more coastal views.

The format of the video and its content contribute to the construction of the tourist gaze. Like in the case of the textbook, the photographic images are much like postcards; all highlight places and activities that a tourist would desire to see and to do while in Uruguay. The sites that are gazed upon have richly layered historical and social meanings, such as the Plaza Independencia, however they are only alluded to by the presence of the soldiers in formation or the people milling about on the street. Furthermore, many of these sites would only be gazed upon by tourists or the wealthy, those who would have the leisure time or the money to access them. The juxtaposition of images of nature, its fecundity and wild exuberance, are contrasted with the neat rows of people in the theater, the soldiers in formation, and the yachts in the marina, all are markers of organization and civilization. The song itself is a melancholic love song, written to a lost love that the singer tells he will chase by following the scent of her perfume. Uruguay is not just beautiful, there is no poverty and no conflict, it contains exotic natural wonders but enough civilization to make it seem familiar and modern.

Overall the images presented in the textbook and the videos, like tourism itself, function to establish ideologies of difference: the construction of the "other" (Culler, 1981; Meethan; 2001; Urry, 2002, Favero, 2007). Students are not just virtually crossing multiple geographic boundaries, but, by moving through, across, and about Latin America, these boundaries are established and reinforced through these ideologies of difference. As Sheller (2003) explains in the context of tourism in the Caribbean:

> Anglo-American practices of mobility, border-crossing and dabbling in hybridity in the West Indies are precisely such projects of enforcing boundaries. By moving through, across, and about 'the islands' the travelers establish measures of similarity and difference, proximity and distance, progress and stasis, by which they mark their own 'home' position (as modern, liberal, dynamic) and the differences between various strange others (as more or less backward, uncivilized, primitive). (p. 136)

In both the case of Venezuela and Uruguay these ideologies are based on a broader, global tension between modernity and barbarism, within Latin America, but also in relationship to the United States. These ideologies are not new, this trope has been used since the Conquest to justify the colonization of Latin America (Pratt, 2008), as a benevolent process of bringing modernity and civilization to the barbarous savages. In reality it has functioned to justify the colonizers' consumption of its natural environment, commodities, human bodies, and cultures, a process that has continued, most notably in modern forms of tourism (Sheller, 2003).

2.3 The Global Tourist Industry

The tourist gaze is not limited to the classroom textbook and videos as it mirrors and reflects widely circulating representations of Latin America and its cultures in the United States. Images in the popular media and magazines highlight the growing role of tourism to Latin America, particularly as it is seen as a significant emerging market for the United States and transnational corporations. Bruner (2005) argues that the tourist encounter is not limited to the here and now because, "what is performed there takes account of global and international flows as tourisms' development in the Third World requires the involvement of the nation-state and transnational networks" (p. 17). A brief foray into these transnational tourist relations provides a broader framework from which to contextualize the tourist gaze as constructed in the textbook and the videos.

From 1995 to 2007 Central and South American countries experienced a 49% increase in tourist arrivals, from 14.3 million to 27.9 million (Fayissa, Nsiah & Tadasse, 2009). Tourist receipts have grown from $2.3 billion to $3.7 billion, representing about 61% growth. According to the Latin American Association of Development Financing Institutions (2009) tourism is the third largest source of revenue in Mexico, behind petroleum and remittances sent by Mexicans living abroad, and from January to October 2008 18.34 million international tourists visited Mexico, 5% more than the same period the previous year.

In many U.S. business journals Latin America is promoted as an "untapped market" ("Tourism in Latin America," 2010) that is ready to be exploited given its increased political stability, neoliberal reforms, and rapidly expanding tourist infrastructure. The prime example is Colombia, a recent report explains:

> In my opinion it is now the hidden investment gem of South America, with the country opening up to tourism, foreign investment and experiencing enviable rates of economic growth. All of which can be attributed to a government that is focused on stabilizing the internal security situation, reforming the economy, creating optimal conditions for economic growth and encouraging foreign direct investment ('FDI')… In my opinion this can only continue and create further solid opportunities for investors. ("Beat the BRICs," 2010)

While writing this chapter I encountered a magazine at a local grocery store that featured a section titled "Latin America exposed: Grit to glam." An article on Nicaragua begins: "As Nicaragua emerges from the ashes of war with a sustainable agenda and new luxury stays, Central America's poorest country finds itself to be more than an adventurer's Shangri-la. Nica, as the locals call it, is open and ready for business" (Bailey, 2013). The text is accompanied by photos of lush, exuberant beauty that together present Nicaragua as emerging like a phoenix

from the ashes of a violent past; it is now open and ready for modern development through tourism.

The rise in the tourist industry is producing extreme structural economic changes. This is exemplified in Central America where the traditional agro-export base has shifted to a "more complex model of insertion in the international economy" (Cañada, 2010), primarily through remittances, maquiladoras[9], and tourism. Even though tourism has displaced agro-exports, economic development is still controlled from abroad such that most earnings benefit transnational corporations based in wealthy countries (Cañada, 2010). Finally, this report concludes that the operation of big business in tourism reduces opportunities for local and community enterprises and limits the development of an endogenously based tourism model.

As Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) argue "tourism does not merely reflect socioeconomic relations within and between countries, but is instrumental in organizing these relations" (p. 7). Indeed, it contributes to the organization of the economic relations between Latin America and the United States, which have implications for their political relations. Merrill (2009) argues that tourism as a soft power represents a new form of U.S. empire-building in Latin America, a means of perpetuating its neocolonial relationship under a new guise.

In the larger context of the global tourist industry, the tourist gaze as constructed in the textbook and the videos reflects and contributes to the organization of these larger socioeconomic relations. In turn, these relations have implications for the organization of the social roles of the instructor, Yesenia, and the learners, both in the classroom and beyond, as they are themselves participants in these transnational processes.

3. TOURING CULTURE: CONSTRUCTING THE TOURIST GAZE THROUGH CLASSROOM INTERACTION

The course textbook constructs a tourist gaze on Latin America, one that reflects larger ideologies of difference, particularly in relationship to the United States, and that reflects the organization of socioeconomic relations within the global tourism industry. I now focus on the construction of the tourist gaze in the classroom. More specifically, I analyze a specific interaction in which Yesenia, the instructor, teaches the *Panorama* section of the textbook that features the country of Venezuela, focusing on how the cultural information is presented, what information is presented, and how the participation structures organize the interaction. I explore how the tourist gaze is taken up by the instructor through its pedagogical implementation, considering the role of the textbook, and what implications it has in terms of how it establishes cultural difference and how it organizes the social roles of the instructor and the learners.

3.1 "Cuando digo Venezuela, ¿qué viene a la mente?" / *When I say Venezuela, what comes to mind?* (Yesenia)

Yesenia devotes time in the classroom to presenting and reviewing the information presented in the *Panoramas* section of each of the chapters of the textbook. Most of these

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[9] Maquiladoras are foreign owned assembly plants generally located along the Mexican side of the U.S. border. Their importance to U.S. owned companies increased as a result of NAFTA, which eliminated final tariffs on exporting raw materials to Mexico and importing them back to the United States. For a detailed analysis of the rise of the maquiladoras and their devastating impacts on the Mexican economy see Akers Chacón and Davis (2006).

presentations rely on the format of instructor questions – student responses in which Yesenia asks specific content questions and students produce the desired information. The instructor also frequently provides elaborations on the information through anecdotes and visuals, such as photos, in addition to the videos, which will be discussed later. Her most frequent strategy to introduce the focal country is to ask students something along the lines of: "Cuando digo _____, ¿en qué piensan?" *(When I say _____, what do you think about?).* The question typically elicits background information, some personal experiences, and stereotypes frequently presented in the media.

The classroom interaction presented below (See Interaction 1) is from the class in which Yesenia teaches the textbook information on Venezuela. Although it is just one specific lesson, it is consistent with the presentation of the other countries covered over the course of the semester. The interaction occurs at the beginning of class, which Yesenia begins with her typical salutation, "Buenos días, muchachos" (*Good morning, boys and girls*). The subsequent interaction is from my field notes:

Interaction 1: Cuando digo Venezuela, ¿qué viene a la mente? (When I say Venezuela what comes to mind?)

1 **Yesenia** 2 3 4 5	Buenos días, muchachos. Vamos a continuar con el capítulo 14 y vamos a hablar de Venezuela. Cuando digo Venezuela, ¿qué viene a la mente?	Good morning, boys and girls. We're going to continue with Chapter 14 and we're going to talk about Venezuela. When I say Venezuela, what comes to your mind?
6 **Jeremy**	béisbol	baseball
7 **Carissa**	el petróleo	oil
8 **Jeremy**	playa	beach
9 **Yesenia**	¿Y qué playas tiene?	And what beaches does it have?
10 **student**	el metro de Caracas	the Caracas metro
11 **Yesenia**	es una ciudad muy grande	it is a very large city
12 **Bart**	las chicas son muy guapas	the girls are very beautiful
13 **Yesenia**	¿Cómo sabes?	How do you know?
14 **Bart** 15	Mi profesora, my professor told us last semester	My professor, my professor told us last semester
16 **Yesenia**	Tiene 7 Miss Universes	It has 7 Miss Universes
17	¿Cómo es el gobierno?	What is the government like?
18	*(silence)*	*(silence)*
19 **Yesenia**	Su primer nombre es Chávez.	His first name is Chávez.
20 **Jeremy**	Hugo	Hugo
21 **Yesenia** 22 23 24	En los Estados Unidos dicen que es malo pero la gente de Venezuela lo apoya. Hay una persona muy importante en la historia.	In the United States they say that he is bad but the people of Venezuela support him. There is somebody very important in its history.
25 **Students**	Simón Bolívar.	Simón Bolívar.
26 **Yesenia** 27 28 29 30	Hay algunas ciudades importantes en el norte y en el sur hay la selva. En la selva tenemos las tribus indígenas. ¿Cuál es una de las tribus más famosas?	There are some important cities in the north and in the south there is jungle. In the jungle we have indigenous tribes. What is one of the most famous tribes?
31 32	*At this point students have their books out or are in the process of*	*At this point students have their books out or are in the process of looking*

33	*looking for the Panorama pages.*	*for the Panorama pages.*
34 **Student**	Yonomami [Yanomami]	Yonomami [Yanomami]
35 **Yesenia**	Tienen una vida primitiva pero	They have a primitive life but they
36	tienen muchas reglas. Por ejemplo,	have a lot of rules. For example, when
37	cuando hay una pelea hay una guerra	there is a fight a war there is stage 1,
38	hay paso 1, 2 y 3, hay muchas reglas.	2, and 3, there are many rules. The
39	La naturaleza es algo impresionante.	natural world is very impressive. We
40	Vamos a ver un video y es	are going to see a view and it is
41	importante que pongan atención	important that you pay attention
42	porque vamos a hacer una visita, una	because we are going to make a visit,
43	visita virtual. Y vamos a usar los	a virtual visit. And we are going to
44	mandatos. Es fácil.	use commands. It's easy.

3.2 The Organization of Cultural Difference and Social Roles

In this presentation, as in others, an IRF pattern predominates: Yesenia asks a question that requires that students respond with factual information (lines 4-5, 9, 17, 23-24, 29-30) and then she provides feedback in the form of elaborations or follow-up questions (lines 11, 13, 16, 19, 21-23, 26-28, 35-39). This interaction establishes the roles of the participants and their social organization: through her questions and elaborations Yesenia maintains control over what information is transmitted, she does not invite students to ask their own questions or offer additional information that they may know nor do they on their own decide to do so. The questions also serve to evaluate the successful consumption of the information provided in the textbook, whether or not students have learned it, and, when they have not they look through it in order to find the information in order to demonstrate their consumption.

The questions require the production of information. Some is from previous Spanish classes (e.g., the girls are very beautiful), some is background information (e.g., Venezuela produces a lot of oil), and some is obviously from the textbook, which several students have open on their desks, such as the name Simón Bolívar. In fact, without the textbook, this answer would have been impossible to produce given the ambiguity of the indirect question that precedes it, "there is somebody very important in its history" (lines 23-24). The textbook is omnipresent during this and other similar exchanges, as Yesenia refers to it in the formulation of questions and students look for the cultural information it provides to respond to the questions. In this sense, the textbook gives both a tour of culture as well as language, a point that will be returned to later. Student responses are limited to word-level answers retrieved from the textbook, with the exception of Bart, who resorts to English to express his elaboration (lines 14 and 15).

There are two instances in which students violate the IRF pattern (line 10 and line 12) by not providing the information asked for or by introducing unexpected information. In line 10, a student mentions that Caracas has a metro, instead of responding to Yesenia's follow-up question about the beaches. The metro had been highlighted in the *Panoramas* section of the textbook and in one of their on-line readings. In line 10 the student does not respond to Yesenia's question about the beaches but instead offers information about the presence of a metro. The information about the beaches is not contained in the textbook and for this reason perhaps the student ignores the question. Yesenia affirms the information through her statement that Caracas is a big city (line 11), suggesting that, as such, it has a metro. Then Bart returns to the original question without need for an additional prompt by mentioning the pretty girls (line 12). As opposed to simply affirming this statement Yesenia inquires how he knew this information (line 13), perhaps

because it is not information contained in the textbook and, therefore, it is the only unexpected response.

Yesenia provides three elaborations of the information: the first, on Hugo Chávez (lines 21-23); the second on the cities and jungle (lines 26-28); and the third on the Yanomami (lines 35-39). All highlight and sustain the various dichotomies created in the textbook: there are important cities in the north, representative of civilization, and indigenous peoples, the Yanomami, in the jungles of the south that engage in a "primitive" lifestyle, one that is nevertheless rule governed in the case of the wars that they engage in (the question of what wars they engage in and why is not explained). These dichotomies are spatially located along an axis that runs from north to south, both within Venezuela but also in relationship to the United States. The explanation that Chávez is seen as bad in the United States but that he is supported by the Venezuelan people may have been an attempt to problematize his representation in the U.S. media. However, without further explanation and without exploring whether or not students know how he is represented, this explanation could either 1) reinforce the idea that he is an authoritarian dictator that opposes U.S. interests, and the Venezuelan people are dupes that do not realize that he is bad for them or 2) students would simply conclude that it is another case of the United States vs. Venezuela, or "us" vs. "them." Ironically, if this is the result it would goes against Yesenia's own desire not to confront issues that make her students uncomfortable.

Overall, the invocation, format, and content of this interaction suggest that it could just as likely take place as part of a tour in which the knowledgeable tour guide asks tourists to review their knowledge of a place in anticipation of a visit. The tour in this case is realized through the "virtual visit" that students are about to embark on through the video viewing. Of note, Yesenia stated that the purpose of this virtual tour is to practice a language structure, the commands, not to further explore this cultural information. The video that they watch is not intended for instructional purposes, it is not related to the textbook in any way, it is a tourist video that she has found on Youtube in order to provide this virtual tour. In fact, most of the videos utilized in the class function not to teach culture but to provide a context in which to tour language itself, a point that will be explored later.

The view of culture that is presented both through the textbook and in these classroom interactions is based on the accumulation of cultural information that is devoid of people, the locals (except for historical figures and the exoticized indigenous peoples), and their perspectives, worldviews, and understandings. Yesenia, who one could say, functions as expert tour guide, maintains control of the interaction and the information through her questions. She uses student responses as an opportunity to briefly elaborate this information, providing additional interesting cultural tidbits, but these lack any contextualization or historical specificity. The students are positioned by the textbook and the teacher as tourists. They are mostly passive; they provide one-word or short answers that demonstrate their consumption of the information. Ultimately the cultural representations reproduce larger cultural and ideological categories of modernity / barbarism; us / them; and sameness / difference.

4. TOURING LANGUAGE: CONSTRUCTING THE TOURIST GAZE IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION

Yesenia frames almost all of the tourist videos explicitly in the context of imagining a trip to that country. In this sense she orients students' to align themselves with the tourists that they see. As

previously suggested in the case of the lesson on Venezuela, the purpose of imagining this trip is for students to report on the fictitious tourist activities they will engage in using the target language structures. In this section I analyze the teaching of the previously described video on Uruguay to explore the role of language and language learning in relationship to the construction of the tourist gaze in classroom interaction.

4.1 "We are going to pretend that we have the possibility to go to Uruguay" (Yesenia)

Just as in the case of the lesson on Venezuela in which Yesenia explained that they were going to watch the video in order to practice the commands, she introduces students to the video on Uruguay by stating:

Tengo un video de Uruguay pero recuerden vamos a (2) vamos a pretender que tenemos la posibilidad de ir a Uruguay. Vamos a formar oraciones usando si con los contenidos del video de Uruguay

I have a video on Uruguay but remember we are going to (2) we are going to pretend that we have the possibility to go to Uruguay. We are going to form sentences using if with the content of the video on Uruguay.

As students watch the video Yesenia remains at the front of the classroom, intervening only once to point to the Solís Theater and to identify it as a "teatro" *(theater)*. Students are largely passive and seem uninterested, they are looking in the direction of the screen but they do not take notes and one is texting.

Immediately after watching the video, Yesenia projects a diagram from the textbook that presents the if-clause structures (I have included a visual image of this diagram in Appendix D). She points to the screen as she tells the students:

Bueno muchachos de acuerdo a las actividades que vieron en Uruguay vamos a formar una frase usando si y presente, una frase con si y el pasado subjuntivo y una frase con el pasado perfecto **subjuntivo** tres frases en total. Vamos a trabajar en grupos de tres, tres es perfecto pero si es necesario cuatro o dos está bien (1) tres es perfecto. Este verano vamos a Uruguay (1) con el presente, quiero ir a Uruguay pero no es posible pasado subjuntivo el semestre pasado quería ir a Uruguay pero no fue posible. Van a trabajar en grupos.

Well boys and girls according to the activities that you saw in Uruguay we are going to form sentences using if and the present, a sentence with if and the past subjunctive and a sentence with the past perfect subjunctive three sentences in total. We are going to work in groups of three, three is perfect but if it is necessary four or two is okay three is perfect. This summer we are going to Uruguay in the present, I want to go to Uruguay but it is not possible past subjunctive last semester I wanted to go to Uruguay but it wasn't possible. You are going to work in groups.

The following (See Interaction 2) is the interaction that takes place between a group of four students: Mark, Jeremy, Gary, and Vicki. They have their textbook open to the same

diagram that Yesenia projects. It is one continuous exchange, although I have divided it into three sections and I have identified each by the if-clause structure students use in order to facilitate the discussion below. I have starred the parts in Spanish, primarily verbs and vocabulary, in order to provide translations.

Interaction 2: "Let's do this"

Structure 1: If + present		
1 Mark	let's **do** this	
2 Jeremy	just one sentence with the si presente* and one	if present
3	sentence with si* with whatever this is and one with	if
4	si* something (3) is that what she said?	if
5	we could say	
6 Gary	we could say	
7 Jeremy	yo viajo* or uh	I travel
8	*(pause as they are individually writing)*	
9 Mark	so we have to do the present right?	
10 Jeremy	si yo viajo* or uh	if I travel
11 Gary	or si nosotros viajamos* (5) to travel to Uruguay (3)	if we travel
12	y* the conditional maybe? um (2) is it ↑ is it	and
13	iríamos*?	we would go
14 Jeremy	so um si nos*	if we
15 Gary	What are the four options?	
16 Mark	these are all the present so its present then future *(he is*	
17	*pointing to the chart in the book)*	
18 Gary	okay the future just do future then? veremos*	we will go
19 Jeremy	What do you want to do here?	
20 Gary	I don't know um	
21	*(they are writing individually)*	
22 Mark	I don't know which one? si nos vemos*	if we see each other
23 Jeremy	uh veremos	we will see
24 Gary	nos vemos?	
25 Jeremy	future right? veremos* all right. Okay so that's our	
26	present. What's the next one?	
27 Mark	*(showing Gary his paper)* that's the future to go to the	
28	theater that's to buy tickets	
Structure 2: If + past subjunctive		
29 Gary	si nos veremos* that's *(he points to his paper)* el	if we will see each
30	futuro* *(he writes)* okay so that's present now past	other / future
31	subjunctive	
32 Jeremy	quisiéramos*?	we wanted (past
33 Mark	yeah I think it's quisiéramos*	subjunctive)
34 Gary	is that the pluperfect?	
35 Jeremy	yeah	
36 Mark	it's the (1) yeah	
37 Jeremy	no	
38 Gary	no it's the::	
39 Mark	past subjunctive	
40 Jeremy	that's right the past subjunctive	
41 Mark	yeah you're right it was in our homework *(laughs)* I	
42	remember	

43 Jeremy	so for that we use the conditional or something?	
44 Vicki	yeah	
45 Mark	podríamos*	we would be able to
46 Jeremy	podríamos*	we would be able to
Structure 3: If + past perfect (pluperfect) subjunctive		
47 Vicki	ok so then what's the next one that we have to do? (4)	
48	*(she looks at the diagram)* **oh god**	
49 Gary	she said hubiera*	= helping verb to form
50 Vicki	What is that?	past perfect subjunctive
51 Gary	hubiera*	
52 Mark	She said three of them	
53 Gary	hubiera	
54 Vicki	oh *(as she is looking at Gary's paper)* um	
55 Gary	so↑	
56 Vicki	oh we could eat meat *(smile)* (1) remember car::= *(she*	
57	*points to the screen)*	
58 Mark	=carne* so like hubiero comido*	meat / could have eaten
59 Gary	el carne	(hubiero does not exist
60 Mark	yeah	so the subject is
61 Vicki	hubiero? hubiero comido	unclear)
62	*(long pause)*	
63 Vicki	oh wait isn't it wouldn't you say to go and then that so	
64	wouldn't it be hubiera* right?	could have eaten
65 Gary	umm	(corrected form)
66 Vicki	and then that's in the conditional *(pointing to screen)*	
67	so If I went to Uruguay I would so	
68 Jeremy	yeah	
69 Vicki	so so hubiéramos ido* or	we would have gone
70 Jeremy	viajado*	travelled
71 Vicki	okay	
72	*(they are writing individually)*	
73 Jeremy	habría*	would have
74 Vicki	no no no comeríamos* we would eat	would eat
75	*(they are writing individually)*	

The opening line, "let's **do** this" sets the tone for the entire conversation: students are "doing" grammar and their goal remains focused on completing each stage of the task. In lines 2-4 Jeremy outlines the specific goal for this task by identifying the three sentences that they must produce and their structure. The focus on "doing" is maintained, as Mark asks "so we have to do the present right?" (line 9) and Jeremy asks "what do you want to do here?" (line 19), in reference to the required verb form. In the same way students check off the completion of each of the three structures involved in the task, as Vicki says "ok so then what's the next one that we have to do?" (line 47)

For each of the three structures students focus on identifying and conjugating the correct verb forms. For structure 1 they collectively struggle to decide on the use of the future and then its correct form: "nos vemos" (*we see each other*) vs. "veremos" (*we will see*). In lines 25-26 Jeremy says, "Okay so that's our present. What's the next one?" Gary is still confused and is not yet ready to move on so Mark shows him his sentence (lines 27-28). Finally satisfied that he has the correct answer, Gary ratifies the completion of the first part and indicates his readiness to

move on, "okay so that's present now past subjunctive" (lines 30-31). For structure 2 students struggle to connect the name of the verb, past subjunctive, with its form, "quisiéramos," and then their attention shifts to the conditional verb that accompanies it, "podríamos." The introduction of Structure 3 produces the exclamation, "Oh god" on the part of Vicki, apparently an expression of exasperation or confusion (line 48). Once students agree that the past perfect subjunctive requires "hubiera" the conversation switches to finding the correct conjugation, which they produce incorrectly. Then they focus on the conjugation of the second verb, the conditional vs. the conditional perfect and decide that the conditional, "comeríamos" is the correct form. English is used almost entirely throughout this discussion, other than in the production of the verb forms.

The following is a transcript of the follow-up, in which students report their sentences to the whole class. Verbs that are starred are incorrect either due to pronunciation problems (comeriamos requires an accent on the i) or in form (the conjugation hubiere does not exist).

Interaction 3: Muy bien (very good)

1 **Yesenia** 2 3	¿Terminaron? ¿listos? Ok vamos a ver *(students are discussing whether or not there is a final exam)*	¿Did you finish? Ready? Ok let's see *(students are discussing whether or not there is a final exam)*
4 **Yesenia** 5 6 7	Número uno (2) número uno en el presente. Uno en el presente. *(she points to Noah)* *(other students continue talking)*	Number one (2) number one in the present. One in the present. *(she points to Noah)* *(other students continue talking)*
8 **Noah** 9	Si voy a Uruguay (1) pescaré en el mar. *(students are still talking)*	If I go to Uruguay (1) I will fish in the sea. *(students are still talking)*
10 **Yesenia** 11	Okay. **Muy bien** Si **voy** el presente y (1) **pescaré**. Muy bien.	Okay. **Very good**. If **I go** present and (1) **I will fish**. Very good.
12 **Kristina**	Si viajo a Uruguay (1) comeré la carne.	If I travel to Uruguay (1) I will eat meat.
13 **Yesenia** 14 15 16	Muy bien, so viajo y comeré está bien en el futuro. uh número uno, presente↑ *(she looks at Adam who is sitting in the back of the room)*	Very good, so if I travel and I will eat that is correct in the future. uh number one, present↑ *(she looks at Adam who is sitting in the back of the room)*
17**Adam** 18 19	Ah si si si hubiera gan ganado muchos goles Uruguay (1) ganaria* ganaría el fútbol.	Ah if if if I it had sco scored many goals Uruguay (1) would win win the soccer match.
20 **Yesenia** 21 22 23	Muy bien aquí tenemos un ejemplo de el pasado. Si **ganara** con muchos goles **ganaría**. Muy bien uh jóvenes *(she gestures towards a group)*	Very good here we have an example of the past. If **it had scored** many goals **it would win**. Very good. uh young people *(she gestures towards a group)*
24 **Bart**	Si puedes ir me llamas.	If you can go call me.
25 **Yesenia** 26	Perfecto (2) si puedes ir me llamas, presente. Muy bien. uh Señoritas aquí	Perfect (2) if you can go call me, present. Very good. uh, young ladies here
27 **Vicki** 28	(2) um Si tengo tiempo uh yo voy a la playa.	(2) um If I have time uh I go to the beach.
29 **Yesenia** 30	Muy bien. Y por ultimo muchachos de atrás.	Very good. And finally, young men in the back.
31 **Gary** 32	uh si nosotros hubier hubierámos viajado a Uruguay comieriamos* carne.	uh if we had had travelled to Uruguay we would eat meat.

33 **Yesenia**	Si okay vamos a ver el último. Si si	If okay let's look at the last one. If If we
34	hubiéramos **viajado** a Uruguay	had **travelled** to Uruguay we need the
35	necesitamos el condicional perfecto	conditional perfect.
36	*(she points to the screen)*	*(she points to the screen)*
37 **Gary**	Comeriamos*↑	We would eat↑
38 **Yesenia**	um Recuerden el perfecto necesitamos	um remember the perfect we need haber
39	haber *(she points to the word "perfect"*	*(she points to the word "perfect" on the*
40	*on the screen)*	*screen)*
41 **Jeremy**	uhhhh hubie hubiere* comido=	uhhhhh wou would eat=
42 **Erin**	=habría comido	= would eat
43 **Yesenia**	Muy bien **habría** comido mucha carne.	Very good **would eat** a lot of meat.
44	Muy bien. Bueno pues sí *(she picks up*	Very good. Well so yes *(she picks up*
45	*her sheet)* es correcto pescaríamos,	*her sheet)* that is correct we would fish,
46	comeríamos carne. Si fuéramos a	we would eat meat. If we went to
47	Uruguay jugaríamos fútbol verdad?	Uruguay we would play soccer right?
48	Iríamos a la playa	We would go to the beach.

4.2 The Accumulation of Language Structures

In general, throughout the class the target language structures are presented through forms and charts from the textbook that highlight their functional aspect, what students are to do with them. In the specific case of the three if-clause structures, students are to "form sentences" with the appropriate verb forms using the tourist activities they observed in the video to talk about a possible future trip to Uruguay, an improbable future trip, and an unrealized trip in the past. Of note, these are three very different contexts and the latter two contradict the initial framing of the video, that of imagining the possibility of a trip to Uruguay, implying a future trip that is possible and thus would require only the use of the first if-clause structure. In her explanation Yesenia does not elaborate on these three contexts nor does she discuss how they frame the trip differently other than briefly glossing the shift in time frame from present to last semester and the speaker's perspective of whether or not the trip is possible. Instead, she highlights the structure of the if-clauses and the appropriate verb forms required to produce them.

The students utilize only limited cultural content from the video in the production of their if-clauses. In their group discussion Mark mentions buying tickets to the theater (Interaction 2, lines 27-28) and in the follow-up Noah states that she will fish (Interaction 3, lines 8-9), and Vicki mentions going to the beach (Interaction 3, lines 27-28). Except for the example of the theater, these references are vague enough that students most likely could have produced them without having seen the video. Vicki seems particularly pleased with herself as she reminds her group that they can eat meat, and her pointing at the screen is a reminder of the image Yesenia had previously projected of an Uruguayan barbeque (Interaction 2, lines 56-57). In this example Vicki produces the verb form, "comeríamos" (Interaction 2, line 74), which is incorrect when used with the past perfect subjunctive (*if we had gone to Uruguay we would eat meat vs. if we had gone to Uruguay we would have eaten meat), suggesting that she did not correctly understand the meaning and use of this if-clause structure.

In general, throughout this grammar lesson the content of what students are expressing and the context in which they would express it are secondary to the production of correct verb forms. In their group interaction students focus not on exploring the content or trying to communicate something about it, but on "doing it," i.e., doing grammar, which involves

identifying, naming, and producing the correct verb forms. Throughout this interaction students' use of Spanish is restricted to producing these verb forms, otherwise English is used.

In the follow-up in which students report their sentences (Interaction 3), Yesenia does not respond to the content of the sentences nor does she request elaborations. Instead, she highlights the verb forms, repeating them and affirming that they are correct (Interaction 3, lines 10-11, 13-14, 20-22, 25-26). When Gary produces the incorrect verb form, "comieriamos" and "comeríamos" (Interaction 3, lines 32 and 37), Yesenia reminds him that the correct form is the conditional perfect (Interaction 3, line 35) and that its formation requires the use of "haber" (Interaction 3, lines 38-39), without elaborating the implications for the message that is communicated.

For both the instructor and the students this grammar lesson suggests that form has primacy over content; learners are focused on "doing" grammar, i.e., producing the correct verb forms, not on communicating ideas, other than those related to the target language structure. This is an instrumental approach to language, the accumulation of structures that can be utilized to produce isolated sentences. As previously discussed, the instrumental approach to the teaching of culture emphasizes the accumulation of superficial information. Through the gaze of the tourist, learners consume images of the "Other." In the classroom interactions these images that are accumulated are not elaborated or explored, perhaps because their underlying purpose is to provide a context in which to simultaneously accumulate language structures, verb forms, and isolated vocabulary words. Much the same way that learners are touring culture they are also touring language.

5. DIFFERING POSITIONALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES

The construction of the tourist gaze presents a view of culture based on the consumption of facts at the same time that it organizes social roles in the classroom, the instructor seems to be positioned as a tour guide and the learners as tourists. However, neither the instructor nor the learners are agentless in this process. Both bring to the classroom their own personal experiences as participants in global movements of people and ideas that bring languages and cultures into contact and conflict. These experiences have influenced their own understandings of cultural difference broadly speaking as well as their specific classroom learning and teaching goals. In this section, I explore these understandings and goals in relationship to their personal experiences and their positioning vis-à-vis the construction of the tourist gaze. This exploration reveals differing positionalities and understandings of what it means to know a culture.

5.1 Yesenia as Tour Guide?: Transmitting the Enjoyable Aspects of Her Culture

Yesenia is very aware of the negative media images and stereotypical representations that students are constantly exposed to in the media, not just of Tijuana but of all of Latin America. This was particularly true during the time of my research as drug violence on the Mexican side of the border was increasing dramatically, with images and reports of homicides appearing daily in the San Diego news. When I asked Yesenia if it would be important to explore the historical relationship between the United States and Latin America in order to contextualize the drug trade and these broader representations of violence she explained:

Yesenia:	(pause, strong exhale) primeramente pienso que ellos no la gran mayoría no no estén en este ambiente de las drogas y (1) pensar que un país tenga estos problemas donde hay hasta asesinatos por culpa de ellos no lo no lo aceptarían o que haya pobreza o o explotación o lo que sea para ellos vivir mejor este lo mirarían injusto y y yo pienso que en este nivel ahorita al menos en la clase de español sería un poco injusto exponer eso
	(pause, strong exhale) first I think that they [the students] the vast majority are not in this drug environment and to think that a country has these problems where there is assassinations because of them no no they wouldn't accept it or that there is poverty or or exploitation or whatever so that they live better they would see it as unjust and and I think that at this level right now at least in this Spanish class it would be a little bit unjust to expose this
Kimberly:	en la clase de español y ¿por qué?
	in Spanish class, and why?
Yesenia:	están aprendiendo de otra cultura y (2) a mí me gustaría que fuera lo más ameno posible quizás conocer de las situaciones pero esto se vive pero para como decir para que tú vivas mejor es mucho
	they are learning about another culture and to me I would like it to be as enjoyable [pleasurable, entertaining] as possible perhaps to be familiar with the situations but this is lived but so as to say that it is so that you live better is too much

Yesenia does not believe that students are involved in the drug trade so their possible connection to this reality is negated: the assassinations are not their fault. With regards to poverty and exploitation she does not deny that students are implicitly involved because it contributes to their better lives; however, her primary concern is with how they would react: they would see "it" as "unjust." It would also be "unjust" to expose them to this reality in this particular Spanish class, presumably because of the "level," i.e., the proficiency level of the students.

I ask why it would be "unjust" to do so in this Spanish class. The first part of Yesenia's reply is fairly straightforward, she wants their experience learning another culture to be as pleasurable, enjoyable, and entertaining (*ameno*) as possible. The second part of her response is a bit unclear because it includes several false starts: "but this is lived" and "but so as to say." She seems to acknowledge that it is important for students to be familiar with the "situations," presumably referring to the above-mentioned situations with drugs, violence, and poverty. However, she does not want to implicate them in the process by saying that these situations exist so that "you," the students, live better because making explicit this connection is too much.

Yesenia then concludes by saying: "hacer comentarios así sería echármelos de enemigos" (*making comments like this would be to make of them my enemies*). She has already hinted at why students could become her enemies: exploring social inequalities would implicate students. This would potentially put them on the defensive because they could feel that their privilege is being attacked. At the same time, students do not have the linguistic resources to discuss and elaborate on these realities. Later she also mentions the limits placed by the demands of the course. She explains that there is so much grammar, vocabulary, and culture to cover that she would not have time to adequately explore this reality with them, including its implications for their own positionality, which would leave students to do this reflective work on their own.

Yesenia wants her students to care about her culture, she wants to support their learning, and she wants them to engage in the classroom and with cultural difference. However, she operates within several limitations. The first relates to the teaching materials that she uses, namely the textbook, because as she states "es muy generalizado viene un artista a veces un pintor un museo se me hace poco" *(it is very general there is an artist sometimes a painter a museum it seems like very little to me)*. Second, and on a related note, developing additional materials would require a considerable investment of time; however, she is a part-time adjunct language instructor that would not receive remuneration for doing so. The third is her own limited knowledge: "yo no conozco estos países tampoco, en realidad no podría decir… solamente uso la información que está en el libro con un poco del Internet también" *(I am not familiar with these countries, in reality I couldn't say… I only use the information that is in the textbook with a little bit of the Internet as well)*. Finally, the fourth is because of the students' own limited goals and experience: "los estudiantes quieren estudiar para tener una profesión buena y ganar dinero y viajar por el mundo y tener su propio negocio. Un poco ingenuo también pero es más que nada porque no tienen mucha experiencia" *(Students want to study to have a good profession and make a lot of money and travel the world and have their own business. It is a bit naïve but also it is more than anything because they don' t have a lot of experience)*.

Yesenia recognizes that the students obtain a degree to make money, ultimately perpetuating their privilege and mobility as global citizens. They are naïve, as she explains, because they have not lived another reality and; therefore, they have limited potential to see or to understand it. Yesenia provides an example, the maquiladoras in Tijuana:

Yesenia:	… las maquiladoras y pues esto ha: beneficiado más que nada a Estados Unidos (1) y:: (2) es muy (1) difícil verlo si no se vive si uno no va:: y ve a las mujeres: con las casas casi deshechas y y:: (1) que tienen que encargarle los niños a una vecina que los cuida de mala **gana** y todo eso *the maquiladoras and this has benefited the United States more than anything and it is very difficult to see it if one doesn't live it if one doesn't go and see the women with their houses almost falling apart and they have to entrust their children with a neighbor that takes care of them with a bad attitude and all of that*
Kimberly:	y te enfada a veces entonces sabiendo de manera tan personal esta realidad y enseñando a estos estudiantes que nunca van a ver esta realidad? *and does it make you mad sometimes knowing this reality in such a personal way and teaching these students that are never going to see this reality?*
Yesenia:	no no porque no sé yo no pienso que podamos culpar a nadie po::r (2) o sea si existe sí existe presión y y lo que es la globalización es todo el mundo no nada más Tijuana pero:: (2) se se crían con esta mentalidad de que el hacer negocio: ganando X cantidad y pagando X cantidad es normal porque es el negocio (1) y:: yo no pienso que (1) la mayoría de ellos podría ver el otro lado si no lo viven no lo pueden ver *no no because I don't know I don't think that we can blame anyone for in other words yes there is pressure and and with globalization what it is it is the whole world not just Tijuana but they grow up with this mentality in*

> *which doing business earning X amount and paying X amount is normal*
> *because it is business and I don't think the majority of them would be able*
> *to see the other side if they don't live it they can't see it*

The consequences of globalization are felt very differently by the women working in the maquiladoras and by the learners: the women live in dilapidated houses and struggle to find care for their children whereas the learners become business people. In order to "see" these consequences, namely economic exploitation and poverty, Yesenia emphasizes that one must live them. However, she does not implicate the learners, instead she employs multiple impersonal phrases, such as "there is pressure," "earning X amount and paying X amount is normal," and "it is business." People are not responsible for these problems, for accepting economic exploitation as normal, the problem is globalization, which is happening on a transnational scale, not just in Tijuana. Ultimately Yesenia does not believe that the "majority of them," the learners "would be able to see the other side," which is simultaneously Tijuana, the woman, and the negative consequences of global power structures.

When I asked Yesenia specifically why the tourist videos are important she replied:

sí bueno aunque aunque son de turismo y muestran lo bonito al menos pueden ver que que (2) cualquier cosa cualquier tipo que les guste cualquier actividad ya sea tranquila o o algo extremo allí tenemos lugares nosotros

yes well although although they are about tourism and they show everything that is
beautiful at least they can see that that whatever thing whatever type of activity that they
like be it relaxing or something extreme there we have those places

Yesenia establishes a division between "them," U.S. students in a university classroom, and "us," presumably Spanish-speaking peoples with whom she aligns. Instead of seeing "the other side," i.e., problems caused by globalization, she wants learners to see "the other side" of her culture: what is enjoyable, pleasurable, and entertaining. Her goal in using the videos is to demonstrate that Latin America is not only beautiful but that it can fulfill all of the students' desires, understood as tourist desires, because it offers an array of activities. Of note here, this desire presumably originates from the students such that from this perspective it is Latin America that responds to these desires and offers itself through her to fulfill them.

In the end, Yesenia only constructs for herself two options. The first is to help students see and appreciate the beauty of Latin America so that they can experience her own feeling of being "proud" of this cultural beauty. They would presumably have the proficiency level to engage in this form of knowing culture while she would have the time to meet the language objectives of the course and to fulfill her obligations to the department. The second is to present students with these "situations" and run the risk of their feeling attacked, of not having the language skills to engage in this type of discussion, and of not fulfilling the other course obligations with respect to language. In choosing the first option Yesenia unwittingly participates in the construction of the tourist gaze that is based on the accumulation of cultural information and language structures. This view already predominates in the textbook and, as has already been analyzed, it is further reinforced by the videos that she incorporates and the activities that she designs.

5.2 Students as Tourists?: Developing Cultural Awareness

Carissa's reflections on her own travel experiences help to contextualize and explore some of the tensions involved in the learners' perspectives. Her father migrated from Panama as a university student, married, and remained in the United States. Throughout her life Carissa has traveled frequently to Panama to visit her extended family. She has additional travel experiences including having spent two months with a church group in Rwanda. In the following exchange she contrasts these experiences with regards to differing ways of "knowing" a culture. While it is one continuous exchange I have broken it into two segments in order to facilitate my analysis.

Interview with Carissa: Segment 1

Carissa:	like even like I decided this year to pick up a political science minor and it's very frustrating to me at times because (2) I
	you know we have so many discussions where we talk about all of the details of a culture and all the aspects of its political and social and you know all these variables and but you know no one in the classroom's ever been there
Kimberly:	um hm
Carissa:	or or interacted with the people there and so then I can't help but sit and be like you know the research is great I'm sure and some of it's **extremely** empirically sound and some of it's I'm **sure** very accurate but I can't help but just think like I don't think we know anything like the only country I would ever feel comfortable truly feeling like I know
	I could say I kind of know the culture even to be honest isn't even Panama its Rwanda because I was there for 2 months and I I was (1) with locals a lot I was mostly with locals I was only with one other friend um we worked we we got to learn about a variety of organizations we were there during the 14th year anniversary since the genocide and they have this whole ceremony and week of mourning and there's a hundred day period cause the genocide was a hundred days where it we were there for a good portion of it and there's just all these activities and events that occur around it and I just feel like I really (1) I **saw** like the culture and I interacted with the people and I (1) to my best ability empathized and tried to understand what they were going through and I felt very integrated in it and I felt surrounded by it all day long while so to me like that's the only culture I would say I **know**

Carissa distinguishes between two different kinds of "knowing" a culture. The first is based on learning empirical facts, political and social, that are acquired in the classroom. She does not doubt the accuracy of the information but she does question the limits of this form of knowing because it is disassociated from place and interactions with people.

She contrasts this form of knowing with the second one, based on her trip to Rwanda, in which she states that she "saw" the culture. What she saw is based on abstract events and entities, expressed through impersonal, nominalized phrases such as "a variety of organizations," "this whole ceremony," "week of mourning," "the hundred day period," "activities and events," all of which revolved around the commemoration of a traumatic moment in the history of Rwanda.

She also states that she "interacted with the people," although she does not state with whom she interacted, what they talked about, what their emotions were, or what specifically she understood as a result. In fact, "the locals" are constructed as a generic group devoid of identities, personal histories, or clear roles in the historical events or the commemoration. She is the primary actor in this form of knowing culture: "I felt very integrated in it" and "I felt surrounded by it." This seeing ultimately led her to feeling like she "empathized and tried to understand." Overall this form of "knowing" is focused on "knowing" her own emotions and experiences, all of which contribute to a sense of empathy, or caring.

      In the following segment she introduces another form of "knowing":

Interview with Carissa: Segment 2

Kimberly:	that's interesting because your emotional attachment would be with Panama?
Carissa:	yeah definitely
Kimberly:	so do you think that there's an emotional um an affective level to knowing a culture? Cause you talked about=
	= like an emotional
Kimberly:	yeah an affective that there's that part of knowing a culture is developing an emotional **connection** to the culture?
Carissa:	I would say so cause I think that's and maybe that's why I say Rwanda because for as much as I have a very affective connection to Panama (1) what **I saw** and learned about in Rwanda was so much more **emotionally** intense so I left like **so** much more invested in its history and its future and you know I took classes to try to understand it better thereafter and wrote papers on it and so on and so I'm sure that is a huge element of it and maybe I would say I feel that I know the culture of Rwanda better (1) because when I go to Panama I'm around my family's Panamanian culture and people always plan these big things cause we're not there very often so you know if the family has been wanting to go to this resort on an island off the coast *(she is pounding the table with her hand)* we go there or we do the **nice** dinner everyone's been wanting to do for awhile at the **nice** restaurant we we see I really do feel like we're pampered when we're there because the family is so big and and my dad's so close to so many of his cousins and so it we're received (1) like royalty almost while we're there and so I don't feel like **I've ever had any real interaction** with the natives very much like the most interaction we've ever had is like you know stopping on the side of the road on a drive to buy those *molas* the Panaman those little like the crafts that some of the Indians of Panama make…

This form of knowing, based on her experiences with her family in Panama, is contrasted with the emotional intensity of her experiences in Rwanda. In Panama she is treated like "royalty" because she is "pampered." Her concern with being positioned as "royalty" is that it limits her interaction with the "natives" to that of buying indigenous handicrafts on the side of the road. In theory the members of her Panamanian family are "natives," but to her being a "native" is not based on birthplace nor is it constructed on the basis of a distinction between indigenous and

non-indigenous peoples. Ultimately the construction is based on not having money and access to privileged spaces, such as a resort or a nice restaurant, spaces that tourists frequent. Therefore, because Carissa's Panamanian family has the economic resources to indulge in these activities she does not consider them "natives." This form of knowing a culture is akin to being a tourist, and she dismisses it because it inhibits any affective connection, which she considers essential to her preferred form of "knowing."

These are very different constructions of knowing a culture. One is based on the accumulation of social and political information in a classroom. The second is based on seeing the consequences of violence and suffering, even if it is impersonalized, which leads to empathy and caring. The last is based on access to privileged spaces that are enjoyed by "royalty," much like the view offered through the tourist gaze. All of these views are relevant to understand both the learners' objectives with regards to knowing culture in the classroom.

In her interview one of the other focal students, Emily, responds very strongly to the accumulation and consumption of cultural facts through the textbook. In fact, she turns the situation around and contemplates the reverse scenario:

> it's always funny cause I wonder what they would put on (1) those pages for (.) **states** in the United States or **for** the United States↑ like what (1) they have celebrities and I'm like what would what **celebrity** would you **put**↑ like I mean (1) like how I wonder what people who are from that culture would think about **that** like does that is that even representative of what they think their culture is↑ like is their culture just (2) you know I don't know

This reflection points to the minimalism and the reductionism of the form of "knowing" presented through the accumulation of cultural facts as presented in the textbook, much like Carissa criticized the limits of learning cultural variables in a classroom setting. She introduces a "they," the people that are represented, as she wonders about their perspectives. By asking what "they" would include on similar pages to represent the United States she also acknowledges the importance of positionality and the limits of this cultural representation: "they" would perceive their culture as being much more than the sum of these facts just as by extension she would consider U.S. culture to be more then the sum of its celebrities. By acknowledging and contemplating the position of the "other," the "they," she implicitly recognizes that one's understanding of culture is necessarily constructed in relationship to this "other," that cultural representations are interrelated and interconnected and that there are other positions and understandings that are possible through this interaction.

Emily concludes: "it makes me wonder whether I'm supposed to be feeling like I'm becoming culturally aware or if I'm supposed to be just viewing and memorizing the one page. Like I feel like you know that's what tourists do is they look through their guidebooks and stuff…". She juxtaposes two additional forms of knowing a culture: 1) becoming culturally aware and 2) viewing and memorizing cultural information that is similar to that found in tourist guidebooks. Much like Carissa, the primary difference between the two hinges on what she is "supposed" to be "feeling," the implication being that becoming culturally aware would allow her to feel but that "just viewing and memorizing" does not. Both forms of knowing position her differently.

The consequences of being positioned as a tourist is that Emily did not feel like she learned anything about the culture:

> it's like it's assuming that we all think like tourists that all of our like that's and I think
> that that assumption (1) like leads to the (1) lack of **caring** of students about (1) you
> know like I just said I really didn't learn much about the culture like I didn't because
> nothing that was presented to me wasn't (1) anything that I couldn't open up a travel
> magazine and find out

The assumption that she thinks like a tourist makes her not care about the culture. "Caring" is an emotion that is significant to her, as well as to the other learners, in the process of becoming culturally aware, it is was she is presumably "supposed" to be feeling. When I asked her what would make her care she replied:

> if I learned about children without running water and what people in their communities
> are doing something that is more I don't want to say something that makes me feel bad
> for them but something that like there is a reason to care about might be more of an
> incentive to care

Emily wants to explore the social realities of the people, such as the children who do not have running water, because doing so will provoke personal change, emotional investment in the form of caring. This perspective is similar to Carissa's experiences in Rwanda, by learning about the genocide she was able to empathize and to emotionally invest in the culture. Of note, this caring is not a priori, Emily needs a "reason" to care, because without an "incentive" she would not. It is presumed then that this incentive must be external, it is "something" that would be given to her, a responsibility that indirectly falls on her teacher, who has not fulfilled it.

Learners react negatively to the form of "knowing" culture that the tourist gaze produces through the teaching materials and classroom interactions. In opposition to this form of knowing, they construct an alternative, the development of cultural awareness, understood as appreciating difference and caring about social problems. This understanding shares many affinities with conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism, particularly moral cosmopolitanism. More specifically, Appiah's (2006) theorization bases cosmopolitanism on two intertwined strands: universal concern and respect for difference. Universal concern refers to the idea that "we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the formal ties of a shared citizenship" (p. xv). And, with regards to the second strand, difference, Appiah (2006) says "we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences" (p. xv). To the students, the tourist gaze does not open up the possibility to appreciate difference as it does not include a consideration of other perspectives, namely that of the "other" and how "they" would understand their own cultures through their beliefs and practices. It also does not include a consideration of the social, economic, and political problems of Latin America, which would give them an incentive to be concerned about these problems.

The cosmopolitan view thusly understood has its own limitations. Emily stresses that caring is not based on "feeling bad" because of the problems of Latin America, such as the people without running water. However, she does not elaborate what this caring is based on other than awareness of a problem. In fact, she also does not mention that she would want or need to understand the underlying social, economic, or political realities that have led to a lack of

running water, the fact that the problem exists is sufficient. Caring may lead to feeling an obligation to others, universal concern, but it is limited to an emotional obligation, not one that involves understanding their own positioning within the problems or even doing something about them because of a moral necessity.

　　Much like Yesenia, students only see two options for knowing a culture. The first is the tourist gaze, which is imposed on them through the textbook and the classroom activities, and that they criticize. The second is the cosmopolitan view, which is constructed in opposition to the tourist gaze and is based on a form of caring that emphasizes awareness of social, economic, and political problems. Both of these options are limited, however, in interaction they offer other alternatives.

6. PERSPECTIVES IN CONTACT AND CONFLICT

The differing understandings of what it means to know a culture, from the perspective of Yesenia and of the students, come into contact and conflict through their classroom experiences. I recognize that both Yesenia and the learners are in an ambiguous power relationship: the learners come to resent the tourist positions they are asked to occupy and Yesenia resents the students' lack of engagement with Latin American culture. As a researcher, I was implicitly involved in this power relationship, as my own sympathies and allegiances vacillated because I recognized its complexity. My goal in this analysis is not to align myself with one side or the other but, instead, to capture the complexity of this relationship and to explore the limits and possibilities of these differing perspectives through their interaction.

6.1 The Organization of Social Roles: "Look how happy they (locals) are to like help you (tourists) enjoy yourself" (Jenny)

　　Jenny concludes that the teaching materials, specifically the videos, are slightly "condescending" because they imply that "all that students are going to look for is the touristy stuff:"

> the videos that have been shown kind of set it up to be (2) look you can go to this five stars:: and if you watch the videos as well this always cracks me up it's a bunch of white people walking around (.) and I I'm always like why are you showing this↑ you know what I mean (laughs) it's interesting (1) it's rich white people in you know (1) **hats** and sunglasses and laying on a **beach::** (.) riding a **boat** you know and the few pi- pictures they show of uh the locals they're all smiling and happy and sitting in front of some local restaurant it's just it's **almost** dehumanizing to the point where it's like:: (1) you can enjoy yourself look how happy **they** are to like help **you** enjoy yourself

The people in the videos are not only tourists but "rich white people" that spend their leisure time on beaches and riding in boats. The "locals" are represented as smiling and happy because they help the tourists to enjoy themselves. Through the images Jenny is made painfully aware of the social and economic inequalities implicit in the relationship between tourists and locals, one that is based on the exploitation of the other. In questioning this relationship, she indexes relationships of asymmetrical power and privilege.

When she asks "why are you showing this," Jenny seems to be questioning what assumptions have been made about her in terms of both who she is supposed to align herself with and how she is supposed to understand the relationship between tourists and locals. Tourism organizes social relations—in this case, ones that are based on unequal power relationships, and the tourist gaze as constructed in the classroom implicates students in these relations since they are the ones positioned as tourists. Like the tourists represented in the videos Jenny is herself white and middle-class, and she has engaged in similar tourist activities. As previously discussed, Yesenia argues that students would not be able to "see" the problems of Latin America, such as the maquiladoras, because they have not lived them. Yet, most of the students have lived the experience of being tourists: they have "seen" Latin America from this perspective. Therefore, one way of seeing the problems might begin with a critical reflection on their own experiences of seeing Latin America through the tourist gaze.

Yesenia worried that exposing students to these problems would lead them to realize their own positioning within these realities on a transglobal scale. Without sufficient classroom time to support their explorations and their own positionings, Yesenia concludes that students would feel resentment and potentially become her "enemies." Therefore, of the two options she constructs, she elected to highlight the entertaining and pleasurable aspects of her culture so that students could appreciate its beauty. However, to some degree the students still become the "enemies" that Yesenia feared they would because the tourist gaze directly implicates students as tourists in the reproduction of these social, political, and economic inequalities and leads them to question their own positioning by the teacher and the teaching materials. Jenny's critical reflections on the limits of this representation in the videos demonstrate this awareness at the same time that it causes her discomfort. She rejects this representation as "dehumanizing," as much for the locals as for the tourists, the presumed "you" that she is addressing, and potentially for herself. However, she does not critically explore this dehumanization and its implications for herself or for others.

The students criticize the tourist gaze because they are able to recognize that it constructs disparate realities: one for the tourists and the other for the locals. They experience discomfort with their positioning within these realities because they realize that the relationship between tourist and local is based on exploitation. Thus Jenny's reflections on the "rich white people" that are "laying on a beach" open a space from which to explore her understanding of these social, economic, and political inequalities, the interrelated and problematic social organization of tourist and local, and her own positioning within these relationships. In other words, perhaps the cultural awareness that students seek can be developed through a critical reflection on how the tourist gaze functions to organize social relations. This critical reflection would help students to understand how these disparate realities are interrelated and to open up other possibilities for the students and the teacher to imagine other positionings for themselves and for "others." At the same time, students could develop cultural awareness, not one based solely on caring about problems but on interrogating their causes, one of which is tourism. However, in the classroom Jenny and her classmates do not enter this space nor are there opportunities to do so.

6.2 Establishing Ideologies of Difference: "it just it seems very untainted to me" (Nora)

The tourist videos made Cathy want to travel because of the scenery depicted and what it offers, which is unavailable to her in the United States:

I loved all like the beach and and forest sceneries of all the just like the jungle in general is just such a I'm out pretty I'm kind of outdoorsy I won't say as outdoorsy as some of my friends but yeah I'm I love to like go on walks and be out in nature and I think just any of those scenes (.) it's just so different from what we have here (1) a very built up society and (.) coming from Orange County its like cookie cutter (.) suburb **so** its so diff- it's nice to see like the **jungle** and the **beach** and more natural and natural foods and just all all that combined but I mean that makes up their that's their daily life but and then obviously they have the cities and the transportation systems

The contrast between the "beach and forest sceneries," "the jungle," and "natural foods" with the "cities" and "transportation system" reinforces colonial ideologies of civilization and barbarism: modern vs. primitive and civilized vs. under-developed, similar to the representations in the textbook as previously analyzed. Latin America is the exotic "other," the unfamiliar, yet, because it contains features Cathy recognizes, it is still consumable. This is in contrast to "the built up society" and "the cookie cutter suburb" of her life in Orange County, which, by implication, are the result of modern, civilizing forces that have left her alienated from the desired natural, primitive world.

Furthermore, Cathy comments on the "stark differences between North America and South America," specifically criticizing the "materialistic side" of the United States:

the fact that we're so work oriented and driven for:: um (2) not just money but a lot of materialistic stuff that it can like our consumerism drives us sometimes too far (.) so it can be distracting **living** in that and with that but um and I think that's also like yeah why I like traveling too just to get out of the social norms

Life in the United States is dominated by materialist and consumerist values that place work at the center in the drive to accumulate money, ultimately leading "us" to a life of distraction. Travelling allows her to "get out of the social norms," suggesting that the places she visits, such as Latin America, do not have social norms or that she is not subject to them as a tourist. In either case, this travelling represents an escape from modernity. In a similar way, Nora describes Latin America as "untainted": "everything is so organic, you know the people, the food, and it just it seems very untainted to me " vs. the "taintedness" of the United States: "this is so industrialized you know whereas you could go into a village and like everybody like it's a dirt road."

Student responses to the construction of difference through the tourist gaze is ambivalent. They reject the form of "knowing" based on the accumulation of superficial cultural information that does not allow them to see the problems of Latin America or to care about them. At the same time, they reject their positioning as tourists because they find it "condescending" to think that all they would be interested in is lying on a beach while being served by the locals. Yet representations of Latin America as object of the tourist gaze can still fulfill students' desires to escape modernity with all of its problems and vices. In this sense, if the videos were produced to promote the consumption of these exotic vistas, they have achieved their goal. However, the cultural differences that tourism constructs mask the political, economic, and material realities of globalized capital: the perpetuation of global and national inequalities in which all, including the students, are implicated. As Sheller (2003) argues with respect to the Caribbean:

> The Caribbean has been repeatedly imagined and narrated as a tropical paradise in which the land, plants, resources, bodies, and cultures of its inhabitants are open to be invaded, occupied, bought, moved, used, viewed, and consumed in various ways. It is represented as a perpetual Garden of Eden in which visitors can indulge all their desires and find a haven for relaxation, rejuvenation, and sensuous abandon. Nevertheless, some of the deepest ethical dilemmas associated with capitalist modernity occurred in relation to the transatlantic commerce in slaves and in products produced by people enslaved in the Caribbean, and these debates involved an anxious introspection about the limits of human desires and pleasures (p. 13)

The "cookie cutter suburbs" and materialism of modernity are contrasted with the "untainted" Garden of Eden that is Latin America, offering an escape form social norms and work. Yet for these white middle- to upper-class students this escape is a privilege, on that is based not on the historical institution of slavery but instead on the current exploitation of workers in the service industries that have developed to serve tourists, extract natural resources, and profit transnational corporations. These ethical dilemmas are not examined in the classroom or in the textbook, and much like the Caribbean, Latin America is constructed as a tropical paradise that is open for consumption.

Students recognize the limits of this representation in that it does not provide a balanced view. Alberto acknowledges that the videos make him "want to go," i.e., to travel to the countries featured because they show "the best parts of the country." In fact, the image they create of Latin America is that "you can take a honeymoon to any of these countries, that's what they make it look like." However, they "don't show you the bad parts" that he knows exist, particularly in the case of his parents' native country of Mexico:

Kimberly:	How would you feel if they showed you a video like that of Mexico?
Alberto:	probably feel you know that the country's good you know prob'ly being played
Kimberly:	In what sense?
Alberto:	'cuz it's actually not like that

His response, that a potential viewer could feel that he or she is "prob'ly being played," suggests an awareness that the country is actually not all "good" because he is aware of the problems it faces. In other words, the country is not wholly represented.

Jenny is also aware of these bad parts. With regards to Honduras she explains:

> my roommate went to Honduras and she definitely **was not** in those touristy places and I've seen pictures of her trip and its the atmosphere is beautiful um the place is obviously you know (1) you know blue skies and blue waters but (1) I think people miss:: a lot of what's **actually** going on so we watch that video and we see (1) you know scuba diving and (1) horseback riding but when you're there its: poverty and (1) you know rebels

The tourist reality of scuba diving is contrasted with a social reality of Honduras that she is privy to through her roommate, who has given her an insider's perspective, which is based on rebels and poverty. Like Alberto's distinction between the "good" and "bad parts," this is a

dichotomous construction: scuba diving and horseback riding vs. poverty and rebels, the packaged tourist image vs. the perceived reality. She concludes that it would be "helpful" to know these "bad parts." In the same move, however, one stereotype of beautiful beaches is replaced by another, that of systematic violence. There is no consideration of larger questions of why Latin America is represented in these ways, how the reality and the fiction are related, and whose purposes their construction serves.

Yesenia's goal was to show students the "ameno" aspects of Latin American culture in order to counteract the negative representations of violence in the media and to transmit her own feelings of pride in her cultural heritage. The students' ambivalent reactions reinforce problematic dichotomies. On the one hand, they reaffirm Latin America as an object of desire, as exotic sign of the pre-modern and the primitive in the face of the alienation of modernity (Meethan, 2001). The construction of difference through the tourist gaze offers students the fulfillment of their desire: an escape from the presumed trappings of modernity in the United States, consumerism and materialism, with a return to the "primitive" and untainted natural world of Latin America, which is now ripe for tourist consumption. On the other hand, their interest in a more balanced view that would allow them to develop critical awareness and to care actually replaces one representation—beaches and fun—with another—poverty and violence. Students' own recognitions of the limitations of the tourist gaze rely upon reconstructing false dichotomies, replacing sand and surf with violence and rebels, as opposed to interrogating the underlying causes of these social, political, and economic realities. One reality is replaced by its opposite but the dichotomy is false. One exists because of the other and they both exist in relation to the contact zone and globalizing processes. Without a space in the classroom to explore this relationship the students remain trapped in this duality. Yet, there is a way out because the awareness of the existence of these two dichotomous representations could be a first step in exploring their interconnectedness.

7. IMPLICATIONS

The tourist gaze does not replace the negative images of Latin America that students receive through the media nor does it seem to lead students to appreciate the beauty of Yesenia's cultural heritage, as she had hoped. The students feel that they need an incentive to care about the problems of Latin America, yet the tourist gaze does not provide them with one. Instead, the construction of the tourist gaze seems to highlight the existence of disparate realities: one that is fabricated for tourists and the other that is the reality for "locals;" one that is based on untainted natural beauty and the other that is poverty and violence. In much the same way, Yesenia and the students construct only two options for engaging with culture in the classroom: the tourist gaze and a cosmopolitan view based on appreciating difference and caring about the problems of Latin America. These two options also seem to exist in opposition to each other, and both the students and the instructor end up frustrated that their learning objectives and goals are not realized.

I argue that neither the instructor nor the students are necessarily trapped in these dualities of cultural representation and engagement. The way out of these dualities consists of critically reflecting on their relational aspects and their own positionings within them as students and instructor in a language / culture classroom and as subjects in a globalized world. I will first consider these relational aspects at a broader level of representations of Latin America and

second I will consider concrete suggestions for how to explore this relationality through classroom activities.

At this broader level, the representation of Latin America as untainted paradise exists in relationship to the representation of the United States as corrupted by modernity; the role of tourist exists in relationship to the exploitation of the locals. In the end, students can achieve their goal of caring about the problems of Latin America by understanding how tourism itself has contributed to these problems. As Said (1989) elaborates:

> there is no vantage *outside* the actuality of relationships between cultures, between unequal imperial powers and nonimperial powers, between different Others, a vantage that might allow one the epistemological privilege of somehow judging, evaluating, and interpreting free of the encumbering interests, emotions, and engagements of the ongoing relationship themselves. When we consider the connections between the United States and the rest of the world, we are so to speak *of* the connections, not outside and beyond them. It therefore behooves us as intellectuals, humanists, and secular critics to grasp the role of the United States in the world of nations and of power, from *within* the actuality, and as participants in it, not as detached outside observers who, like Oliver Goldsmith in Yeats' marvelous phrase, deliberately sip at the honeypot of our minds. (p. 216)

Incorporating into the classroom a space for critical reflection on the tourist gaze could facilitate a consideration "*of* the connections," between tourists and tourees, the United States and Latin America, which could open multiple vantage points from which to "know" culture and the instructor's and learners' own positionalities within these larger power relations. The fact that students demonstrate an awareness of these dualities as well as the social inequalities that they index is potentially already the first step. This awareness was evidenced in Jenny's concerns with the videos that depicted "rich white people" that are "laying on a beach" as well as Alberto's concerns with a more balanced view that would include the "bad parts" of Mexico.

Engaging in this type of critical reflection would have implications for learning and teaching in this classroom as well as for the professional status of the instructor. Broadly speaking, these implications would include: considerations of how language and culture are understood and taught; how the textbook and videos are used in the classroom; and how students are assessed. There are however, obvious limitations to what may be possible. The tourist gaze as constructed in the course textbook *Vistas* reveals an underlying instrumentalist view of both culture and language that is based on the accumulation of superficial cultural information and language structures. As previously elaborated, Yesenia is critical of its generality yet she feels obligated to use the textbook since students will be tested on the information. Moreover, as an adjunct instructor she would not be remunerated for the time that would be required to create additional activities.

As opposed to a limitation, I argue that engaging in critical reflection on the construction of the tourist gaze and its implications could be realized through a reframing of the learning materials, namely the textbook and the videos. This would simultaneously provide an opportunity for the students and the instructor to further reflect on their own experiences. In this analysis, students have revealed that they are already aware that they are being positioned as tourists through the teaching materials at the same time that they bring their previous experiences to the classroom as tourists. These same reflections can be encouraged in the classroom. In the case of the tourist videos, for example, students can explore who the tourists are, whether or not

their own experiences as tourists are reflected in what they see, how the relationships between the tourists and the locals are constructed, and what is missing in this depiction. As a former resident of Tijuana, Yesenia's own experiences of how and why U.S. tourists view her hometown as the city of vice in relationship to her own experiences living there could facilitate these reflections. In the case of the textbook, Emily reflects on what information would be included on similar pages for the United States. Students can design these pages for someone from Latin America. Comparing and contrasting their own pages with those of the *Panorama* section of the textbook would highlight what information is included, who the information is designed for, how students feel it represents the culture(s) depicted, and what is missing. Such a reflexive activity might further engage students in a discussion on how knowing a culture is understood through the tourist gaze as constructed in the textbook in relationship to how students understand knowing culture and how they might go beyond the tourist gaze to engage with cultural difference. At the same time, such activities would not necessarily require a considerable investment of time on the part of the instructor, and students would still be learning the information from the textbook in preparation for the standardized departmental exams.

Yesenia was also very concerned about covering all of the grammatical structures required for the course. Discussions and activities such as those mentioned above can be designed to target the focal language structures. For example, instead of using the if-clause structures to report on what students will or would do if they visited Uruguay, they can engage in a discussion of what a tourist would think if they only saw the images from the video, what else they might want to learn if they had an opportunity to visit the country, and where they could find this information. In this case they would be using these language structures to engage in meaningful communication.

These examples represent potential first steps in the process of exploring the production of the tourist gaze in the classroom, both how it constructs cultural difference and organizes social roles. They are important first steps, providing an opportunity for both the instructor and the students to occupy different positionalities; to achieve their language and culture learning goals; to imagine other ways of engaging with cultural difference; and to understand and to care about social, political, and economic realities on a transglobal scale. To go beyond these first steps points to broader implications for the teaching of second and foreign languages and cultures. As previous research indicates this is not the only textbook for the teaching of Spanish that constructs a tourist gaze (see Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). At the same time, many within the field of second language acquisition have criticized the rise of the instrumentalism within the communicative language teaching approach (Kramsch, 2006; MLA ad hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007) and how it has correspondingly commodified language and culture (Heller, 2002; Heller, 2003; Tan & Rubdy, 2008). While these discussions have been significant, this research suggests the need to continue them.

I now turn to my case study of the second classroom that is the focus of this dissertation, that of Vicente.

CHAPTER 5
Confronting Reality in Vicente's Classroom: Expectations for Language and Culture Learning

1. SEGUE

As analyzed in the previous chapter, with regards to the construction of cultural difference in her Spanish classroom, Yesenia presents for herself two options: 1) presenting the problems of Latin America, including violence and exploitation; or 2) highlighting the pleasurable, entertaining, and enjoyable aspects of its culture, such as its beautiful beaches. With regards to the former she fears that students do not have the proficiency level to explore these problems, that they would not be able to see them without living them, and that there is insufficient space or time in the curriculum to adequately contextualize them. Furthermore, this option would implicate students in transnational processes that have created these problems and that simultaneously support their privileged lifestyles. Yesenia recognizes that students could resent this consideration of their own positionalities and become her enemies as a result. Therefore, she opts for the latter option, and, in the process, she participates in the construction of a tourist gaze on Latin America and its cultures.

2. INTRODUCTION

Vicente, the instructor of the second Spanish class, is also a Mexican immigrant and he too is very aware of how Latin America is represented in the United States more broadly and specifically in textbooks used to teach Spanish. Much like Yesenia, he frames these constructions in dichotomous terms: "por un lado la toda la violencia por otro lado el turismo este de Cancún y de irme a divertir" (*on one side all of the violence on the other tourism uh of Cancun and going to have fun*). Vicente insists that he will not "vender una idea bonita" (*sell a pretty idea*) of Latin America. Doing so, he argues, "te pone te pone en una posición de superioridad" (*it puts you in a position of superiority*) because you can then travel and have fun "sin tener en cuenta los problemas que realmente vive" (*without taking into consideration the problems that are really lived*). Therefore, he appears to choose the second option, presenting the problems of Latin America, so that students learn "la realidad cómo es con sus problemas" (*the reality, how it is with its problems*). However, he alters the focus, as he elaborates:

> Yo creo que al estudiante hay que enfrentarla la realidad (.) lo que estamos haciendo o lo que se hace a veces está **mal** (.) y tiene que reconocer pero no lo va a reconocer si no lo ve (.1) entonces si no está viendo que las consecuencias por ejemplo de la pobreza en este país es por las prácticas de de:: económicas que salen de **este** país si no lo reconoce entonces él va a seguir eh (.1) reproduciéndolo y la responsabilidad del en una institución es formar es abrirle los ojos para que pueda valorar las cosas

> *I think that one has to confront the student with reality what we are doing or that what is done sometimes is bad and it is necessary to recognize but he isn't going to recognize it if he doesn't see it so if he doesn't see that the consequences for example of poverty in this*

> *country is because of the economic practices that come from this country if he doesn't recognize it he is going to continue reproducing it and the responsibility of in an institution is to educate to open his eyes so that he can value things*

Vicente opts to confront students with reality, not framed simply as presenting problems, such as violence, but in terms of what "we," which includes the students and the United States by extension, are doing, such as economic practices, so that the students can ultimately "see" the consequences. Therefore, the focus is not on the problems per se but the positionality of the students in the transnational processes that have created these problems. The ultimate goal is for students to open their eyes and to value things so as to not reproduce these practices and realities.

Although Vicente impersonalizes this confrontation with reality through the use of "one," he ultimately charges himself with this responsibility. His pedagogical practices, in addition to his own learning philosophy, reflect his objective to confront students with reality. Through this confrontation he wants students to learn to use language to "entender, reflexionar y proponer" (*understand, reflect, and propose*). In other words, he wants them to understand this reality, to reflect on it and their own positionality within it, and to propose alternatives. To achieve his goal, he mostly disavows the textbook and its approach to teaching language and culture in favor of creating and using his own worksheets in the classroom. However, he does not have complete freedom to decide how to teach his class, particularly given that the exams are standardized for all of the third semester classes. Therefore, like Yesenia, he operates within certain structural limitations.

The profile of the students in Vicente's class is very similar to Yesenia's class: they are white, middle- to upper-class, and they have already travelled extensively. Their reasons for taking the Spanish course varied; beginning of the semester questionnaires revealed that although they recognized its potential usefulness in their future professional and personal lives they were taking it to fulfill their language requirement. Like Vicente, they also operate within institutional structures: they must successfully pass the course in order to fulfill their language requirement, which was a central concern for all of them. Over the course of the semester students became increasingly unhappy with their instructor and with their learning experiences. Sandy, one of the focal students, concluded at the end of the semester that she did not think that Vicente wanted them to learn. She continues:

> I feel like our professor:: (2) has the idea tha::t (3) we're poor (laugh) white children who have **not** learned Spanish and so it's his job to elevate **us**↑ and teach us about this::↑ and (3) doesn't matter if it's helpful to us or if we like want to learn it or if we are actually learning it but he's gonna try to give it to us

In this chapter I explore the tensions that emerge between Vicente and the students in relationship to the classroom pedagogical practices employed by the instructor and the structural limitations in which they both operate. Some of these tensions are not unique to Vicente's classroom, but reflect larger debates in the field that focus on the commodification of language and language teaching, specifically as considered within the neoliberalization of knowledge. Therefore, I will also explore these tensions at the macro-level, confronting the realities of language and culture teaching and learning in a globalized era that are reflected in and through these local pedagogical practices and classroom interactions.

3. VICENTE'S LEARNING PHILOSOPHY

Like Yesenia, whose class was the focus of the last chapter, Vicente, is also an immigrant from Mexico. Originally from Pachuca, the capital city of the central state of Hidalgo, he attended high school in the nearby city of Querétaro and later moved to Morelia. As he frequently reminded me, this region has played a prominent role in Mexico's history both economically, due to its mines, and politically, due to its role in the rebellion against Spain that led to the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821). Vicente finally settled in Mexico City, where he attended the university and then taught at the primary and secondary levels. He migrated to the United States in 1988 and, upon his arrival he accepted a position teaching Spanish at SDU, where he has been working ever since. At the time of this study he also held the position of supervisor for third semester Spanish.

Whereas Vicente's pedagogical and methodological formation was developed in Mexico, it was in his role as instructor of the Spanish language and Latino cultures in the United States that he developed his perspectives on the importance and role of language and culture education. It is in this context that he developed a critical stance on what he calls "un approach instrumental" (*an instrumental approach*), stating "me veo como un rebelde" (*I see myself as a rebel*). Perhaps this is the reason that he emphasizes the historical significance of his Central Mexican origins, birthplace of the rebellion against Spain. In this section I explore how Vicente understands the limits of the instrumental approach to the teaching of language and culture as represented primarily in the textbook used in this third semester class, *Vistas*, in relationship to his own approach that emphasizes understanding, reflecting, and proposing.

3.1 The Textbook: "Las actualidades" (*The news*)

Prior to considering Vicente's own perspectives and teaching philosophy I begin with a brief consideration of the textbook and its approach to teaching language, specifically vocabulary and grammar. I will omit in the present discussion a consideration of the presentation of culture, given that a thorough analysis was elaborated in the preceding chapter. I base this present description on Chapter 18 of *Vistas*, titled "Las actualidades" (*The News*). This chapter was selected as it will be the focus of a later discussion of the worksheet he created to teach its content.

The communicative goals of this chapter are to: "discuss current events and issue"; "talk about and discuss the media"; and "reflect on experiences, such as travel" (p. 605). The unusual amalgamation of current events and the media with personal travel experiences underscore again the tourist gaze that is constructed in the textbook as students are positioned as if tourists that observe and discuss these events.

The first section is titled "Contextos" (*Contexts*) and it presents vocabulary related to current events, politics, the media, and natural disasters. Presented in list form, the words are matched with their corresponding English translations. There is a large drawing, covering two pages, that is labeled with additional and related words, although there are no English glosses (the English glosses below are my own). In the sky on the left there are three fighter jets engaged in battle as they seemingly emerge from dark clouds riddled with lightning bolts (tormenta/*storm*). On the right there is a tornado (tornado/*tornado*) and dark smoke billowing out of a building that is on fire (incendio/*fire*). The street level shows a main plaza with several

scenes that are not necessarily related but appear to all be happening at the same moment in time: workers carry picket signs in front of a bank (huelga/*strike*); two cars are damaged (choque/*crash*); men engage in a street fight (violencia/*violence*); a politician delivers a speech (discurso/*speech*; candidato/*candidate*); a man leaves the bank with a bag of money (crimen/*crime*); and, beside a woman sitting on a bench reading a newspaper (diario/*newspaper*) impervious to all of that is going on around her, a newscaster broadcasts it all (locutora/*anchorwoman*; noticiero/*news broadcast*). In front of two army trucks (ejército/*army*), soldiers (soldado/*soldier*) are running into the square, appearing as if heroes coming to bring order to the chaos and violence depicted.

There are seven vocabulary practice activities ("Práctica"), which shift from input (listening) to output (speaking). The listening activities consist of 1) selecting the correct information to complete the sentences based on a news report; and 2) identifying correct and incorrect descriptions of the previously described drawing. After categorizing a selected group of vocabulary items and writing definitions students complete two fill-in-the-blank activities: a list of statements and a dialogue. Students then read a series of unrelated statements and decide whether or not they agree with them (e.g., "We and our representatives communicate well"; "It is important to vote"). In contrast to these close-ended activities, the three communication activities ("Comunicación") that follow focus on speaking and are open-ended. The first contains two photographs, of a collapsed building and a street protest, which students are instructed to describe. In the second activity students prepare a news report and in the last they pretend that they are television reporters interviewing a political candidate.

The grammar section is titled "Estructura" (*Structure*) and it presents various if-clause structures: contrary to fact if-clauses in the present and the past; possible events in the present; and habitual actions in the past. The explanation is presented in English and it focuses on correct verb conjugations and language use. All seven structural variations are conveniently summarized in a chart. All of the various structures are mixed throughout the activities, which broadly move from a focus on form to a focus on meaning. In the three practice activities ("Práctica") students match phrases to form grammatically correct sentences; complete a dialogue between two friends with appropriate verb forms; and logically complete unrelated sentence fragments (e.g., "I would go crazy if my family…"). In the two communication activities ("Comunicación") students answer eight thematically unrelated questions (e.g., "What would you do if you went on vacation to Uruguay and upon your arrival there were no hotel rooms?"; "What do you do when you are in the street and someone asks you for money?") and they talk about what they would do in certain situations (e.g., "If you had won a trip to Uruguay…"; "If you didn't have to worry about money…"). In the last section, "Síntesis" (*Synthesis*), students prepare five questions for a presidential candidate of their own country and then engage in a roleplay, with one student as the interviewer and the other the presidential candidate. In the model the interviewer asks what the candidate would do to eliminate sexism in the military.

The vocabulary and grammar structures presented in the textbook are also practiced through the online activities (Supersite) that students complete on their own outside of class. As the activity types are consistent with the textbook activities I will not engage in a thorough discussion of them. It is also important to note that the format and content of the vocabulary and grammar sections of the exams are consistent with both the textbook and supersite.

Overall few of the activities are contextualized, they require minimal interaction and development of ideas in that students can complete them with simple answers, either words or verbs, and comprehension and meaning making are only significant in relation to producing

correct answers. The language itself is standardized; there are limited opportunities to creatively play with language or with structures, which would only occur if the students chose to do so on their own or if the instructor encouraged them to do so. The instructions are generally simple; they emphasize what students are supposed to do through commands, such as "Listen to the sentences and indicate if what each one says is true or false according to the diagram"; "Complete the dialogue with the appropriate words"; or "Complete the phrases logically. Then read your answers to your classmates." The insistence on the accumulation of vocabulary and grammatical structures, the focus on correct usage, and the drill and kill practice activities reveal a direct method disguised as communicative methodology.

3.2 The Instrumental Approach: Language as "un instrumento para ser competitivos en el mercado de trabajo" (*an instrument to be competitive in the job market*)

Vicente is critical of the instrumental approach because of the way it presents both language and culture and because of its primary objective in terms of language learning. He elaborates what this approach looks like as manifested in the textbook *Vistas*. Vicente explains:

> el libro en sí es: (.1) tiene contenido muy rígido las referencias que tiene de gramática puede ser un libro de referencia de gramática pero no un texto (.1) y luego tiene unos personajes allí de unos chicos que van de (.1) u::h (.1) un grupo que va de turistas o van de viaje

> *the book in and of itself is it has a very rigid content the references it has to grammar it could be a grammar reference book but not a textbook and then you have some characters there of some youth that go uh a group that goes around like tourists or they go on a trip*

Overall he considers the content to be rigid, in fact he later states that this rigidity "mata la creatividad" (*kills the creativity*), of both the instructors and the students. The textbook presents standardized grammatical structures such that it is more like a grammar reference book than what he would consider a textbook. In addition, the characters are represented as tourists taking trips, in other words, it constructs what I have previously called a tourist gaze.

With regards to language, Vicente specifically criticizes the instrumental approach because of its focus on form; he refers to it as "instrucción programada" (*programmed instruction*), instruction that emphasizes correct or incorrect answers and not language use:

> son respuestas de correcto o incorrecto bien o mal pero eso es eso es instrucción programada no y en el idioma no puedes trabajar así (.1) porque no hay respuesta correcta o incorrecta todas las respuestas pueden ser correctas si se trata de hablar puede ser correcto lo dijo mal pero se comunicó uh huh hay que se tiene que desarrollar otra forma que el estudiante pueda ir valorando y entendiendo:: uh poniéndolo en situaciones que pueda desarrollar su el lenguaje

> *they are correct or incorrect answers good or bad but this is this is programmed instruction and with language you can't work like that because there is no correct or incorrect answer all of the answers can be correct if it's about speaking it can be correct*

it was said incorrectly but it was communicated uh huh it is necessary one has to develop another way so that the student can begin to value and understand uh by putting the student in situations in which he has to develop his language

Above all else Vicente emphasizes the importance of communication through language, privileging here speaking over other skills, arguing that language errors are not important as long as communication takes place. In contrast, the instrumental approach as represented in the textbook contains a multitude of fill-in-the-blank grammar and controlled vocabulary exercises, which are precisely based on the production of right or wrong answers. To shift the focus from language form to language use requires contextualizing situations wherein students can understand and valorize language.

Vicente attributes this emphasis on right or wrong answers to the legacy of cognitive approaches to learning, which he also criticizes:

yo no creo en un en un proceso cognitivo de de:: repetición de (.1) sino más bien en un en un contexto más bien sociocognitivo que el aprendizaje que tiene el el estudiante no es porque (.1) tiene la capacidad mental para memorizar o entender algo sino que (.1) el **contexto** en el cual se desenvuelve le permite entender (.1) y le ayude a entender y ap- y el lenguaje y comunicarse y discutir sobre este problema

I don't believe in a cognitive process of of repetition but more in a in a context that is more sociocognitive that student learning is not because he/she has a mental capacity to memorize and to understand something but the context in which it [learning] is shaped permits the student to understand and it helps him/her to understand and ap- the language and to communicate and to discuss a problem

Vicente rejects cognitive approaches to learning that are based on repetition and that emphasize students' mental capacity to memorize and understand grammatical structures, which are largely divorced from context. In contrast, by situating learning in context, students use language to communicate and discuss a problem, thereby developing their understanding of the language inductively.

As previously elaborated, Vicente also rejects the tourist gaze on culture as manifested in the textbook through characters who, as tourists, travel around having fun. Like Yesenia, he criticizes the superficial cultural information that is presented on each of the featured countries. More importantly, he is critical of the end result in terms of the message it sends students about language and culture learning and how it positions them. He argues that the result is that "you," the student, "aprendes a a um que vas a aprender el el lenguaje para divertirte (.1) y te pone te pone en una posición de superioridad" (*you learn that you are going to learn the language to have fun and it puts it puts you in a position of superiority).* Learning a language in order to have fun puts students "here," in the United States, in a position of superiority because they can travel to Latin America "sin tener en cuenta los problemas que realmente vive" (*without ever taking into consideration the problems that are really lived*).

According to Vicente an instrumental approach to language and culture teaching is one that presents a standardized language through programmed textbook instruction that focuses on identifying correct grammatical structures and that separates the content that students study from reality. Underlying this instrumental approach is a particular view of the purpose of language

study, which is that language is "un instrumento para ser competitivos en el mercado de trabajo" (*an instrument to be competitive on the job market*). In contrast, for Vicente learning a language and culture "les va a permitir apreciar y apreciarse a sí mismo" (*will permit them [students] to appreciate and to appreciate themselves*).

3.3 Vicente's Approach: Language as "una herramienta que les va a permitir crecer como individuo" (*a tool that will permit them to grow as individuals*)

Vicente positions himself in opposition to the instrumental approach, the value it places on language and culture learning, and the pedagogical practices that it imposes. Vicente enacts his own creativity, considering himself a "rebelde" (*rebel*):

> esta rebeldía no es de ahora es **siempre** porque mi formación siempre ha sido así (.1) y ese es la función de la educación o sea cuando tú vas a la universidad y y estás viendo una una problemática tienes que **analizarla** tienes que **discutirla** y tienes que **proponer** y así me educaron entonces yo **sigo** en la misma dinámica los estudiantes del del universitarios tienen que entender, reflexionar y proponer y nosotros tenemos como docentes también tenemos que reflexionar sobre nuestra práctica docente o sea prop- es una necesidad para crecer … hay rebeldía porque hay rigidez es como llevar una camisa que no te queda

> *this rebelliousness is not from now it has always been because my education has also been like that and that is the function of education in other words when you go to the university and you see a problem you have to analyze it you have to discuss it and you have to propose and that is how they educated me so I continue with the same dynamic university students need to understand, reflect, and propose and we have as teachers we have to also reflect on our teaching practice in other words pro- it is a necessity in order to grow…there is rebellion because there is rigidity it's like having to wear a shirt that doesn't fit*

The rigidity of the textbook and the instrumental approach that it represents feels like "wearing a shirt that doesn't fit," and this is what provokes his rebelliousness. As a rebel, understood here as an instructor that engages in his or her own reflexive practice, his goals are for students to learn how to analyze situations in the world, to discuss them, and to propose alternatives, that is how and why they should learn other languages and cultures. Ultimately doing so contributes to the possibility of their "desarrollo integral" (*holistic development*), which to Vicente is based primarily on the tripartite actions of "understanding, reflecting, and proposing."

As previously elaborated, instead of opting for one dichotomous representation or another of Latin America, i.e., violence or beautiful beaches, Vicente chooses a different option:

> siempre se ve que vamos a estudiar al otro como un sujeto (.1) y:: yo yo pienso más bien que el estudiante para conocerse a sí mismo para conocer por ejemplo este este país su historia para conocer su (.1) para tener mejor **rumbo** es el joven tiene que tiene que valorarse y no se puede valorar él si no ent**iende** cómo son las otras culturas si no entiende que en este en este país hay diferencias hay diversidad si no entiende que que en en otros países por ejemplo en Latino América y también es muy diverso hay

discriminación hay marginalización y que la causa de esta marginalización es son nuestras actitudes (.) entonces por eso es muy importante para mí que el estudiante **sepa** entender otros aspectos porque se valora mejor y toma mejores decisiones

one always sees that we are going to study the other as a subject and I I think instead that the student to know himself should know for example this this country its history in order to know to have a better course is the young person has to value himself and he can't value himself if he doesn't understand what other cultures are like if he doesn't understand that in this in this country there are differences there is diversity if he doesn't understand that in other countries for example Latin America and it is also very diverse there is discrimination there is marginalization and the cause of this marginalization is are our attitudes so for this reason it is very important to me that the student knows how to understand other aspects because he values himself more and makes better decisions

From this perspective, the goal is not to know the "other" as a subject but to know the self within a historical context in relationship to the "other." Therefore, the goal is not to present the problems of Latin America nor is it to highlight its beautiful beaches. To know and value oneself requires that students explore and recognize cultural difference and similarities, that they analyze and understand problems, and that they ultimately interrogate their own attitudes and positionings within larger transglobal processes. Ultimately, Vicente argues one does not learn a language to have fun and the ultimate goal is not to be competitive on the job market. Instead, language is an "herramienta," a tool that "te sirve a ti para para para crecer como como individuo um hm ésa es la razón del idioma" (*helps you to to to grow as as an individual um hm that is the reason for language*).

To that end, unlike Yesenia, who wanted to avoid conflict, Vicente feels that it is necessary to purposely address questions of poverty and marginalization in the classroom, "to confront reality," even if it implicates students. After all, he feels, students are already directly involved as discrimination and marginalization in Latin America are related to "our" attitudes, those of the students who are studying the language and culture in the United States. Learning to value oneself and understanding these relationships can ultimately lead to "better decisions." Thus, language and culture learning extend beyond the walls of the classroom, to include a deeper, humanistic reflection on positioning and privilege that can lead to social and personal change.

Vicente's rebelliousness against the instrumental approach as represented in the textbook prompts him to create his own teaching materials, activities that he distributes as worksheets. He describes these activities thusly:

la presentación de las actividades trato (.1) de que sea a base de una de una reflexión y un entorno de un una toma de conciencia de lo que pasa para poder llevar al estudiante a al análisis a la reflexión y luego la reproducción de y a s- su opinión y allí viene el desarrollo del lenguaje

I try to present the activities based on a on a reflection and a setting (environment) of raising awareness of what happens in order to take the student to to an analysis to reflection and later the reproduction of and to his/her opinion and therein comes language development

Consistent with his own learning philosophy, these activities facilitate language learning through analysis, reflection, and expressing opinions, which together facilitates an awareness of oneself and ultimately of the other. The subject of this reflection, "what happens," is based on students' exploring social, economic, and political realities.

3.4 Vicente's Worksheets

Like Yesenia, Vicente must adhere to a curriculum that is standardized for all of the sections of third semester Spanish. In addition to the departmental requirement that all sections use the textbook *Vistas*, all of the students take the same exams. The content of these exams is based primarily on the language and culture content of the textbook and the activity types generally reflect those found in the textbook. Vicente recognizes his responsibility to follow this curriculum, explaining:

> yo tengo que cumplir con un curriculum (.1) porque hacemos el examen único eh pero ese ese tipo ese otra vez volvemos llegamos a lo mismo porque es un:: diseño de un curriculum que uniforma a todos (1) nos uniforma en las en el uso de las estructuras gramaticales en el contenido del que tiene que tienen que saber sobre cada país

> *I have to follow the curriculum because we make just one exam uh but this type again we return to the same thing because it is a curriculum design that standardizes everyone it standardizes us in the use of the grammatical structures in the content that they have to know about each country*

The curriculum standardizes "everyone," which includes "us," the instructors, specifically in their use of grammatical structures, and also "they," the students, in terms of the content they must learn about each of the featured countries. Given his sense of responsibility, Vicente does use the textbook in the classroom, although its function is more as a reference book from which students can extract new vocabulary or review grammatical structures needed to complete the worksheets. He will also on occasion project charts from the textbook during his grammatical explanations and when students are to answer questions about the focal countries he will direct them to the appropriate pages. However, he rarely uses the activities from the textbook.

When I asked Vicente how he would design the curriculum for his own class, if he had the liberty to do so, he replied:

> si no tuviéramos esta rigidez del curriculum (.1) el:: el contenido se lo podría ir desarrollando en en de otra manera o sea más hacia quizás podríamos dedicar unidades de de trabajo bajo:: problemas concretos que hay en San Diego por ejemplo uh la **frontera** entonces analizaríamos el problema de la frontera utilizando el vocabulario lecturas sobre eso y:: um actividades que les acerque a entender la problemática de la frontera y aprender el idioma (.1) y después extrapolarlo a otros contextos

> *if we didn't have this rigidity in the curriculum the content could be developed in in a different way more like perhaps we could dedicate work units to concrete problems that exist in San Diego for example the border and then we would analyze the border problem*

using the vocabulary the readings about it and activities that help them to understand the problems of the border and learn the language and then extrapolate it to other contexts

His ideal curriculum as described here would be akin to a content-based approach: it would involve designing content units that are personalized and relevant to students' lives, in this case the border, and through which they would learn the language. The readings, vocabulary, and activities would facilitate students' understanding of these problems with the goal of applying them to other contexts. Overall his description of these fictitious units is consistent with his learning philosophy, namely that students learn how to understand, reflect, and propose.

Without this freedom, Vicente finds a compromise between the instrumental approach as represented in the textbook that he rebels against and his own learning philosophy in the worksheets that he uses. Over the course of the semester he incorporates a total of 22 of these worksheets, most cover several days such that students are working on these worksheets in almost every class period. When they are completed, students submit them for feedback and, at the end of the semester, they are required to revise and correct them and resubmit them all in a portfolio.

He describes these worksheets thusly: "lo que yo hago en las actividades es romper un poco con este esquema que hay en el texto e incorporar incorporar elementos que están al alcance y acercarle a tratar de acercar al estudiante a situaciones reales que es muy difícil" (*what I do is I make activities that break with the textbook blueprint and incorporate incorporate elements that are within reach and to move the student closer try to move the student closer to real situations which is very difficult*). Overall, these worksheets are mostly task-based, cooperative activities that require students to integrate the different elements of language holistically while exploring topics of relevance in their lives.

As an example I will describe worksheet 21, which corresponds to Chapter 18 in the textbook that I outlined earlier. The title of the chapter is "Las actualidades" (*The News*), the vocabulary covers current events, politics, the media, and natural disasters, and the grammatical structures focus on the various hypothetical and contrary-to-fact if-clause structures. The first question on the worksheet asks students to identify and rank in order five of the principal causes of violence and crime in cities and to explain why they exist. The textbook presents this vocabulary through the depiction of a chaotic and violent city scene with worker strikes, crashes, military air assaults, tornados, and soldiers. All of these situations certainly do occur in cities but all of them together reinforce representations of disorder, which is particularly problematic in the case of Latin America with the stereotypes of violence that already circulate. Furthermore their depiction decontextualizes the social and economic situations that give rise to these situations. The practice activities in the textbook do not facilitate students' engagement with or understanding of these realities. In contrast, to respond to the worksheet question students can use and apply the vocabulary presented in the textbook, but they do so in order to complete a specific task that requires reflecting on the causes of the myriad problems present in cities.

The second question on the worksheet asks students to pick a Latin American country and then describe what their life would be like if they lived there based on a list of categories, which include: civil rights, health services, free speech, native language use, salary, access to basic education, and violence and crime. The language focus of the question, and the textbook chapter, is the use of hypothetical if-clauses, and the content focus requires that students complete research at home on the country in order to understand and to contextualize the situation in that country. The last question requires that students explain what they would do if

they wanted to change any of the situations from the second question and why they would do so. Both of these questions stand in contrast to the grammar practice activities in the textbook, which involve completing a fill-in-the-blank dialogue between friends, completing unrelated sentence fragments, and answering unrelated questions. The worksheet questions require that students contextualize the situations, finding out more about the social, economic, and political problems faced by Latin American countries, and take a position by expressing their own opinions on how to realize change.

Overall this worksheet activity represents a compromise between the structural reality of the course, the need to cover certain vocabulary and grammatical structures as presented in the textbook, and Vicente's own learning philosophy. Students can consult the textbook as a reference, to review the vocabulary and the grammatical structures, while confronting the realities of problems that exist in cities broadly and specifically problems faced in Latin America. However, as will be analyzed later, in their end of semester interviews students express their frustration with these worksheets, which they mostly reject. In order to contextualize this analysis of students' reactions, I consider first how the worksheets are implemented in the classroom, specifically focusing on instructor and student roles and interaction patterns as well as student learning.

4. CONFRONTING REALITY THROUGH THE WORKSHEETS

For Vicente the goal of language learning is not to have fun, and language itself is not an instrument to be competitive on the job market. Instead, language is a tool that allows one to grow as an individual by using language to understand, reflect, and propose. His own role in the learning process is to confront students with reality, so that they can come to understand the problems of Latin America by understanding their own positioning within transglobal processes. Based on his own learning philosophy Vicente rejects the instrumental approach to learning as represented in the textbook, *Vistas*, in favor of his own worksheets. However, given that the departmental exams are based on the language and cultural content in the textbook, his worksheets represent a compromise in that they must still review this information.

In this section I focus on three worksheets used over the course of the semester, worksheets 9, 15, and 21. These particular worksheets were selected for analysis for several reasons. First, they represent different moments over the course of the semester, the beginning, middle, and end. Second, although they all are holistically oriented in that they require that students use language to discuss their ideas, they have differing main foci: the first focuses on using vocabulary to talk about cities, the second on exploring cultural information about Bolivia, and the third on using grammatical structures, namely if-clauses.

My analysis focuses on the implementation of the worksheets in the classroom, the pedagogical practices associated with them, and the interactions between students and between students and the instructor. Together, these worksheets reveal several tensions that emerge over the course of the semester that begin to speak to students' rejection of the worksheets and their conclusion that Vicente is not interested in their learning.

4.1 Worksheet 9: "¿Qué debe tener una ciudad moderna?" (*What should a modern city have?*)

It is the 13th class meeting, not yet halfway through the semester. Students are beginning a textbook chapter that focuses on the city, including vocabulary to talk about stores, such as a shoe store, and service locations, such as banks and laundromats. The textbook activities to practice this vocabulary focus on students identifying these stores and service locations, describing the activities people engage in at each of them, and providing directions. For example, in one activity students listen to a description of activities and identify the type of store where they take place, in another they complete unrelated sentences with appropriate vocabulary words to identify where people are in the city, and in another they engage in a role-play, one student is a tourist in a fictitious city who needs to visit several stores and another is a local that provides directions.

Instead of using these textbook activities, which Vicente feels represent an instrumental approach, he uses his own worksheet with three activities, this worksheet is included in Appendix E. My analysis only focuses on the first activity: "En orden de importancia haz una lista de los sitios que debe tener una ciudad moderna" (*In order of importance make a list of the places that a modern city should have*). Students spend the last 20 minutes of the class period discussing this first question: approximately ten minutes of group work and ten minutes of whole class discussion. This class was audio recorded.

4.1.1 First Activity. To introduce the activity, Vicente explains that students are going to work on vocabulary. He elaborates his expectations for the activity, particularly in reference to the last exam:

> si Uds. se dieron cuenta en el examen no eran preguntas simplemente para llenar el blanco había que pensar un poco más y las actividades que yo hago en clase son para que tú pienses y asocies un poco Uds. hicieron la gramática en supersitio ahora esa gramática que hiciste y este vocabulario que estudiaste quiero que lo uses aquí está claro↑

> *if you realized that in the last exam the questions were not simply about filling in the blanks it was necessary to think a bit more and the activities that I do in class are so that you think and associate a bit you did the grammar in supersite now this grammar that you did and this vocabulary that you learned I want you to use here is that clear↑*

After distributing the worksheet Vicente reviews the instructions with students: they are to work in groups and, using their textbooks, indicate in order of importance from 1 to 5 the places that a modern city should have. Matthew immediately blurts out "supermercado" (*supermarket*), and Vicente replies, "no sé Uds. en su grupo deciden" (*I don't know you will decide in your groups*).

Students divide themselves up into 5 groups and immediately begin the task, with no requests for clarifications of instructions. After confirming that they are all divided in groups, Vicente moves between them, prompting students repeatedly to support their selections of the most important places a city should have by explaining why. Matthew's group immediately identifies a supermarket whereas Mallory's group decides on a bank. Vicente encourages an intergroup debate. Matthew defends his selection, "no podemos comer dinero" (*we can't eat money*) and Mallory's group counters with "puedes usar la tarjeta" (*you can use a card*). Another group discusses the importance of a shoe store because people have to walk a lot in a modern city. Most of the student conversations take place in Spanish with a few instances of English, which are mainly requests for vocabulary items that classmates are frequently able to

supply. When one group expresses frustration because they cannot find a word in the textbook, Vicente says: "el vocabulario del texto es así tú necesitas un diccionario para tener un vocabulario más grande" (*the textbook vocabulary is like that you need a dictionary in order to have a larger vocabulary*).

Several of the groups finish the first activity after a few minutes and continue on to the second activity on the worksheet, which requires them to read a series of statements modeling the subjunctive use with non-existent or unknown antecedents, and decide whether or not they describe their home cities (e.g., No hay edificios que tengan más de 15 pisos, *There are no buildings that have more than 15 floors*). Vicente stops them, telling them not to proceed yet because they need to elaborate their justifications in the first activity. In this moment, and throughout this group discussion, Vicente repeats the phrase "tienen que decir por qué" (*you have to say why*), pushing the students to elaborate their answers.

After eight minutes of discussion Vicente instructs one member of each of the five groups to write their lists on the chalkboard. As Sandy writes her last choice, a jewelry store, she laughs and jokingly says to Matthew, "es el más importante" (*it is the most important*). Vicente overhears her and inquires which one; Melvin interrupts and says "es muy cómica" (*she/it is very funny*); and Matthew explains to Vicente the basis of the humor, "número cinco para ella es la joyería" (*number 5 for her is the jewelry store*). Vicente asks why, and she explains "porque me gusta* los diamantes" (*because I like diamonds*) and then she laughs and says, "like me gusta **más***" (*like I like more*). Vicente asks her if she already has diamonds and she laughs and points to her earrings and necklace and counts to three, explaining that all that is missing is a ring: "necesito un anillo con diamantes cuando how do you say propose to?" (*I need a ring with diamonds when how do you say propose to?*). As the other students finish writing, Melvin is engaging in a conversation in English and Vicente comments "es el profesor de inglés aquí (students laugh) cómo se llama Mr. John? (more laughter)" (*he is the English professor here what is he called Mr. John?*). In response, Troy interjects "ay no" and the other students laugh. "Ay no" is a common exclamation in Spanish meaning "oh no," suggesting that students recognized that they should not be speaking English. They learned this expression while completing their online activities (supersite) where it is frequently used by a cartoon monkey when students answer a question incorrectly. Over the course of the semester it becomes a shared joke because the monkey says it in a particularly loud and exaggerated voice, which the students find funny and also embarrassing. As Vicente does not understand the humor, Troy explains "supersitio es muy loud in the library" (*supersite is very loud in the library*)

All of the groups but one listed a supermarket or a bank as either their first or second choice. Vicente asks them to justify their selection. The following is the first part of a lively debate that ensues:

Interaction 1: Debate about the Most Important Places in a City

1 **Troy**	tú necesitas dinero comprar comida y	you need money buy food and other
2	otros cosas (.2)	things
3	*(several voices are speaking)*	*(several voices are speaking)*
4 **Troy**	no dinero no supermercado	no money no supermarket
5	*(student laughter)*	*(student laughter)*
6 **Melvin**	el banco es muy importante si no tienes	the bank is very important if you don't
7	dinero	have money
8 **Students**	Sí	Yes
9 **Vicente**	¿Qué más? (.2) ¿A ver los del	What else? (.2) Let's see the

10	supermercado?	supermarket people?
11 **Camille**	Necesitas comida um para ir a comer	You need money um to go to eat
12 **Vicente**	para comer	to eat
13 **Matthew**	No puedes comprar comidas sin sin	You can't buy food without without
14	dinero uh y necesitas dinero uh en uh en	money uh and you need money uh in
15	real uh cash ¿cómo se dice?	uh in real uh cash how do you say it?
16 **Mallory**	dinero (.1) en efectivo	cash
17 **Matthew**	en efectivo uh un tarjeta de crédito y uh	cash uh a credit card and uh you need a
18	necesitas un banco	bank
19 **Vicente**	entonces ¿quién? ¿Quién? Díme	so who? who? Tell me
20 **James**	no necesito el banco porque tengo uh	I don't need a bank because I have uh
21	porque tengo un uh atm card	because I have a uh atm card
22	*(several voices are speaking)*	*(several voices are speaking)*
23 **Vicente**	A ver Mallory Mallory	Let's see Mallory Mallory
24 **Mallory**	uh (.1) I don't know how to say um pero	uh (.1) I don't know how to say um but
25	doy un tarjeta de crédito um para el banco	I give a credit card um from the bank
26 **Vicente**	el banco (.1) **da** la tarjeta	the bank (.1) **gives** the card gives
27 **Mallory**	da	But, what was the question? Does a
28 **Vicente**	Pero ¿la pregunta cuál fue? ¿Una ciudad	**modern** city need a bank?
29	**moderna** debe tener un banco?	Yes
30 **Mallory**	Sí	*(moment of silence)*
31	*(moment of silence)*	How many times do you go to the
32 **Vicente**	¿Cuántas veces vas al banco **tú**? ¿Cuántas	bank? How many times?
33	veces?	more
34 **Ally**	más	How many times **have** you gone to the
35 **Vicente**	¿Cuántas veces **has** ido al banco? ¿Quién	bank? Who has visited the bank this
36	ha visitado el banco esta semana?	week?
37 **Camille**	um en mi en mi celular teléfono tiene mi	um in my cellular telephone it has a
38	banco	bank
39	*(student laughter)*	*(student laughter)*
40	…	…

This debate continues until the end of the class period without resolution, some of the students continue to argue that a supermarket is more important and others a bank. Those that support the supermarket as their top choice highlight the possibility of online banking, making it unnecessary to visit a bank as a physical location, and those that support the bank argue that without money you cannot buy food in the supermarket anyway. This latter argument is countered by the fact that it is also possible to buy food online, leading another student to propose a third alternative, going to a cafeteria or a bread store.

4.1.2 Instructor and Student Roles in the Classroom Community. Overall this is a dynamic class. Students are actively engaged in the group activity and the whole class follow-up discussion. In the case of the latter, they respond to the questions collectively and individually, in many cases without prompting and without raising their hands. The learning environment appears to be free of tension as students laugh (e.g., Interaction 1, lines 5 and 39) and they support each other's learning, as evidenced when Matthew is struggling with a vocabulary word (cash) and Mallory supplies it (Interaction 1, line 16). There is cohesion, a burgeoning sense of being a community of learners that is beginning to know each other personally and academically, as suggested by personal jokes (e.g., the jewelry store) and shared learning experiences (e.g., "ay

no"). Vicente facilitates the learning process but not as a detached teacher; he wants to understand the students' jokes as he himself also engages in humor, albeit with a disciplinary purpose in order to reprimand them for their use of English (e.g., the Mr. John comment). Additionally, he provides linguistic support in the form of error corrections (e.g., rephrasings in lines 12 and 26), he encourages connections between the content and students' personal realities, for example by asking how many times they have gone to the bank in the past week (Interaction 1, lines 32-3 and 35-6), and he pushes students to expand and to justify their responses by repeatedly reminding them "you have to say why." It is obvious that Vicente cares not only about student learning, but about them as individuals.

Students are practicing the vocabulary from the textbook to talk about places in a modern city, but they are doing much more. They are using language to communicate: they elaborate their ideas, they talk about their reality and their personal experiences, they respond to others' ideas, and they tease each other. The worksheet and its implementation in the classroom reflects Vicente's self-proclaimed role of rebel in that they are not filling in the blanks with right or wrong answers; he is asking students to analyze their reality, to discuss it, and to propose their own ideas. There is no right or wrong answer in terms of the content, as suggested by Vicente's response to Matthew in the introduction to the question when he blurts out supermarket ("I don't know you will decide in your groups"), however he does correct their grammar (e.g., "para comer," line 12 and "da la tarjeta," line 26). Ultimately, Vicente takes a concrete vocabulary list from the textbook and leads students to an abstract consideration of a specific issue that is relevant to their lives and culture: modernity and its impact.

4.2 Worksheet 15: "Investiga acerca de la vida y la cultura boliviana" (*Research Bolivian life and culture*)

On the 22nd and 23rd class meetings Vicente covers the cultural content from the *Panorama* section of Chapter 15 of the textbook, which focuses on the country of Bolivia. As elaborated in my previous analysis of Yesenia's classroom, the *Panorama* section of each textbook chapter includes cultural content, highlighting tourist information on one or several countries in close proximity. For Bolivia, the textbook provides a bullet point list of information on its area, population, capital city, primary cities, currency, languages, and famous Bolivians; there is a map of the country and photos of a plaza, the city of Sucre, and an indigenous woman with her child; and there are three short paragraphs that focus on Lake Titicaca, Andean music, and an archeological site called Tiahuanaco. There are eight comprehension questions that require students to produce concrete facts, such as "What languages are spoken in Bolivia?" and "According to Incan mythology, what happened in Lake Titicaca?" (p. 537). Students' knowledge of this information is to be assessed in an upcoming exam.

Vicente rejects the tourist gaze as constructed in the textbook because he believes that it does not open students' eyes to the social, cultural, and political problems of Latin America nor does it facilitate an understanding or analysis of these problems and students' attitudes and positionings with respect to them. However, he still needs to cover the factual information on Bolivia. Instead of using the right or wrong comprehension questions from the textbook that require students to regurgitate facts, Vicente designs his own worksheet, included in Appendix E. The worksheet contains two activities and it is utilized over two class sessions. Data comes from my field notes.

4.2.1 First Activity. To introduce the first worksheet activity Vicente explains that students need to use their textbooks as a reference to search for the information on Bolivia. In response, Sandy comments in a low voice, "Bolivia yeah," which is either not heard by the instructor or he chooses to ignore it as he continues with his explanation. Students are to associate 10 descriptive sentences from one column with the correct name, place, or idea in the second column. For example, for the statement "Es increíble que hayas navegado a más de 3000 metros de altura" (*It is incredible that you have navigated at more than 3000 feet*), the correct answer is Lake Titicaca. The sentence structure varies somewhat, although seven of the sentences, like the example given, model the grammatical structure under review in the chapter, namely the present perfect subjunctive and indicative. Some of the sentences are accompanied by Internet links.

The entire activity lasts approximately 30 minutes, which includes five minutes of group work and 25 minutes of an instructor-centered class discussion that expands on the cultural information. Vicente begins this whole class discussion by showing a series of music videos by the Kjarks, Inti-Illimani, and Emma Juraro. He asks leading questions that require students to produce a combination of factual answers and personal reactions: "¿con qué asocias eso?" (*with what do you associate this?*); "¿de dónde es?" (*where is she from?*); ¿qué instrumentos usan? (*what instruments do they use?*); and "¿cuando escuchas la música qué imaginas?" (*when you listen to the music what do you imagine?*). While watching the Inti-Illimani video Melvin spontaneously calls out Che when he saw a five-pointed red star. Vicente mentions the irony that Che Guevara is a popular cultural icon in the United States given that he was considered an enemy of the state. To conclude the segment, Vicente expresses his own emotional reaction: "Ahora quiero estar allá y no acá tomando un café en un pueblo cuando escuchas música latina tienes una conexión con el suelo y una vez que estás allí en el pueblo no quieres volver" (*now I want to be there and not here drinking a coffee in a town when you listen to Latina music you have a connection to the land and once you are there in the town you don't want to return*).

Vicente then projects a series of images of María Luisa Pacheco's paintings, which initiates the following discussion:

Interaction 2: Whole Class Discussion of Cultural Information on Bolivia

1 **Vicente**	¿Qué está representando?	What is represented?
2 **Student A**	una persona	a person
3 **Student B**	triste	sad
4 **Vicente**	Una mujer muy triste. ¿De dónde es	A very sad woman. Where is this
5	está mujer?	woman from?
6 **Student C**	Bolivia	Bolivia
7 **Vicente**	Según el texto ella muestra cómo es el	According to the textbook she shows
8	paisaje y la cultura. Tú dices que es	what the landscape and culture is like.
9	una mujer triste. ¿Qué tipo de mujer	You say she is a sad woman. What
10	es? ¿Blanca?	type of woman is she? White?
12 **Student D**	es pobre	she is poor
13 **Vicente**	¿Es indígena o no indígena?	Is she indigenous or not?
14 **Student B**	aimara	aimara
15 **Vicente**	¿Cuál es el porcentaje de la población	What percentage of the population is
16	indígena de Bolivia?	indigenous in Bolivia?
17 **Student E**	más de la mitad	more than half
18 **Vicente**	En EE.UU. tenemos muy pocos	In the U.S. we have very few
19	indígenas porque murieron. En	indigenous people because they died.

20	América Latina trabajan muchos	In Latin America many indigenous
21	indios en las minas en Bolivia durante	peoples work in the mines in Bolivia
22	la época colonial de los españoles y	during the Spanish colonial period and
23	ahora. ¿Cuáles son las actividades	now. What are Bolivia's primary
24	económicas principales de Bolivia?	economic activities?
25 **Student C**	agricultura	agriculture
26 **Vicente**	Minería pero no está en su libro el	Mining but it isn't in your textbook the
27	libro es muy pobre tienen que leer	textbook is very scanty you have to
28	más ¿Alguien me puede decir quién	read more. Can anyone tell me who the
29	es el presidente de Bolivia?	president of Bolivia is?
30	*(silence)*	*(silence)*
31 **Vicente**	Evo Morales una cosa importante es	Evo Morales an important thing is that
32	que es indígena y trabaja con Hugo	he is indigenous and he works with
33	para mantener la parte social este país	Hugo to maintain the social part this
34	[EE.UU] tiene muchas reglas ellos se	country (U.S.) has a lot of rules they
35	juntan para que las compañías	get together so that American
36	americanas no tomen sus recursos	companies don't take their resources
37	¿Cuáles son los recursos más	what are Bolivia's most important
38	importantes de Bolivia?	resources?
39 **Student B**	pescado	fish
40 **Vicente**	Pero como ven Bolivia no tiene aceso	But as you can see Bolivia is
41	al mar	landlocked
42 **Student B**	Tiene el Lago Titicaca hay uh	It has Lake Titicaca there are uh fish
43	pescado no?	right?
44 **Vicente**	Sí	Yes
	…	

This discussion follows a typical IRF pattern in which Vicente asks a question, the students respond with factual information, and Vicente provides feedback, in the form of elaborations. The questions are not from the worksheet and all require that students produce factual information, some of which is covered in the textbook, for example the percentage of Bolivia's residents that are indigenous (Interaction 2, lines 15 and 16). Vicente also incorporates additional information not included in the textbook, for example, Bolivia's primary economic activity (Interaction 2, lines 23-25) and the name of the current president (Interaction 2, line 31). He uses student responses to expand on the information, connecting Bolivian history to ongoing indigenous struggles (Interaction 2, lines 18-23) and situating the political reality of Latin America in relationship to the United States, for example corporations that extract resources (Interaction 2, lines 34-36).

The discussion ends when Vicente corrects a student (Interaction 2, lines 40-41), suggesting that it is inconceivable that the primary resource of a landlocked nation is fish. The student's response breaks with the IRF pattern: she asserts her own knowledge through what is essentially a rhetorical question, if there is a lake wouldn't there also be fish. Vicente does not follow-up, other than replying affirmatively. He then continues by explaining the second activity, to be completed as homework, in which students are to research any aspect of Bolivian life or culture.

4.2.2 Follow-up and the Second Activity. In the subsequent class Vicente first provides a 10-minute review of the answers to the first activity, summarized above and begun the day

before, and second he has students present the results of their research, completed as homework, on the second activity.

For the review of the first activity, students read the statements from the worksheet and the respond with their answers. Vicente elaborates the information with additional questions. The following is one such exchange:

Interaction 3: Review of Information on Bolivia from Question 1

1 **James**	(*reading*) Estos grupos representan 1/3 de la población de Bolivia. Quechua y aimara	(*reading*) These groups represent 1/3 of the population of Bolivia. Quechua and aimara
2		
3		
4 **Vicente**	¿Quién leyó sobre quechua y aimara, quién me puede decir algo más?	Who read about the quechua and aimara who can tell me more?
5		
6 **Matthew**	Hubo un conflicto entre ellos.	There was a conflict between them.
7 **Vicente**	Son indígenas y también se refieren a la lengua. ¿Hay otros grupos indígenas en Bolivia?	They are indigenous peoples and they also refer to a language. Are there other indigenous groups in Bolivia?
8		
9		
10 **Student**	No sé	I don't know.
11 **Vicente**	Hay que investigar más.	It is necessary to do more research.

Vicente invites students to share information that they might have learned from their homework assignment (Interaction 3, lines 4-5). Matthew responds (Interaction 3, line 6) that there was a conflict between the two indigenous groups, however Vicente does not take up the comment, and instead provides an additional explanation and another question. When the students do not know the answer his response is not to provide the information but to reply: "hay que investigar más" (Interaction 3, line 11). Through their frequent repetition these expressions become a common classroom mantra: "tienen que leer más" (*you have to read more*), from the previous class, and later during this class Vicente says two more times "tienen que investigar más" (*you have to do more research*). Both verbal expressions "tener que" and "hay que" communicate obligation and both phrases are used when students do not provide the information that Vicente is looking for or do not know it.

The last 20 minutes of class is dedicated to the presentation of student responses to the second question, in which they investigated a specific aspect of Bolivian life or culture. The format of this presentation is similar to that used in other class sessions: an individual student stands in the front of the classroom and presents the text, which is projected from an overhead so that the other students can also see it.

The first student to present is Carla. After walking to the front of the room and placing her paper on the projector she begins to read her written paragraph. Vicente interrupts her, instructing her to explain her text and not read it, but she reads it anyway. When she finishes Vicente says "aquí cubres muchas cosas pero tenías que investigar una" (*you cover many things here but you were supposed to research one*). Carly sits down and Melvin is the second presenter. Melvin begins to read his paragraph, which is about the coca plant. Vicente clarifies again, stating "no explica" (*no explain*). The fact that he uses the command form of the verb suggests that this is not really a request, but more of a demand. Melvin continues to read and Vicente interrupts and points at the class, suggesting that Melvin turn and look at the class instead of at his paper. Melvin seems confused or distressed, looking alternatively at Vicente and at the class and then at his paper, all without speaking. Matthew interjects and says in English: "Just read it."

Melvin struggles to talk about the information, and protests because there are dates on the paper that he needs. Vicente interrupts:

Interaction 4: Melvin's Presentation on Bolivia

1 **Vicente**	¿por qué es importante esta planta?	why is this plant [coca plant] important?
3 **Melvin**	porque se usa en la vida social y	because it is used in social life and
4	económica y mágico y religioso	economic and magical and religious
5 **Vicente**	cuando los EE.UU. dice guerra contra	when the U.S. says war against drug
6	narcotraficantes qué pasa con la tradición	trafficking what happens to indigenous
7	de los indígenas son criminales ahora	traditions they become criminals now
8 **Melvin**	La coca en Bolivia usa antes de las	Coca in Bolivia use before drugs it is
9	drogas es more pure it's not like made	more pure it's not like made into
10	into cocaine	cocaine

After this exchange, Vicente explains that it is a problem that the modern world imposes what is correct and incorrect on others, including the indigenous peoples, and Melvin responds: "En EE.UU. no es correcto en Bolivia es correcto porque it's a way of life" (*In the U.S. it is not correct in Bolivia is it correct because it's a way of life*). Vicente tells Melvin that he can sit down. As Melvin does so he says to Matthew: "I don't know what he was going for there." Matthew shrugs his shoulders in response.

The next student, Ally, presents on Bolivia's historical struggle to gain access to the ocean. Vicente interrupts, removing her paper and projecting a map in order to highlight historical tensions between Bolivia, Chile, and Perú. He concludes with the statement: "Es interesante porque Bolivia tiene barcos pero no tiene aceso al mar" (*It is interesting because Bolivia has ships but it does not have access to the ocean*). As Ally sat down she says quietly: "sí es interesante" (*yes it's interesting*). The students' presentations continue in this vein, the students begin by reading their paragraphs, Vicente interrupts them, asking additional questions and providing his own assessment of the information.

4.2.3 Emerging Tensions: Changing Participation Structures and Roles. The framing of this worksheet as well as the in-class implementation of its activities seem to invite students' reflection on and elaboration of the cultural information presented in the textbook. The majority of the sentences in the first activity reframed the cultural facts from the textbook as reactions. In addition, Vicente incorporated music videos and artistic representations, asking students what they associated with the songs and what things they imagined when they heard them, and even shared his own nostalgia for his homeland. The second activity, the research project, invited students to seek additional information on a specific topic of personal interest related to Bolivia, which they did by researching various topics such as: 1) the debates around the consumption of the coca leaf, 2) Bolivia's struggle with its neighbors to gain access to the ocean, and 3) Bolivian poets, for example.

Yet, the classroom interactions and student participation in the realization of this worksheet look very different from the previous worksheet that focused on the modern city. In this case, there is no laughter. While students still volunteer information and ideas, they are not in response to each other, but rather to the instructor. Frequently there is no further engagement with their contributions, no requests from Vicente for them to "say why." In some instances, he does not take up their ideas at all, for example when Matthew volunteers that there was a conflict between the quechua and aimara (Interaction 3, line 6). One explanation is that this lack of

interaction is due to the fact that students are now engaging with the second culture, not their own as had been the case in the previous discussion of the modern city. Yet there are several moments of palpable tension. One example is when the student counters Vicente's indirect correction by insisting that Bolivia has a lake and, therefore, fish (Interaction 2, lines 42-43), a potential moment of saving face on the part of the student after having proposed that fishing is a primary industry in a landlocked nation. A second example is when Vicente insists that Melvin present the information he researched instead of reading it and Matthew interjects to support Melvin, saying "just read it." This latter example does demonstrate that there is still a sense of community, albeit amongst the students, which is further evidenced when Melvin shares with Matthew his confusion ("I don't know what he was going for there") when Vicente insisted upon the negative impact of the United States' drug wars on coca leaf use in Bolivia.

There are two plausible explanations for the emergence of these tensions. The first is related to the content of the activities and the second involves the format of the activities. Both explanations centrally involve Vicente's own rigidity. In elaborating his learning philosophy, Vicente criticizes the rigidity of the instrumental approach as represented in the textbook with regards to the content and language structures that it presents, claiming that it "kills the creativity." In this case, his own rigidity might inhibit the realization of his own learning goals, namely that students learn to understand, reflect, and propose. It is interesting to note that the comment that there was a lake in Bolivia and, therefore, fish was actually an example of a student "proposing," although this was not taken up by Vicente.

In teaching the content of the first activity, the majority of the questions that Vicente posed to students required that they produce factual information, as illustrated in Interaction 2 (e.g., "what percentage of the population of Bolivia is indigenous?"). In a way, Vicente's questions are not that much different than those of the textbook: they require the production of factual information and, as is obvious from his corrections (e.g., Interaction 2, lines 26; 40-41), there is right information that he is expecting to receive. In addition, what is altered vis-à-vis the textbook is not as much how the information is presented, but instead what information Vicente deemed important for students to know. For example, Vicente criticized the limitations of the textbook because it did not include the primary economic activity of Bolivia, namely mining (Interaction 2, lines 26-28).

The numerous elaborations that Vicente provided in both activities emphasize the larger social and political problems facing Latin America. For example in Interaction 2, he explained that Evo Morales, president of Bolivia, and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela had joined together so that U.S. companies do not take their resources (Interaction 2, lines 31-36). In the context of his comments, the fact that Vicente refers to the then president of Venezuela by his first name (Interaction 2, line 32) suggests a personal alignment with him and his objectives in opposition to the United States. He also contrasted indigenous reality in Latin America with that of the United States (Interaction 2, lines 18-23). These elaborations can be understood as consistent with Vicente's desire to confront students with reality and with their own positioning in it as residents of the United States, so that the students are not in a position of superiority. By controlling the content of the discussion and by deciding what information was important and right, Vicente indeed does confront students with reality; however, it is a reality that to some degree is imposed on them in a one-directional manner. Students do not interact with this reality, respond to it, or explore why it is so, nor are they invited to do so. In fact, in some cases they do not understand the reality that he is aiming to highlight, as evidenced in Melvin's comment "I don't know what he was going for there." Instead of encouraging their further reflection, he admonished students,

"tienen que leer más" (*you have to read more*). In such statements they are constructed as lacking, and he has disavowed his role as teaching them. To some degree, Vicente puts himself in a position of superiority, alternatively replacing the textbook with himself as the voice of authority and suggesting that they consult other reading sources. He does not, however, propose what readings might be useful in lieu of those of the textbook.

In addition to the rigidity of the content, Vicente also controls the format of the activities. For example, Vicente's comments revealed two expectations that he had regarding the second activity, the research project, and its in-class presentation. First, students were supposed to only research one specific cultural aspect. When Carla presents her paragraph, she had in fact researched several cultural aspects. Vicente does not engage with the information she presents; instead, when she finishes he dismisses her because she did not research just one. Second, students were to discuss what they learned and not read the paragraphs that they wrote. In the case of Melvin's presentation (Interaction 4), Vicente interrupted him to ask a question after repeatedly requesting that he not read.

Vicente claimed that his rebelliousness stems from the rigidity of the textbook and the instrumental approach, yet his alternative reproduces aspects of what he is rebelling against, namely, the emphasis on the production right and wrong answers, the use of language for instrumental means, and the fixidness of activity format. In the realization of this activity, students seem to be exhibiting their own rebelliousness, one that continues to grow as the semester proceeds and which will be explored from their perspective in the next section.

4.3 Worksheet 21: "Cuáles son las principales causas de la violencia y el crimen que se observa en las ciudades?" (*What are the primary causes of the violence and crime observed in cities?*)

On the 38th and 39th class meeting, a week and a half before the semester ends, students practice the if-clause structures from chapter 18 of the textbook and review the vocabulary and content, which focuses on current events, politics, the media, and natural disasters. I provided a complete description of this textbook chapter in the previous section. As is the case with the other chapters, Vicente does not employ the textbook activities in the classroom, instead he uses one of his worksheets, which I have also described previously.

Vicente distributes the worksheet, included in Appendix E, which contains three activities. The activities are completed over two class sessions: the first class session focuses on the first two activities and the second reviews the grammatical structure in preparation for the third activity, which is completed as homework. The first class session was videotaped and data from the second class is from my field notes.

4.3.1 First Activity. The first activity on the worksheet asks students: "En tu opinión, ¿cuáles son las principales causas de la violencia y el crimen que se observa en las ciudades? ¿por qué? Escribe 5 en orden de prioridad" (*In your opinion, what are the principle causes of the violence and crime observed in cities? Why? Write 5 in order of priority*). Vicente introduces and frames the question by mentioning that they will be using the vocabulary and grammar from the textbook to talk about what is happening in the world, specifically events they may have seen in the news. Students divide themselves into groups of two or three. The class spends a total of 35 minutes on this first question: the group work lasts approximately 17 minutes and a whole class instructor led follow-up lasts 18 minutes.

While students work Vicente interacts with each of the groups. He provides language support, such as vocabulary words, and he pushes students to elaborate their ideas, hence his oft-repeated question: "pero, ¿por qué por qué eso?" (*but why why that?*). The students are mostly on-task, focusing on completing the activity, as exemplified by the following conversation between Melvin and Matthew:

Interaction 5: Discussion of the Causes of Violence and Crime

1 **Melvin**	so↑	so↑
2 **Matthew**	um es yo pienso que es la mal economía	um it is I think that it is the bad
3		economy
4 **Melvin**	está bien	that's good
5	*(they both write)*	*(they both write)*
6 **Matthew**	¿por qué?	Why?
7 **Melvin**	um la gente necesita dinero a vivir	um the people need money to* to
8		live
9 **Matthew**	necesita algo ello necesita algo que no	[people] need something it [people]
10	tienen	need something that they don't have
11	*(pause)*	*(pause)*
12 **Melvin**	algo?	something?
13 **Matthew**	*(quietly)* algo is something *(he looks*	*(quietly)* "algo" is something *(he*
14	*around to see if Vicente has heard him)*	*looks around to see if Vicente has*
15		*heard him)*
16	*(pause)*	*(pause)*
17 **Matthew**	porque la gente no tiene um porque la	because people don't have um
18	gente no tiene um trabajo	because people don't have um work
19		
20 **Melvin**	right	right
21	*(they both write)*	*(they both write)*
	…	

For Matthew and Melvin one of the primary causes of violence and crime in cities is due to the bad economy, which has left people without money because they do not have jobs. In certain ways in this exchange Matthew takes up the role of teacher, as he frequently does throughout the semester, both voicing Vicente's question, "why?," and providing a vocabulary explanation for "algo," in this case by providing the English translation.

When the groups finish with their lists a representative group member writes it on the board in order of importance. This group member remains by the chalkboard to provide a justification for the list. The first group, composed of Karen and Leah, wrote: pobreza, racismo, falta de educación, el desempleo, falta de los derechos humanos y la libertad *(poverty, lack of education, unemployment, lack of human rights and freedom)*. Leah explains the list to the class thusly:

> Primero la pobreza porque las personas no tienen muchas oportunidades para mejorar sus vidas y segundo racismo porque hay mucha discriminación que se enojan muchas personas y falta de educación en muchos lugares que ayuda obtener un trabajo y el desempleo porque muchas personas viven viven en las calles y um falta de derechos humanos y la libertad porque causan guerras

*first poverty because people don't have many opportunities to better their lives and second racism because there is discrimination that makes many people mad and lack of education in certain places that helps to obtain a job and unemployment because many people live live in the streets and um lack of human rights and freedom because they cause war*s

There are several awkward and unclear expressions of cause and effect in the explanation, perhaps due to the framing of the question. The statement "racism because there is discrimination that makes many people mad" makes it seem like racism is caused by discrimination whereas it is more likely that what is meant is that racism is the second principle cause of violence and crime in cities because it leads to discrimination which angers people and results in violence. If this is the intended idea, than the implicit criticism is not of racism per se but of people who get angry because of discrimination (as opposed to the racists themselves).

Vicente follows-up after each presentation with additional questions, in some cases to clarify confusion about causes and effects, and he requests additional explanations, suggests complications, and provokes debates on the rankings. For example, Vicente challenges students to think about whether or not only poor people commit crimes in cities, leading to a brief discussion of Bernie Madoff and ponzy schemes.

At the end of the presentations Vicente asks students what associations they can make between the various lists. In response Troy says "religión um es un* razón para la guerra en países por ejemplo the Middle East todo forever *(Miguel laughs)* so" *(religion um is a reason for war in countries for example the Middle East every/all/entire forever so)*. The students make additional associations between prejudice and religion and racism, for example.

4.3.2 Second Activity. The second question is, "Cómo sería tu vida si vivieras en un país latinoamericano? Responde de acuerdo a cada una de las categorías. Nombre del país: _____" (*What would your life be like if you lived in a Latin American country? Respond according to each of the categories. The name of your country: _____).* This question uses the hypothetical if-clause structure with the past subjunctive and the conditional. The discussion of the second question lasts 15 minutes.

To introduce the question, Vicente asks if students have heard any news reports on the categories provided, which include: civil rights, health services, free speech, the use of one's native language, salary, access to basic education, family life, violence and crime, access to higher education, and work opportunities. James mentions a protestor in China, Matthew cites unemployment, and Vicente brings up human trafficking. He contextualizes the activity thusly:

si tu fueras allá ah y vivieras como una persona normal media media en Nicaragua en Honduras cómo sería tu salario cómo sería tu acceso a la educación básica cuál sería el acceso a la educación básica como inmigrante por ejemplo vienen los mexicanos aquí ok cuál sería mi salario ah probablemente si trabajo en la jardinería ganaría 6 dólares al día trabajaría 8 horas probablemente trabajaría limpiando limpiando este oficinas piensan en un inmigrante que viene de otro país aquí qué pasa ahora tú al revés piensa que tú vives en otro país y tienes que vivir estas condiciones diferentes entonces trabajen un poco elijan un país y cuáles serían las condiciones es una situación hipotética porque dice si vivieras no dice si vives si vivieras okay a ver a ver comienzan a trabajar un poco

if you were to go there uh and lived as a normal person average average in Nicaragua in Honduras what would your salary be what would your access to basic education be like what would your access to basic education be like as an immigrant for example Mexicans come here okay what would my salary be uh probably I work in gardening I would earn 6 dollars a day I would work 8 hours probably cleaning cleaning uh offices think about an immigrant that comes here from another country what happens now you the reverse imagine you live in another country and you have to live under different conditions so work a little pick a country and what would be the conditions it is a hypothetical situation because it says if you lived it doesn't say you live if you lived okay let's see let's see start working a little

In this framing Vicente highlights the relationship between immigrants that come to the U.S. from Mexico and what their experiences are like and immigrants that would go to Latin America and what their experiences would be like as an "average" person. He also emphasizes the contrary to fact nature of the question by insisting that they do not live there, they are to imagine that they would live there, thus providing a rationale for the use of the hypothetical if-clause structure that employs the past subjunctive and the conditional. Vicente continues by referring students to the appropriate page in the textbook that explains the if-clause structure. In their groups the students first discuss and select an agreed upon country and they then use their i-phones and i-pads to look up the relevant information. They do not complete this activity in class, and Vicente asks them to continue as homework.

4.3.3 Preparation for the Third Activity: Explanation of If-Clauses. At the beginning of the following class period Vicente reviews the if-clause structures in preparation for the third question: "Si quisieras cambiar cualquiera de las situaciones anteriores, ¿qué cambiarías? ¿Por qué?" (*If you wanted to change any of the above-mentioned situations, what would you change? Why?*). The explanation plus the discussion activity that Vicente adds last the entire class period.

Vicente shows a powerpoint that says, "Situaciones hipotéticas" (*hypothetical situations*). Then he moves over to the board where he has written the following diagram:

Si	presente	presente
		futuro
	imperfecto	imperfecto
	pasado subjuntivo	condicional

For the first structure, if + present + present / future he provides the following examples: Si tengo frío me pongo un suéter (*if I am cold I put on a sweater*) Si tengo una fiesta me pongo una corbata (*if I have a date I put on a tie*). Sara laughs at this and Vicente prompts students to finish the sentence "Si tengo una cita…" (*If I have a date…*). Troy responds: me hago un bath (*I take a bath*); Sandy says: me pongo un vestido (*I put on a dress*), and Matthew jokes: traigo mucho dinero (*I bring a lot of money*). He then provokes a brief debate as to which is better for a date, a short sleeve or long sleeve shirt. Vicente sums up by writing on the board, "me voy a poner una camisa de mangas largas / me pondré" (*I am going to put on a long sleeved shirt / I will put on*) and he points to the diagram saying "Es una situación en el presente o futuro" (*it is a situation in the present or the future*).

Vicente introduces the second structure, if + imperfect + imperfect:

Interaction 6: Explanation of If-Clause Structure

1 **Vicente**	En el imperfecto si tenía una cita en high school who was dating all the time in high school?	In the imperfect if you had a date in high school who was dating in high school?
4 **Sandy**	yo	me
5 **Vicente**	*(writes on board)* me ponía mi vestido favorito *(to Sandy)* ¿Tenías un vestido favorito?	*(writes on board)* I put on my favorite dress *(to Sandy)* did you have a favorite dress?
8 **Sandy**	Sí	Yes
9 **Vicente**	¿de qué color?	what color?
10 **Sandy**	blanca	white
11 **Vicente**	Mallory qué ponías?	Mallory what did you put on?
12 **Mallory**	también un vestido	a dress as well
13 **Camille**	no un vestido pantalones y una camisa	not a dress pants and a shirt

Immediately following this exchange Vicente initiates a performance in which he pretends his phone is ringing and, upon answering it, someone asks him for a date. He rushes to the back of the classroom where he opens fake closet doors, taking out an imaginary dress and putting it on and then he takes it off and throws it on the floor. Walking to the classroom door as if leaving the house for his date Vicente suddenly says "zapatos" *(shoes)* and returns to his imaginary closet to put them on, take them off, and put others on. The students are laughing throughout the performance, at one point Sandy exclaims "es verdad" *(it's true)*. When he finishes he returns to the diagram on the board and points to the structure with the imperfect.

Pointing to the if + past subjunctive + conditional structure he asks students "¿si tuvieras una cita el fin de semana qué ropa pondrías?" *(if you had a date this weekend what would you wear?)*. Mallory responds, "me pondría los pantalones probablemente" *(I would wear my pants probably)*. Vicente projects the following powerpoint chart:

Si tengo hambre	voy a la cafetería.
Si tenía hambre	iba a la cafetería.
Si tuviera hambre	iría a las montañas
Si fuera tú	no haría eso

He asks students to complete the phrases, starting with "si tuviera tiempo…" *(If I had time…)* and then he instructs students to work on completing them in pairs, reviewing their answers afterwards.

Vicente projects another powerpoint slide, which says "Si yo hubiera sido pobre no habría estudiado en la universidad" (*if I had been poor I wouldn't have studied in the university)*. Vicente explains that this is a different structure, that the other ones describe what is happening now but this one is in the past and, therefore, he already knows that reality is different. He asks students "si tú no hubieras venido a esta escuela a dónde habrías ido? ¿Cuáles fueron tus opciones?" *(if you had not come to this school where would you have gone? what were your options?)*. Matthew responds "habría ido a San Luis Obispo" *(I would have gone to San Luis Obispo)*; Ally says "habría trabajado mucho" *(I would have worked a lot)*; and Carla declares "habría ido a la universidad en Australia" *(I would have attended a university in Australia)*.

Vicente concludes with an anecdote:

Ya están aquí Uds. piensan que vine aquí y me casé con una gringa para obtener papeles yo vivía en México joven y guapo y mi esposa vino (Sandy says "ahhh"). Si no hubiera ido a México no me habría descubierto

You are already here you think that I came here and I married a gringa in order to get my papers I lived in Mexico young and handsome and my wife came (Sandy says "ahhh"). If she had not come to Mexico I would not have discovered myself

He continues his story, recounting his days of teaching elementary school and the arrival of a group of U.S. children; he taught them to sing and to play the guitar. His soon to be wife accompanied the group. When he finishes the story Matthew says, very quietly, "that's how I met your mother." Vicente did not hear him so he asks him to repeat himself and Matthew does, prefacing it with "it's a joke." A few students ask him follow-up questions: James asks if he liked music and Ally asks if his wife spoke Spanish. Vicente explains that because his wife missed her family, especially after their two children were born, they moved to San Diego. He ends the explanation by saying "yo me habría quedado en México" *(I would have stayed in Mexico)*. Since he has shared a personal experience he wants them to do so as well in pairs.

The class did not end up finishing the third question from the worksheet. Vicente gives students five minutes to discuss the second question and then asks them to complete the worksheet at home, noting that they should pay particular attention to the use of the if-clauses.

4.3.4 Students' Learning. The textbook's introduction of the vocabulary from this chapter shows a city at war with itself and provides appropriate labels to identify this reality. In contrast, in the first and second activities from this worksheet students have used the vocabulary to explore and to explain this reality, and its underlying problems, in relationship to actual events, including ponzy schemes, human trafficking, and immigration. With regards to the grammatical structure under review, the if-clauses, the textbook includes practice activities that focus on producing these structures in isolated, decontextualized contexts. In his own presentation of the if-clauses, Vicente does not just present a grammatical explanation in the form of a decontextualized diagram. He creates a personalized context for students to think about and to use the if-clauses to talk about their lives, their personal experiences with dating and their choice of universities to attend, for example. His performance of the date engages students, and they in turn demonstrate that they relate to it, as evidenced in Sandy's comment "it's true" when she recognizes the scenario as being one that she herself has experienced. In the process, Vicente also shares with students some of his own personal experiences, the story of how he met his wife and decided to come to the United States.

Throughout all of these activities, students are active and engaged. In Melvin and Matthew's discussion of the first question (Interaction 5) they take up Vicente's invocation, "pero, ¿por qué por qué eso?" (*but why why that?*) as evidenced in Matthew voicing the question "por qué" (*why*) (line 6), and Melvin elaborating a response. In Leah's presentation of her group's list of the causes of violence and crime in cities, she has not only produced the vocabulary, such as discrimination and unemployment, she is able to spontaneously create complex sentences using connected discourse to talk about an abstract topic. Throughout the grammatical explanation students demonstrate that they understand the contexts that Vicente creates to practice the structures, as evidenced in Interaction 6, and they use the various if-clause

structures with appropriate verbs based on the context. For example, Matthew says "traigo mucho dinero" (*I bring a lot of money*) in response to Vicente's prompt, "si tengo una cita…" (*if I have a date*) and Mallory responds "me pondría los pantalones probablemente" (I would probably wear pants) in response to the question "¿si tuvieras una cita el fin de semana qué ropa pondrías?" *(if you had a date this weekend what would you wear?)* In Yesenia's classroom, as analyzed in the previous chapter, student responses mostly remained at the word level throughout the semester, they did not produce complex sentences or engage in discussions of abstract topics. In comparison, the students in Vicente's class at the end of the semester are demonstrating throughout the activities on this worksheet that they have indeed developed their language skills as they reflect on the world around them and their own experiences.

It is at this point in the semester that I also began interviewing the five students that formed part of my focal group. Although I had obviously witnessed some feelings of tension in the classroom and I had heard some complaints about their learning experiences I was personally shocked and perplexed by the degree of the students' displeasure and the conclusions that they had drawn about their instructor. In her interview Mallory comments "we don't really go over in class like the grammar" and she concludes "I don't really feel like I learned anything in that class." Sandy states "I don't feel like he lectures I don't feel like he teaches we do a lot of activities which is fine but like I want you to go over the grammar and I want to learn how to do it." She concludes "there's almost no purpose for us to be in the classroom with him because he'd just go on without us I feel like we are not part of us learning it if that makes sense yeah its hard to explain." Matthew's sentiments are similar, in fact he identifies Vicente as an enemy, stating that one of the reasons for the solidarity amongst the students is because "it's kind of good to have a common enemy but in a sense that you have to think about the professor as an enemy I don't like that."

There are many contradictions between these comments and what was observed in the classroom, particularly with respect to Vicente's teaching of the if-clause structures and how to use them and students' language production in relationship to their perceptions of their learning. There were tensions that emerged in classroom interactions, specifically with regards to the content and the activity formats, as analyzed in the case of worksheet 15 on Bolivia. Based on the students' comments these tensions were not resolved, but continued to develop to the point where they considered their instructor to be an enemy. I now turn to a consideration of these contradictions and tensions, by considering the students' perspectives on their own language learning.

5. COMPETING EXPECTATIONS

Vicente brings to the classroom his own teaching and learning philosophy, as previously elaborated, which emphasizes a humanistic approach as he wants to facilitate students' confrontation with reality and their own positioning within it so that they develop themselves as individuals, and ultimately, make better decisions. This philosophy is reflected in the worksheets that he creates, which are designed to counter what he considers the limited instrumental approach to the teaching of language and culture as represented in the textbook, so that students learn how to analyze, reflect, and express their opinions. At the same time, students bring their own learning beliefs, goals, and expectations to the classroom, which leads to tensions between them and Vicente.

In this section I explore the students' perspectives on and reactions to their classroom learning experiences in order to unpack the tensions and contradictions that emerge. These tensions occur at multiple and interrelated levels: 1) the students' own competing perspectives on the value of language and culture learning broadly and the value they place on their Spanish learning; and 2) the students' classroom learning objectives and expectations in relationship to Vicente's as evidenced in their reactions to the worksheets and the interactions that these worksheets organize and produce. Finally I situate these competing expectations in relationship to the structural realities of the course.

5.1 Students' Perspectives on Language and Culture Learning

All of the focal students report an awareness that the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures have been part of their entire lives. When I asked Callie when she first came into contact with the language she explained: "I was born and raised in San Diego so:: I've been around Spanish for like my whole life pretty much." In addition to learning Spanish songs in kindergarten, Sandy spent several years learning Hispanic folkloric ballet. All of them also report beginning their formal language study in high school, where they report diverse types of learning experiences: watching movies like Shrek in Spanish, spending considerable time memorizing verb paradigms, and taking fieldtrips to Mexican restaurants. All of the focal students reported that they would not be continuing their studies of the language beyond Spanish 3.

In this section I explore the students' perspectives on their study of Spanish, specifically focusing on their reported emphasis on the sense of its usefulness in their professional lives. I also consider their broader understandings of what it means to know a language and culture, which emphasize communication and personal growth.

5.1.1 The Usefulness of Spanish. In their interviews, I asked each of the focal students why they chose to study Spanish. Some of the students stated that they would have preferred to study a different language primarily for personal reasons: to explore their own cultural and linguistic heritage. For example, Camille's family is of Italian origin, and, therefore she really wanted to learn Italian. Mallory identifies her ethnicity as being German and although both her mother and boyfriend speak German she states "I'm never going to use that in my life unless I go to Germany." Matthew was born in the Ukraine; he moved to the United States with his parents when he was a little over a year old. He considers himself somewhat fluent in Russian and he would have preferred to study it to fulfill his language requirement. However, since it was not offered at SDU he chose Spanish instead, concluding that "it's the most useful language living in San Diego." Overall these responses suggest that students' reasons for studying Spanish were mostly pragmatic: they perceive Spanish as useful to them in their current lives in the context of living in Southern California.

Camille, one of the focal students, states that Spanish is a language that "you **should** know," when I asked her why she explained:

> just 'cause I feel like it's becoming more prominent in (.1) San Diego and southern California (.1) um:: just like like English and Spanish like you can go to like the grocery store or like Kohl's or something and they can do an announcement over like the overhead speaker and then they'll follow it with up with Spanish like I feel like that's a good indicator that you need (.1) like both languages are present

In the context of Southern California, Camille recognizes that Spanish exists alongside English in her everyday experiences, as represented in these bilingual loudspeaker announcements in local grocery and clothing stores. "Needing" both languages in this context is not about her own potential interactions with others at a personal level nor is it about understanding other cultural viewpoints. Instead, it is based on a commercial context in which Spanish is used by storeowners and managers to communicate with shoppers.

The perception that "you need like both languages" has been reinforced in these students' previous work experiences and their anticipated future professional goals. Sandy had worked part-time in one of these local clothing stores and she had personally discovered the usefulness of knowing Spanish in order to communicate with clients and to facilitate sales. As she explains:

> I just feel like it would be:: (1) really useful like (.1) throughout my life in like the:: jobs I've had like (.1) the people who speak Spanish and who can communicate **it** like are more valuable in a work setting because of **it** because they can like (.1) communicate and there is a lot there are a lot of people who um like primarily speak Spanish like don't speak English here and so if you can like bridge **that** then that's like really valuable

Not only is the Spanish language valued alongside English in these commercial settings, but those that speak Spanish are also considered more "valuable" because they can communicate "here," in Southern California. It is not that all speakers of Spanish are valuable, only those that have acquired it in addition to their first language, English. This is because their particular value resides in being able to "bridge that," which refers to the linguistic divide between those who primarily speak Spanish and those who speak English. In this case, Sandy could be one of those people, however, her use of "the people," "they," and an impersonalized "you" suggest that she does not yet consider herself as having the linguistic skills to be considered "valuable." However, like Camille, Sandy is very aware of the instrumental potential of Spanish in this commercial context.

Mallory also elaborates on the instrumental value of Spanish in relationship to competing for jobs. She explains:

> I think knowing Spanish is good for **jobs** too like to be bilingual it helps a lot if you're competing with someone who is like if you have all the same but you're not bilingual and they are they'll probably take the bilingual candidate over you

To Mallory being bilingual is useful because it makes one more competitive on the job market, it can be exchanged for professional benefit and profit.

Overall, from the students' perspectives for those that speak English as their first language Spanish makes them more valuable. The language itself is useful because it can be utilized to obtain jobs, communicate with clients, and I would argue to ultimately make sales. Students understand Spanish as having an instrumental value in the context of their lives in Southern California and this value can be exchanged for potential profit. This perspective stands in stark contrast to that of their instructor, Vicente. As previously elaborated, Vicente rejects this view of Spanish as an instrument to be competitive on the job market, arguing that language instead should be understood as a tool for students to grow as individuals.

5.1.2 Students' Broad Perceptions of Language/Culture Learning. In their interviews I also asked students about their general beliefs regarding what it means to know a language and culture. Responses to these questions contrast with how students' perceive the instrumental usefulness of knowing Spanish in the context of jobs and future careers. Overall, student responses emphasize a focus on language use through communication, the interrelated nature of language and culture learning, and the transformative potential of their learning.

With regards to knowing a language, Callie explained:

> I don't necessarily know if you like have to know every single grammatical detail of the:: language but I think if you can if you can walk up to someone and (.1) have a conversation with them (.1) and like be able to pick up a paper and read it and like fully understand and then be able to like have a dialogue about that or something like that then I and be able to like get yourself around the city or like around like the country

Callie deemphasizes the importance of grammatical knowledge in relationship to what it means to know a language. Instead, she emphasizes the importance of language use: knowing a language involves being able to interact with people, to successfully maneuver through a city or country, and to read a paper and be able to have a conversation about it. Camille's response echoes this sentiment: "to like be able to like fully **understand** if somebody were talking to me and be able to respond back to them then I would like in any situation that I was put in then I would feel like I would know **that** language." Both of these responses align with Vicente's philosophy that learning a language is not about learning language forms but how to use language, being able to communicate in particular situations and to discuss relevant issues.

Matthew mentions the important role of culture as a central component of language learning:

> culture kind of gives you context for a language (.1) um:: without the culture it's kind of like you're just you're kind of turning yourself into a machine you're just kind of you know insert spit back out the translation if you know the culture then you um (1) I think I think it helps you maybe not **know** the language better but **understand** the language and the people that are speaking it and I think I think that's important

To Matthew, language cannot be learned without culture because culture provides the context for language and it facilitates understanding other people. Without this context, one is simply a "machine" that "spits back out the translation." In a similar fashion, Mallory argues that knowing a language centrally involves also knowing the culture, because: "people act different ways:: depending on the culture so if you don't know **that** you're not going to get I mean you'll be more confused and disoriented and (.1) like what language you're trying to speak."

Overall, the focal students generally understand culture as more than the accumulation of information and facts. In addition to understanding people and the ways in which they act, other students highlight that culture involves knowing some history, exploring what people value in their lives, being familiar with social norms, understanding humor, and knowing the "little sayings" (Sandy).

When asked why it would be important to learn about culture Callie responded:

maybe you are more like humanit- like more of a humanitarian kind of thing like you have more concern because you:: feel a certain sort of attachment towards that country because you've learned about it↑ and I think (.2) I think like the a lot of times people feel more things or um are more willing to go above and beyond for:: um if they feel they **know** a certain **person** or a certain **culture** because they feel a certain attachment to it by knowing that **person** or that **thing** and so I think um **that** can change you

According to Callie, learning about another culture alters one's affective relationship to another country, "people feel more things," and, as a result, people are able to develop concern and are willing to "go above and beyond." Although Callie does not elaborate this reference, in the context of being "more of a humanitarian" she does suggest that this attachment would potentially make one care more about the welfare of others to the point where one would intervene and act. Ultimately, this knowing of the "other" results in personal awareness, "that can change you." This perspective aligns with Vicente's own learning philosophy, that language should be more than an instrument but a tool that helps students to grow as individuals.

On the one hand, students emphasize the instrumental value of Spanish as a means to increase their own value on the job market in the context of Southern California. On the other, with regards to language and culture learning more broadly they deemphasize this instrumental value. Instead, students highlight the importance of communication, using language to interact with people and to explore issues, and of engaging with culture in order to understand other people's behavior and to form affective attachments, which ultimately can lead to personal change. In juxtaposition, the differing value placed on learning Spanish specifically vs. learning languages and cultures generally form the backdrop from which to explore their reactions to their classroom learning experiences, specifically with regards to Vicente's worksheets.

5.2 Students' Reactions to Worksheets

In their interviews I asked each of the focal students about the worksheets that Vicente used in class. In response to this question Mallory responded with laughter and then she prefaced her response with "ok this could be trouble," a forewarning that her comments were going to be negative. At the end of the interview she confessed to me that her classmate, Camille, and she had entertained the hopeful idea that I was a spy sent by the department in response to complaints about their instructor. Thus her statement reveals an awareness that she was about to implicate herself while acknowledging the possible repercussions of her critique, primarily for Vicente. Mallory continued:

I don't really feel like I learned anything in that class um I think his worksheets (2) I don't yeah I feel like his worksheets I wish that they tied more into the book or his tests were like more of what he did in the worksheets because I feel like they kind of contradict themselves but what we're tested on we don't really go over in class like the grammar (.1) um I don't think he's ever taught us grammar maybe once in class and so I just really don't feel I feel like that class is kind of a waste of my time

Her criticism centers on the discrepancy between the content and format of the worksheets in contradiction to the textbook, which supplies grammatical charts and verb paradigms, presents vocabulary lists, and provides lists of factual information on countries, and the exams, which

largely focus on the production of this information through fill in the blank exercises. None of the five focal students criticized the textbook or the exams; they preferred that the worksheets and classroom activities aligned with them, which would specifically include lectures on grammar and practice verb charts. I explore these specific reactions, focusing on each of the three worksheets previously described in turn.

5.2.1 Worksheet 9: "By the book" (Camille). Worksheet 9, ¿Qué debe tener una ciudad moderna? *(What should a modern city have?)*, as discussed in section 4.1, featured a debate in which students considered the five most important places that a modern city should have, ordering them based on their importance. From Vicente's perspective, this worksheet fulfilled his objectives in that it was designed to facilitate students' analysis of their reality, life in the modern city. It required the use of the new vocabulary from the textbook chapter under review, but it also implied a lot more, using language to communicate. At one point during the lesson Vicente reminds students of the limits of the textbook and that they should have a dictionary in order to expand their vocabulary.

Two focal students, Camille and Mallory, reflected on this class in their interview at the end of the semester:

> Camille: I remember one worksheet he gave us and it had to do with like um
> (.1) like what stores you would need in a city↑ and so like I just like
> started using my textbook and like the vocab of that chapter and I just
> remember he like came over and=
> Mallory: =he got mad
> Camille: yeah and he's like what about a hospital what about a school and
> I'm like well those aren't in the book like I'm just going through the
> chapter cause I thought (.1) that like you were supposed to use the book
> and he was like no you use like your regular vocabulary and I'm like well
> I don't *(laugh)* this isn't in my vocabulary yet I haven't learned this

Based on Camille and Mallory's reflections, they did not understand the purpose of the worksheet question as an opportunity to apply all of their linguistic knowledge to explore their ideas or even to expand their vocabulary outside of the textbook. Instead, they have a more restricted understanding of its purpose: they have a task to complete and a list of vocabulary that they are "supposed to use" from their textbook to get the job done. It is telling that Camille later states "we never do vocabulary in class." Despite her perception, students are "doing" vocabulary, and as seen in section 4.1.1 they successfully apply it in use through their classroom debate. Perhaps Camille's impression then is based on the fact that the vocabulary was not limited to what was in the textbook nor was it presented in a recognizable textbook format, i.e., as lists of words to be memorized or as sentences with blanks to be filled.

Other students elaborate similar criticisms of the worksheets: they are not "tied in" to the textbook. They argue that the textbook should be the central focus of the class and it should drive their learning objectives. There are two primary reasons for this. The first is expressed by Camille in the context of talking about her discomfort with the class. She explains:

> I get so frustrated that I just want it to be by the book and nothing he does is by the book
> and so it's like (.1) sometimes I feel like I'm kind of contradicting him:: like I want him

to like do it by the book and so I just like (.1) I want to like put up a fight to like do something I'm comfortable with like which is the **book** because it's something I **have** it's something I can **refer** to whereas like when he's just teaching I just I don't have anything so it's like sometimes I feel like he feels like the fight I'm trying to put up

Camille wants everything to be "by the book." The textbook is "comfortable" because it offers specific and tangible parameters for her learning that she can refer to, such as a list of finite vocabulary words that she must learn. In comparison, anything outside the book is uncomfortable, unknown, and undefined. As a result, she "contradicts" Vicente and "puts up a fight" even if she is also aware of the potential consequences of doing so. Vicente positioned himself as a "rebel" against the instrumental approach, arguing against programmed instruction that focuses on rigid grammar rules and right or wrong answers. In this case, Camille has herself become a rebel against Vicente, preferring the programmed instruction offered by the textbook because of the certainty and the boundaries that it provides.

The second main reason that students insist that the textbook should drive their learning objectives is because they are very aware that their exams assess their knowledge of what is in the textbook, not necessarily what they have learned through the worksheets. As Mallory explains, "they [the worksheets] don't really correspond to the book so they are different things and then you get tested on the book so its kind of a lot of students were kind of confused by it." Matthew elaborates:

> we're all so fastened to just being able to pass this next test which is we all know that the next test is only going to deal with chapters you know 15 16 chapters 17 18 you know having the test based on the books like that is good because you know there we have the oh okay you're:: teaching to the test rather than teaching to the:: learning of the language I think and again maybe that's important if you're going to go on and **do::** advanced Spanish like after 3 but for our sake **we're** getting you know like a skeleton of the language pretty much I think

Matthew recognizes the contradiction between learning the language and teaching to the text. He, and the other students, do value learning language broadly speaking and they recognize that doing so goes beyond learning grammatical structures and vocabulary words, as elaborated in section 5.1.2. However, in this case he is not going to continue his study of Spanish and he believes that three semesters are not sufficient to move beyond the "skeleton" of the language anyway. Therefore, he, like the others, is "fastened" to passing the tests so that he can successfully finish the course and fulfill his language requirement. To pass the tests means teaching to the text, doing things "by the book," and accepting the limitations of doing so.

5.2.2 Worksheet 15: "We're just along for the ride" (Sandy). Worksheet 15, "acerca de la vida y la cultura boliviana" (*Research Bolivian life and culture*) as discussed in section 4.2 focused on the cultural content related to the country of Bolivia. Vicente is aware that students need to know the information on Bolivia from the textbook for the exam. Yet, he also criticizes the presentation of culture that emphasizes having fun and going to beautiful beaches because he feels that it puts students in a position of superiority. Instead, he wants to confront students with reality, i.e., the problems of Latin America, and through the discussion he tries to elaborate these

problems, such as the production of coca, while calling attention to the role of the U.S., in this case referring to the war on drugs.

When Vicente introduced this worksheet and its focus in class Sandy responded "Bolivia yeah." As I detected a note of sarcasm I asked her about these cultural lessons in her interview. She responded:

> I like the idea of learning about the different countries but a lot of them I would probably (1) like not visit and when we spend like a week sometimes on like like Bolivia like it just doesn't make that much sense to me and that may be because like I just don't have a connection to that country like if we were learning about Paraguay like Argentina I like tha'd be **fine** but I don't know I just feel like it's a little bit misguide- I I feel like he's: (.) kind of trying to shove it down our throats a little bit rather trying to teach it to us

Sandy complains about both the content of what she is learning and how it is presented. Whereas she had a positive assessment of the idea of learning about different countries the specific content and the time spent learning it is deemed incomprehensible because it is not useful information in her life: she would probably not visit Bolivia anyway. Furthermore, she does not feel any personal connection to this particular country, suggesting that it does not interest her like Paraguay and Argentina, where several of her friends are from. She concludes that it is "misguided," perhaps the "it" refers to this particular content, at the same time that she feels like the information is forced on her as opposed to Vicente actually teaching it.

Vicente does have specific information that he wants to convey about Bolivia, as evidenced in the analysis in section 4.2. In fact, the questions he poses to students in Interaction 2 require that they produce concrete information about Bolivia's indigenous population, its primary economic activity, and its current president. He frequently expands on the information by connecting it to larger problems and realities. In Interaction 2, for example, he connects Bolivian history to ongoing indigenous struggles. In this interaction, as well as in Interaction 3, he uses an IRF pattern in which he controls the content through his questions and he provides the elaborations. In other words, the students are not deciding on nor are they interacting with the content or, as Sandy says, "we're being given this and we're not allowed to interact." Instead, information flows in a unilateral direction. In addition, when students do not know the information that Vicente is looking for, such as the names of other Bolivian indigenous groups, he does not supply it but instead admonishes them with the expressions "hay que investigar más" (*you have to do more research*) and "tienen que leer más" (*you have to read more*). He is, in fact, disavowing his role as teacher by telling them that they need to learn this information on their own.

Sandy's conclusions about her own positionality as a student in the classroom are a bit ambivalent. On the one hand, she feels like students are "just along for the ride" because "there's almost like no purpose for us like to actually be in the classroom with **him** because he'd just go on without us like I feel like we're not really part of us learning it if that makes sense." From this perspective, her presence in the classroom is irrelevant because she does not feel that she is involved in the learning process. On the other hand she also states:

> I feel like our professor:: (2) has the idea tha::t (3) we're poor (laugh) white children who have **not** learned Spanish and so it's his job to elevate **us**↑ and teach us about this::↑ and

(3) doesn't matter if it's helpful to us or if we like want to learn it or if we are actually learning it but he's gonna try to give it to us

In this case, her presence in the classroom is central to Vicente's mission: to "elevate us," i.e., the students. From both positionings, she is claiming that Vicente puts himself in a position of superiority, he controls the content of their learning and he infantilizes them as "poor white children." She is well aware, as is Vicente, that they are not "poor" in socioeconomic terms, instead they are "poor" in terms of lacking knowledge, in this case of Spanish. Vicente fears that the tourist gaze puts students in a position of superiority because they learn the language to have fun and can ignore the realities of Latin America as well as their own privileges. From Sandy's perspective, Vicente has simply reversed this power relationship: he is in a position of superiority by forcing on them these realities. Although she feels that his goal is to "elevate" and "teach" in the end whether or not they learn it is irrelevant. She locates his power in the students' own privilege, the fact that they are "white." It is interesting that she invokes this privilege, as Vicente himself never specifically mentions it as an example of the type of privilege that he hopes that students examine. Instead, Vicente, to some degree, is asking students to explore their privilege as "Americans," which she extends to include her whiteness. In the end, Sandy does recognize this privilege, as evidenced in her mentioning it, although she does not examine it, and now she feels like it is used against her.

In addition to the content of what they are studying and how it is presented, students also react against the format of their in-class activities, specifically the class presentations. This activity format is common throughout the semester: students stand in the front of the classroom and project their paragraphs on an overhead as they present them. There are several consistent tensions that emerge: 1) Vicente wants students to explain their texts and students want to read them; 2) Vicente makes public corrections that in some instances embarrass or upset students, especially when they do not understand them. Both of these tensions are evidenced in students' presentations on Bolivia. Carla's text contains references to many different cultural topics and, when she is done, Vicente dismisses her by saying "aquí cubres muchas cosas pero tenías que investigar una" (*you cover many things here but you were supposed to research one*). The instructions for this activity actually did not specify that students were to only investigate one thing: "Investiga acerca de la vida y la cultura Boliviana" (*Research Bolivian life and culture*). When Melvin attempts to read his paragraph Vicente interrupts him, commanding him to explain, which causes a moment of panic because Melvin had incorporated specific dates into his paragraph, at which point Matthew interjects, saying "just read it." When Melvin does continue to read, Vicente interrupts him and begins an explanation of how the United States has criminalized indigenous peoples for their use of coca leaves.

This worksheet on Bolivia was completed midway through the semester. By this time a common student practice had developed: to applaud after every presenter. As Camille and Mallory initiated this practice I asked them about it in their interview. Camille explained:

I think it's most of the time well I know when I go up there I feel like not that I'm getting like bashed but its kind of like I'm getting bashed and so it's like I know she'll applaud for me after it's kind of like taking one for the team (.1) and we just kind of congratulate them and like thank you for going up there and like (.1) just taking it

There is a strong sense of solidarity that emerges amongst the students, as already evidenced in Sandy's use of "us," and as is demonstrated in this practice of applauding for classmates. Their solidarity in positioning themselves against Vicente is understood as central to their survival in the class, as Matthew elaborates, "we all gotta survive so if someone needs help I think people can always turn to the person next to them and ask for help."

Students feel like they are "bashed" because they are not able to fulfill Vicente's expectations for the activities. Sandy explains:

> really like (.1) that would probly factor in with like feeling stupid in class because a lot of times (.1) we've everyone in class has done their homework first of all so we've all spent time on it trying to get it **right** trying like google translating (laughs) the instructions figuring out like what he **wants** what we think he wants like writing it down and then when we get up and present it and a lot of times he's like no no no this isn't right this isn't right you can't do this and like there are times that the entire class has done the whole activity wrong the **entire** class so it's like we::ll you know it's not like it's just **me** so:: a lot of times it's like really embarrassing

She, as well as the other students, believes that they work diligently to fulfill his expectations: they have completed their homework, they have invested a lot of time in order to understand the directions, and they have tried to figure out what "he wants." Ultimately, they want to get it "right." However, students feel that their efforts are dismissed.

Students have the perception that there is a "right" and a "wrong" way to complete the activities, and, perhaps Vicente has created this expectation with his insistence on getting it "right" and his public dismissal when it is not. He also enforces a strict rigidity in terms of how they complete the worksheets, even when the instructions are, at times, vague. Students' learning becomes oriented towards figuring out "what he wants," and this applies both to Vicente's expectations for the activities as well as for the content. The latter is evidenced in Melvin's statement to Matthew "I don't know what he was going for there," after Vicente had interrupted his presentation to explain that the modern world imposes what is correct and incorrect on others, including indigenous peoples.

5.2.3 Worksheet 21: "I want you to go over the grammar and I want to learn how to do it" (Sandy). Worksheet 21, "Cuáles son las principales causas de la violencia y el crimen que se observa en las ciudades?" (*What are the primary causes of that violence and crime observed in cities?*), as discussed in section 4.3, focuses on students' learning and practicing the four if-clause structures from the textbook. Throughout this explanation, students respond to his prompts successfully, employing each of the structures correctly based on the context Vicente provided for them. Their accuracy is quite remarkable given that distinguishing between the if-clause structures requires understanding the time frame as well as the speaker's attitude towards the cause and effect relationship expressed, i.e., if it is viewed as hypothetical, contrary to reality, or a common occurrence.

In her interview, Sandy complains about the lack of grammatical explanations:

> you can look at my notebook I think I have three pages of notes total for the entire semester I don't feel like he lectures I don't feel like he teaches we do a lot of activities

which is fine but like (.1) I like I **want** you to go over the grammar and I **want** to learn how to do it

These reflections directly contradict what is observed in this example lesson as well as others: Vicente was lecturing, using powerpoint slides to present and to explain the grammatical structures, and he was teaching students "how to do it," how to use the structures in context. She further argues that it is important to personalize what she is learning: "if I can't like (1) **use** that like **take** it and **make** it my own and kind of like be able to communicate with it and like use it like use it to describe a memory or something I've done or something I want to do (.1) then it's not helpful." In the case of the if-clause lesson, not only was it personalized, but she recognized this personalization, particularly when she laughed at Vicente's performance and commented that "it was true," she had had similar experiences.

Callie's reflections on the lack of explicit grammar teaching in class echo Sandy's:

I think it would be better to really have like (1) where you actually teach it [grammar] rather us learning it at night on our own and doing the:: (.1) 'cause we never actually go through what the actual like lesson is I would rather I wish we had more of a like a lesson plan where we where it was **taught** and then we could go on to do **some** activities

Callie complains about the lack of a lesson plan, which would centrally include teaching grammar and doing some activities. Finally, Mallory also comes to a similar conclusion: "we don't really go over in class like the grammar um I don't think he's ever taught us grammar."

Overall, the students do not recognize Vicente's grammar explanations nor do they recognize the activities he has created on the worksheets in order to practice the structures. They feel resentful because they feel that they must learn the grammar on their own in order to prepare for the exams. When I asked Sandy how she preferred to learn grammar she referred to the methods used by a previous Spanish instructor, saying "that was helpful for me because it kind of like you do this this and this and that's how you make the sentence and this is what the sentence means and so that was helpful." She wanted to be told what to do, the formula for making a sentence, and what the sentence means.

The focal students expressed the belief that language learning broadly speaking was more than learning correct grammar, it involved learning how to use language to communicate as they read the paper or move about a city, as well as cultural understanding to facilitate comprehension. They also claim that in the classroom they want to learn how to use grammar in context. Yet, in the case of the if-clause structures they do not seem to recognize Vicente's teaching them how to do so nor do they recognize themselves using these structures, and doing so correctly.

5.3 Conflicting Perspectives

Through his teaching philosophy Vicente also communicates his passion for his students' learning and its relevance in their lives, not only in terms of learning another language and culture but also in its potential for their personal development and transformation. The content of the worksheets that he develops is consistent with his teaching and learning philosophy, moreover he spends considerable unremunerated time developing and revising them, instead of simply using the activities from the textbook. In the classroom he contributes his energy and enthusiasm, spontaneously acting out an imaginary date in order to reinforce the context for the

use of the if-clauses, encouraging group debates with humor, and telling personal stories of his life as he encourages students to share their own. He is an instructor that seems to deeply care about his students and their learning and his gives much of his time and energy in order to support them.

In contrast to how students understand what it means to know another language and culture and its potential to change them, in terms of their classroom learning goals they consistently rejected Vicente's methodological approaches. Instead, they highlighted wanting to learn grammatical structures and discrete vocabulary items through instructor lectures and the use of the textbook. As Callie explains, "that's what we're getting graded on at the end of the day for the tests is grammar and vocab." In terms of their classroom learning goals for culture, they acknowledge their potential interest in learning factual information but ultimately conclude that it is of limited practical value, knowing information about a country they would never visit is not useful or relevant to their lives.

In the worksheets students were given questions, tasks to complete, and their purpose from the perspective of the instructor was to engage in a process of analysis and communication. In the case of the worksheet on the modern city several of the groups quickly completed their lists of important sites and immediately progressed to the next activity. However, Vicente stopped them and requested that they return to the first question in order to elaborate their answers. In a world in which time is money, knowledge is the rapid accumulation of facts, meaning is right or wrong, and the end goal is always in sight, the students resisted the teachers' deliberate process. Students want the fill in the blank textbook activities- that is how they will get their money's worth by passing the class. They want an instrumental approach from their teacher that Vicente disavows. Just as students should have instant and constant access to their banks through mobile banking, cell phone apps, and ATM's, in a modern, globalized world they should have instant access to knowledge, extracted from their instructor and their textbook. That is not to say that students do not value thinking or communicating: the problem is that the language and culture classroom is not deemed the place to engage in thinking or communicating, particularly when that is not what they are tested on. In the modern knowledge economy the purpose and role of language and culture study are understood differently.

The students prefer an instrumental approach because they believe that it would allow them to successfully and efficiently complete the class with a good grade while getting their money's worth. As Sandy explained: "I feel like (1) it's like almost insulting like I'm **paying** you **this much** and you still won't actually take the time to **teach** it to me." From her perspective, the elaboration and implementation of the worksheets is not deemed "teaching" because it is not the type of information that she considers important to her success as a student on the exam nor is it presented in a way that she recognizes. Her education is understood as an economic transaction: she pays the teacher in exchange for knowledge that Vicente has not delivered. As time is money, Mallory similarly concludes that the class is a waste of her time. Just as Vicente rebels against the instrumental approach, the students rebel against Vicente, forming a cohesive bond among the students because Vicente has become the "common enemy."

Overall Vicente's understandings of culture and language learning rely upon a process that has at its core student reflection: at the social level by reflecting on the structural causes and implications of cultural realities, relationships, and problems, and on the individual level by reflecting on one's understanding of self and the world. In this way, he feels he can avoid stereotypical representations of Latin America and facilitate student awareness of broader global processes, such as the United States' economic policies, and their own relationships to them.

However, students reject the imposition of this confrontation, which they see as one-directional and not interactive, leading Sandy to conclude: "we're just along for the ride and he's going to bear along and we're just going try to sit there and hold on."

The implementation of the worksheets and the classroom interactions that occur help to contextualize Sandy's perceptions. Vicente considers himself a rebel who disavows the instrumental approach because of its pedagogical rigidity and focus on form and he disavows the textbook because of its emphasis on learning right or wrong language structures and tourist cultural representations. The paradox that emerges is that he replaces a focus on form with a rigid focus on the activity and the "right" content. In other words, in the end he holds on to the paradigm of right and wrong, imposing a different rigidity, in this case it is just shifted to right and wrong ways of completing an activity and to knowing the content. Much like the rigidity of the instrumental approach, his own rigidity has implications for students' self-expression and exploration as they become rebels of their own, rebelling against what they perceive as Vicente not providing them with what they have paid for.

6. IMPLICATIONS: THE CHANGING NATURE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE EDUCATION

In the previous chapter I concluded that Yesenia and the students construct only two options for engaging with culture in the classroom: the tourist gaze, which attempts to highlight the pleasurable, entertaining, and enjoyable aspects of Latin American culture, and a cosmopolitan view, which is based on appreciating difference and caring about the problems of Latin America. These two options seem to exist in opposition to each other, and both the students and the instructor end up frustrated that their learning objectives and goals are not realized.

In Vicente's classroom the instructor and the students also construct only two options for engaging with language. Vicente rejects the approach represented by the textbook as instrumental and programmed; he wants students to learn to think, to reflect, and to propose, and, in the process, he believes that they will learn the language and appreciate their own and other cultures. To achieve his goals he replaces most of the textbook activities with his own worksheets that focus on promoting language use in context and exploring students' realities and positionalities. The students report liking the textbook, they find it helpful because it provides them with the tools they need, such as grammatical structures, to pass the exams and the course, thus fulfilling their language requirement. In fact, in the classroom they want more grammar lectures that focus on one discrete structure at a time. Students reject the worksheets for several reasons: 1) they do not reflect what they are tested on; and 2) they do not provide clear and concise practice of the grammatical structures and vocabulary in the textbook. The students also resent how the worksheets are implemented because they feel that Vicente limits their interaction with the content and he insists too much upon the right way to complete the activities.

Both Vicente and the students see the textbook approach and the worksheets as representing two different and contradictory approaches to teaching in a language and culture classroom. However, I argue that the problem is not limited to the textbook and that Vicente's worksheets do not necessarily represent the solution. The conflicting positionalities regarding teaching materials and approaches reflect larger debates in second language learning around the changing roles and purpose of language and culture learning within the context of a neoliberal education.

6.1 Language/Culture Learning and a Liberal Arts Education

Vicente's learning philosophy, with its insistence on "understanding, reflecting, and proposing" as part of the "holistic development" of the student, is to some degree reflective of the larger goals of a liberal arts education understood broadly. In her discussion of the characteristics of a liberal arts education, Brown (2011) highlights the importance of "courses and teaching oriented toward developing capacities of reflection and insight, the acquisition of multiple literacies, and obtaining long, large views of human and natural worlds" (p. 24). Through the "acquisition of a vastly enlarged view of and encounter with the world –its diverse peoples, sciences, languages, literatures, and histories" (Brown, 2011, p. 26) a liberal arts education ideally constructs an educated citizenry; it operates as a medium for egalitarianism and social mobility; and ultimately it functions to maintain and perpetuate democratic ideals.

In fact, the mission of SDU, with its unique Roman Catholic tradition, as well as Vicente's own learning philosophy reflect these goals of a liberal arts education. According to its website, SDU's vision focuses on "educating students who are globally competent, ethical leaders working and serving in our complex and changing world." Its core values include pursuing academic excellence, creating an inclusive community, developing ethical and responsible leaders, serving with compassion, and advancing intellectual development. With respect to the former, the core value of knowledge, their website provides the following elaboration:

> The University advances intellectual development; promotes democratic and global citizenship; cultivates an appreciation for beauty, goodness, and truth; and provides opportunities for the physical, spiritual, emotional, social, and cultural development of students. The University provides professional education grounded in these foundations of liberal learning while preparing students to understand complex issues and express informed opinions with courage and conviction.

While the role of language and culture learning are not explicitly mentioned in these vision and mission statements, it is through this learning that students can also come to understand these issues, to confront the realities of Latin America, according to Vicente, and their own positionality in transglobal processes, while learning how to express their opinions in another language.

In fact, the role and purpose of language and culture learning within a liberal arts education broadly speaking has changed much over the years as has the field of second language learning. The era of grammar-translation methodologies highlighted teaching the standardized languages of nation-states, artistic and literary productions, and comparisons between the foreign culture(s) and that of the students' own cultures (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). With the advent of communicative language teaching methodologies, the emphasis switched from standardized language encounters to everyday language used to communicate between individuals; the use of authentic texts representing not just "high" culture but including popular forms; and not just studying the "other" but developing intercultural competence, or the ability to operate within and across various cultures by understanding the "others'" underlying values, attitudes, and beliefs in relationship to one's own (see Byram, 1997). The communicative teaching revolution also heralded in a new emphasis on acquiring usable communication skills, which, together with the

increased intensity of globalization "tightened the instrumental goals of communication and has aimed at bringing language learning yet closer to the real-world of work" (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015, p. 12).

Students' perspectives on the importance of language and culture learning to some degree also reflect the goals of a liberal arts education and SDU's vision as well as those of communicative language teaching. In their reflections, students highlight learning to use language to communicate in everyday encounters with people and to understand others cultures' values and beliefs, which can lead to personal awareness and change, what Callie identified as "a humanitarian kind of thing." Yet, with regards to their specific learning of Spanish in the university setting, they consistently emphasize its instrumental value, the possibility to exchange it for personal gain by competing for jobs, and the desire for formulaic textbook instruction, which will help them to successfully pass the course. Thus their own differing viewpoints speak to the influence of globalization and, more specifically, neoliberalism, on language and culture study and its goals.

6.2 Language/Culture Learning and a Neoliberal Education

With globalization, the rise and spread of neoliberalization has further altered not just the role and purpose of language and culture education, but, according to Brown, it has also undermined the goals of a liberal arts education creating what I call a neoliberal education. Neoliberalism was first defined as economic theory (see Harvey, 2005), but Brown (2011) extends this understanding:

> By neoliberalism I am referring to much more than economic policies emphasizing deregulation of markets, challenging public ownership, and state redistribution and welfare policies. As I argue in the 'End of liberal democracy,' neoliberal rationality, 'while foregrounding the market, is not only or even primarily focused on the economy but involves extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action.' This means that the state, market, culture, and human beings are remade through market rationality and market criteria, a remaking that profoundly transforms the nature and values of liberal democracies, their subjects, and their institutions. (p. 37)

One such institution that has been transformed is higher education, which has been remade based on a market rationality. And this neoliberal rationality is a direct threat to the goals of a liberal arts education because "neoliberal rationality recognizes and interpellates the subject only as a speck of human capital, making incoherent the idea of an engaged citizen, an educated public or education for public life" (Brown, p. 23). The consequences of this rationality, according to Brown, have included a focus on the acquisition of skills, understood as human capital; a reliance on poorly paid, casual academic labor; the construction of students as entrepreneurs; and changes to academic programs, including limiting time to degree, increased reliance on technology, and emphasis on degrees in business, engineering, and preprofessional programs, amongst others.

According to Ward (2012), neoliberalism has altered the production of knowledge itself following a market rationality because no knowledge has value until it enters the marketplace. As Ward (2012) explains, "the value of knowledge (and education) are to be determined by their usefulness to individuals and this usefulness is best determined by markets composed of freely

trading and consuming people" (p. 103). Knowledge is now produced in order to be sold—it is commodified. In much the same way, the value of language learning has been altered, as language itself has been commodified. According to Heller (2002) language has become an "acquirable technical skill and marketable commodity" (p. 47).

The new knowledge economy, heavily influenced by neoliberalism, emphasizes formulistic knowledge that "has led to formulistic delivery and assessment by teachers, which, in turn has led to formulistic knowledge by students" (Ward, 2012, p. 113). In the end, the value of such skills is determined by their usefulness to individuals in the operation of global markets that require rapid information flows for those with the capital, privilege, and skills to access and to move them. Language is standardized and commodified as a skill (see Tan & Rubdy, 2008), in acquiring language structures students develop their human capital (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006), and in the process they potentially gain access to these global markets while profiting from their engagement with them.

This neoliberal rationality is manifested in the promotional information provided by the Department of Languages and Literatures at SDU. Its website provides a rationale for students to study Spanish and to do so specifically in the context of the U.S-Mexico border, explaining:

> Our privileged location in the Southern-most region of California, only minutes from the US-Mexico border, is an ideal environment for jobs in professions that not only recommend but require proficiency in the Spanish language and knowledge of Latin American cultures.

Below this justification, the website provides a list of possible uses for the Spanish major, highlighting that it is "an invaluable degree" because students can go on to enter other professions, such as: the sciences, marketing and business, engineering, medicine, legal professions, and tourism and hospitality. Through the university's mission statement, students are interpellated as becoming engaged citizens that understand complex issues, that engage with the community, and that serve with compassion. In these departmental materials they are interpellated, as Brown asserts, as a "speck of human capital," who can exchange their newly acquired language skills and cultural knowledge for profit in the global marketplace.

In a neoliberal education students no longer "acquire" a language and culture; rather, they "acquire" technical skills, communication skills. Language and culture have been standardized and commodified, taught in formulaic ways through textbooks. Professional organizations and publishing companies produce knowledge to be sold to students by departments and language instructors. Language departments enforce standardized assessment procedures to ensure that these skills are taught and acquired. Learning is instrumental and goal-based and classroom pedagogical practices focus on right and wrong answers as opposed to critically thinking or reflecting on the language itself, the larger contexts in which it is used, or the positioning of students within these contexts. Students accumulate formulaic knowledge by learning to distinguish right and wrong answers and memorizing isolated cultural facts so that ultimately they can exchange them in order to obtain better jobs.

Yet, perhaps this nefarious process of the neoliberalization of language and culture education is not complete, as evidenced in the competing expectations that emerge in Vicente's classroom at three levels: 1) between the students and the instructor; and 2) between the students' own expectations regarding their language and culture learning; and 3) between Vicente's teaching philosophy and his classroom practices. On the one hand, Vicente's students know that

they have to pass the standardized departmental exams and that to do so they need to learn the grammatical formulas and memorize the vocabulary lists from their textbook. They seem to accept the tenets of a neoliberal education: acquire the necessary skills to pass the class and exchange these skills for added value on the global market. On the other, in theory these same students still believe that language and culture learning involves more than the accumulation of these structures and words: it also involves communicating in the language, coming to know the values and beliefs of the other, and that doing so can effect personal change. They have not completely abandoned the values of a liberal arts education and the role that language and culture learning can play, they just see it as distinct from their immediate goals of fulfilling the language requirement. In fact, in the end, in the classroom interactions I have analyzed here students are able to do much more than "spit out translations" (Matthew) despite their resistance to Vicente's teaching methods: they are able to use language to reflect on, to analyze, and to express opinions about their world. To a certain extent, perhaps Vicente's goals were realized. Vicente himself is also caught in the crosshairs: he rejects the programmed instruction offered by the textbook and instead creates his own worksheets. But, he is not entirely free to design these activities following his own learning philosophy. They are a compromise as he must still adhere to the content that students must know to pass the exams. Perhaps this explains to some degree his rigidity, the insistence that students produce what he expects them to in a format that is recognizable and applicable: he understands that they need to pass the class and he must facilitate achieving the department's goals. A way out then perhaps does not reside necessarily in creating worksheets at the level of classroom instruction. Perhaps it requires that universities, departments, and research in second language education critically examine the broader goals and purpose of a foreign/second language education in the context of both a liberal arts education and a neoliberal education in order to consider the contradictions that emerge and the conflicting perspectives they create.

CHAPTER 6
"Putting a face on it": The Critical Potential of an Anti-foundational Conceptualization of Community Service Learning (CSL)

1. SEGUE

Independently of my research project, Yesenia decided to require that students in her Spanish classroom participate in community service-learning (CSL) activities. When she informed me of this decision, I was intrigued by the possibility of considering how students' experiences in these activities, and the meanings that they constructed from them, would interact with their classroom language and culture learning. Over the course of the semester, however, it became apparent to me that these CSL experiences were not integrated into the classroom. The learners did not complete readings on either CSL or the immigrant populations with which they interacted. On two occasions, students had the opportunity to reflect on their CSL experiences in the classroom, these discussions lasted approximately 15 minutes and they took place in each case after students finished a chapter exam. The focus of these discussions centered on practical issues, such as problems with transportation to the sites, as opposed to a consideration of how students understood these experiences. In reality, students only engaged in reflections on their experiences as facilitated by CSL office staff, with each other, and with me. CSL office staff facilitated reflections prior to departure to the sites, as students were participating in the activities, or as students were travelling to the sites. I observed students discussing their experiences with each other also during travel and while at the sites. Finally, students also engaged in reflections with me as a fellow participant in the CSL activities, see my note below on my positionality, and in response to the questions I posed during the interviews conducted with them at the end of the semester. As a result of the separation of these learning experiences, the classroom and the CSL activities, I have analyzed them in separate chapters. In Chapter 4 I considered the learning experiences of Yesenia's students in the classroom, in relationship to her own teaching practices and the pedagogical activities she designed. In this current chapter, I limit my analysis to the CSL experiences. In the following chapter, my conclusions, I consider the implications of this current analysis in relationship to the classroom.

2. INTRODUCTORY VIGNETTE

"The social and ethnic fabric of the United States is filled with interstitial wounds, invisible to those who didn't experience the historical events that generated them, or who are victimized by historical amnesia. Those who cannot see these wounds feel frustrated by the hardships of intercultural dialogue. Intercultural dialogue unleashes the demons of history" (Gómez-Peña, 1993, p. 47)

Bart completed his community service-learning (CSL) requirement for Yesenia's class at a Migrant Program. Run through a local church, this program began in response to the religious needs of migrant workers, predominantly men, many of whom live in the canyons of northern San Diego and work as day laborers, primarily in agriculture and construction. The program provides religious services in Spanish every Sunday in addition to a communal meal and other

forms of support, such as basic medical assistance. The CSL students provide English tutoring to the migrants for one hour prior to Mass.

When I asked Bart if his experiences with the Migrant Program had altered how he viewed himself, San Diego, or the border region his response focused specifically on how his perceptions of the migrants had changed. The following is his explanation:

> um just like (1) I remember that and I feel a lot of the the time you can the people that (1) immigration and and migrant workers they get this bad rap because people think all the time about how: people they don't pay taxes they come here they they use the hospitals they have kids here who get citizenship and that angers a lot of people I think that **I** had some of those same thoughts junior and senior year of high school because I was so ignorant on the issues but now as I've I remember freshman year an econ teacher told us like one of the first weeks of the class that (1) migrant workers and and il- undocumented workers provide millions and millions of dollars into our economy every year through their work and through their labor for our **our** country and through what they do to help **us** in our daily lives and I remember that was a just like a serious screeching halt I was like why have I had this terrible idea of undocumented workers this whole time then↑ and I think that the migrant outreach has just further helped me put a face on it and just understand like (1) the struggles they go through just how hard they work it's it's crazy to me what people the lengths that the men that I talked to go to for their families to send money back to them (1) it's: very respectable and (1) I think that **that's** really changed my outlook on that

I was struck by the expression "put a face on it," as it had been frequently used by the staff at the CSL office on campus and by other students to describe the goals and outcomes of the CSL experiences. I asked Bart to explain what he meant by it, and he replied:

> just the idea of undocumented workers people that are that have sort of snuck in quotations for the recording [laughter] snuck into the country and then uh:: um (1) are now working here and and sending money back and I think that really **angers** so many people because the idea that they're working here and then sending money to Mexico to be spent in Mexico (1) some people get **so** upset about that (1) but I mean I (1) I just think that's I thought the same way sort of when before you're quote educated on the issue and just how much they're providing to the economy and so **now** it's just helped me put a face all those hard working people that break their backs to support their families and then also (1) make it so that we can live here for a dime cheaper every orange or whatever it is that we're buying it's like it's sad

The process of "putting a face on it" reveals two different constructions of migrants. One is constructed by the category of "people" who Bart suggests are uneducated and ignorant. They see immigrants as freeloaders that have "snuck" in and taken advantage of the American Way by not paying taxes but still relying on social services such as hospitals. Ultimately, from this perspective immigrants are a drain on the U.S. economy. Bart used to belong to this category, but through what he learned from his economics teacher and his experiences at the Migrant Program, he now suggests that he has been "enlightened." By "putting a face on it" he has presumably discovered the "underlying truth"- as workers migrants are respectable, hard working people that

contribute to the U.S. economy while striving to support their families in Mexico. These two constructions are tied to place and nationalistic ideologies: there is a "here" that is the United States and its economy and a way of life must be protected by either rejecting the immigrants as freeloaders or welcoming their contributions to it. These constructions are also tied to two emotional responses directed towards the migrants: anger versus sadness.

Bart's reflections reveal a binary that he used to organize and understand immigration and that speak to larger constructions of immigrants in the United States. One is privileged as right, the truth, and the other, by extension, is wrong and false. Through his experiences Bart recognized that his own positioning within the binary has shifted, from what he now sees as the wrong side to the right side. In the end, he concluded that we pay less per orange because of the work of the migrants. Understood from the perspective of this binary, those people that think that migrants are "bad" never have to confront how the migrants' labor privileges them. Those like Bart who think that the migrants are "good" must acknowledge this material outcome. However, I suggest that Bart's conclusion no longer fits within this binary because it speaks to the relationship between the "wrong side" and the "right side."

Traditional conceptualizations view CSL as a methodology and as such they focus on its effectiveness in the realization of stated goals, ultimately situating these within a vision of individual and social progress and possible change (Butin, 2005). From this perspective, one could conclude that for Bart the goals of CSL were attained: he became part of an educated citizenry as he developed an alternative perspective based on an increased awareness of a social problem that resulted in a newfound respect for cultural diversity. In contrast, a postmodern anti-foundational perspective focuses on "how the service-learning experience creates, sustains, and/or disrupts the boundaries and norms by which we make sense of ourselves and the world" (Butin, 2005, p. 91). As such, the focus shifts to the how of the experience: how participants develop understandings of "servers" and "served"; how power relations are revealed or hidden; and how certain forms of knowledge and practice are privileged over others (p. 91). Doing so implies also situating these experiences within larger globalization processes. In the end, exposing these boundaries can disrupt normalized understandings of the world because of their remainders- meanings that cannot be contained in these binary constructions- that ultimately put into question the dominant culture's narratives (Butin, 2005). From this perspective there is no end game, no final goal against which Bart's experiences can be evaluated or measured, but openings that create the possibility for new meanings to emerge.

I argue that while Bart's reflections reveal the binaries through which he organizes the world, meaning is not completely contained in this binary. There is an excess, a remainder: the fact that we pay less per orange. This remainder points to the operation of the binaries, how they function to perpetuate power relationships and privilege. The narratives of the good migrants or the bad migrants ultimately reinforce the myth of the American Way based on hard work, dedication, and perseverance in the face of obstacles. Therefore, independently of the question of what is true or false, Bart is pointing to the conditions of possibility for the existence of these binaries that function to mask the larger questions of why migrants cannot find work at home and must leave their families, why the juridical structures exist to maintain them in a position of marginalization and exploitation once they are here, and ultimately how is it that "we," as consumers, are able to pay less per orange because of their work. In the end, an opening is created to shift the focus from the truthfulness of the two constructions of migrants as freeloaders and migrants as respectable to how they are interrelated, how they are constructed in discourse, and what their material, social, and cultural implications are particularly within larger neoliberal

globalizing processes. Bart does not critically reflect on this excess meaning, for example, by connecting it to these larger questions. However, this remainder, the suggestion of its existence, points to the meaning-making potential of CSL, not as methodology but as a locus of study.

In this chapter, I begin with an exploration of these differing conceptualizations of CSL, ultimately aligning my own research inquiry with Butin's (2005) postmodern, anti-foundational conceptualization. I consider how the various CSL programs are framed for students and the implications of this framing in relationship to larger societal and cultural narratives. By further situating this view within globalization and neoliberalism, and their multiple tensions, this poststructuralist analysis seeks to understand the process by which students "put a face on it" through their CSL experiences in order to consider the potential new meanings that emerge. Finally, I explore the implications of these meanings in terms of the implementation of CSL.

3. CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF CSL

Becky, the Assistant Director of the CSL office at the SDU campus, explained her understanding of CSL:

> what are they [students] learning in the classroom and how can that best be mirrored and enhanced and enriched by their experiences in the community just putting real faces, real people, real real issues to the forefront instead of just reading and trying to understand things from a textbook and from lectures.

From her perspective, the goal of CSL is that of putting "real faces," "real people," and "real issues" in order to connect and expand academic learning from textbooks and lecture content with community experiences in order to students' facilitate academic learning.

Becky's understanding of the role and purpose of CSL closely aligns with Butin's (2010) three methodological perspectives: technical, cultural, and political conceptualizations. These focus on particular goals and implementation strategies to achieve these goals as understood from the perspective of the students. His last conceptualization, anti-foundational, takes a postmodern perspective and shifts the emphasis away from CSL as method to CSL as a locus of study. I begin with a definition of the three methodological conceptualizations with examples of how they have been understood in practice and enacted in research. I then consider the anti-foundational perspective and how it aligns with recent research that situates CSL in larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism.

3.1 CSL as Methodology: Technical, Cultural, and Political Conceptualizations

According to Butin (2010), the first three conceptualizations of CSL, the technical, cultural, and political, are interconnected in research and practice as all are understood primarily as methodologies that focus on goal-oriented outcomes.

A technical perspective highlights the instrumental effectiveness of CSL: how it can enhance academic learning and the goals of a liberal arts education, including civic engagement and social responsibility, amongst others (see Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda & Yee, 2000; DeVitis, Johns, & Simpson, 1998; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Jones & Abes, 2004; Perry & Katula, 2001). From this perspective, Bart, introduced in the opening vignette, became a more engaged and

informed citizen by "putting a face on it" as he concludes that the system needs to change so that immigrant workers are not exploited. With these goals in mind, the technical perspective highlights implementation, including questions of efficacy, quality, and efficiency; and it is concerned with the sustainability of CSL in relationship to placements, frequency and length of contact hours, perceived impact of service, etc. For this reason, much CSL research has been dedicated to the development of best practices in implementation (see Caldwell, 2007; Díaz-Barriga, 2003; Jorge, 2003; Julseth, 2003; Lear & Abbott, 2009; Olazagasti-Segovia, 2003; Plann, 2002).

A cultural conceptualization shifts the emphasis from the effectiveness of the innovation to the process of meaning making through its practices. From this perspective, engagement with difference across racial, ethnic, class, and sexual orientation lines can lead students to better understand, appreciate, and engage with cultural diversity. Ultimately, this process can contribute to understanding multicultural perspectives (Boyle-Baise & Efiom, 2000; O'Grady, 2000), as Bart does by engaging with the perspective of the exploited "face" of the immigrant. While it is closely related to the technical, this perspective recognizes that the outcomes and goals of CSL are not located in the innovation itself but instead are embedded in its processes.

A political conceptualization views teaching, research, and learning within CSL as "the embodiment and enactment of a social-justice worldview, where the personal and the political meet in a substantive praxis and where higher education is viewed as a central agent of change for an equitable society" (Butin, 2010, p. 135). It thus brings to the fore questions of power imbalances, legitimacy, and supposed neutrality implicit in CSL relationships through reflexive and critical stances. From this perspective CSL is centrally concerned with the goal of empowering the voices and practices that have been historically marginalized. Ultimately, this is the end result of the process of "putting a face on it," coming to understand the social, political, and economic problems of immigrants even if Bart is not able to imagine how to change this reality, other than by paying more for the oranges he buys. In the end, engagement in CSL can be either transformative or repressive, providing meaningful and long-term solutions to communities or reinforcing dominant deficit perspectives of the other. For example, while CSL researchers have considered how CSL can contribute to understanding social problems and promote social justice advocacy (Plann, 2002; Tilley-Lubbs, 2003; Lesman, 2003), Jones (2002) has explored instances in which CSL actually reinforced stereotypes that students bring into the classroom.

3.2 An Anti-foundational Conceptualization of CSL as a Locus of Study

Butin's (2005, 2010) fourth conceptualization, anti-foundational, closely aligns with poststructuralist perspectives on knowledge and meaning-making processes. It postulates that there is no neutral or objective foundation by which it is possible to know "truth" just as there are no grand narratives, such as Bart's understanding of the right side and the wrong side of immigration. Instead, there are only local, contingent, and intersubjective "truths" and meaning itself is fragmented and partial. Thus, the focus of CSL is not necessarily that of fulfilling a predetermined end goal, the realization of a truth or the achievement of a fixed outcome, because doing so closes off discussion and meaning making. Instead, this conceptualization recognizes that what is constructed and experienced contains an excess of meanings, remainders, that can break with foundational understandings of truth by which we organize and understand the world, such as Bart's realization that "we can live here for a dime cheaper every orange."

Recent criticisms of the limits of some traditional CSL models align with this anti-foundational conceptualization and expand on it. One of the primary criticisms is based on the problematic reproduction of problematic binaries between the "haves" and the "have-nots" as the goal of CSL is for students, the "haves," to develop charitable attitudes towards the community members, the "have-nots" (see Bruce & Brown, 2010: Kendall, 1990; Mitchell, 2007). At the same time, researchers point to three relevant characteristics of larger globalization processes that have significant implications for these limitations: neoliberalism, time-space compression, and globalism.

Within a neoliberal political and economic order, maximizing profits is the main priority while democracy is reconceptualized as consumer choice (Keith, 2005). Neoliberalism has resulted in an increase in the gap between the richest and poorest regions of the world and, within the richer economies, the economic order has not only been reproduced, but the disparities have increased (Harvey, 2005). The intensification of inequality, social divisions, and dichotomies between self and other are reflected in the dichotomies that charity models of CSL reproduce between self (have) and other (have not) with their accompanying assumptions that there is a right way of being and knowing (Bruce & Brown, 2010; Keith, 2005).

Due to technological advancements in telecommunications and global flows of products, information, and people, a significant characteristic of globalization is time-space compression. While this compression permits the consumption of ready-made goods, the ease and rapidity of global communication also create increased opportunities to engage with cultural difference and, in the process, to take up multiple identity and community affiliations (Keith, 2005). At the same time, due to this contact new forms of racism, prejudice, nationalism, and xenophobia have emerged (Bruce & Brown, 2010). On the one hand, CSL projects can support an exploration of these multiple identities and community affiliations (Keith, 2005) while participants interrogate privilege and difference that speak back to these new forms of oppression. On the other hand, CSL projects can foreclose these explorations, reproducing privilege as well as prejudices.

Globalism (also referred to as globalization from below) acknowledges and celebrates people's differences, including the sometimes contradictory subject positions that are taken up, while valuing social justice and dialogue that addresses conflict, supports interconnectedness, and engages in the struggles of the other (Keith, 2005). Overall, globalism has led to an increase in international advocacy and human rights groups that promote social justice (Bruce & Brown, 2010). This social justice perspective offers a very different lens on CSL than that of "charity" as it reinforces the need to create spaces for relationships with the other and dialogue through which to view diversity and to learn across difference (Keith, 2005).

In response to the limits of traditional forms of CSL and in recognition of the influences and implications of globalization and neoliberalism some researchers advocate combining critical theory, as applied to social problems, with the practice of doing CSL (see Hart, 2006). This model would engage students in examining power imbalances and social inequalities in order to take social action (Rhoads, 1997; Rice & Pollack, 2000; Rosenberger, 2000). To do so, Keith (2005) argues for an increased emphasis on interdependence, reflexivity, dialogue, and community building. Bruce and Brown (2010) advocate for critical service learning, a call that is echoed by Butin (2007), as fostering "a justice-oriented framework… that makes possible the questioning and disruption of unexamined and all too often oppressive binaries of how we view the struggle toward equity" (p. 1).

More specifically, Bruce and Brown (2010) propose a post-critical/relational approach that decenters the location of knowledge and facilitates the process of unlearning privilege

through a consideration of other ways of knowing and being (Andreotti & de Souza, 2008). It is also a dialogical approach that questions the binary "us" and "them", "haves" and "have-nots" (both knowledge and privilege). This approach is consistent with an anti-foundational conceptualization because it does not just shift the privilege from one side of the binary to another, it points to the meanings that are not contained in the binaries, the remainders, thereby revealing the larger transformative potential of CSL. When understood in this way, an anti-foundational conceptualization offers the potential to take a critical stance on the goals and implementation of CSL, in adherence to technical, cultural, and political conceptualizations.

3.3 My Research Focus

A methodological approach to CSL that emphasizes program implementation, goal achievement, and the meaning of its practices might pose the following questions: How does one "put a face on it" through the implementation of CSL?; What is the impact of "putting a face on it" in terms of student learning goals?; How is the meaning of the face developed in practice? These questions would be consistent with a program evaluation. However, while these questions are important, my own analysis is not focused on evaluating the process of "putting a face on it" as a final, end goal.

The purpose of my analysis is to explore how students understand what "putting a face on it" means in the context of their CSL experiences from the perspective of an anti-foundational conceptualization. Therefore, the research questions I pose focus on the process of "putting a face on it" and the potential meanings that emerge. These questions include: Whose face? Who is putting the face?; On what?; Where is the face?; and What is "it"?. These questions open up spaces in which to consider how CSL relationships are constructed by CSL staff and students through their experiences, how these operate to organize the world and to construct knowledge, and what role privilege plays in them.

3.4 A Note on My Positionality

My participation in the CSL activities with students led me to question some of my own presumed binaries in the research process, between researcher and researched and subjects and objects of research. Throughout the process I came to position myself and be positioned by others in different moments as not only researcher but also teacher, confidant, friend, activist, advocate, and linguistic and cultural mediator and translator. In my descriptions of the interactions I have tried to account for my participation and roles because my presence was not impartial nor was it objective. Indeed, as I write this analysis I relive my often conflicting emotions.

At times I was deeply concerned with how immigrant groups and their political, economic, cultural, and social realities were inadvertently represented to and constructed for students by the CSL staff and other participants. For example, during our tour of the Salvation Army in Tijuana there was an emphasis on how the men had to be coerced to shower. Without additional contextualization I feared that this would reproduce stereotypes of "dirty Mexicans." I explained that deportation was an emotionally and psychologically traumatic experience and that coupled with the demands of basic survival, could lead to a level of exhaustion in which showering was not a primary concern.

I also considered or came to consider many of the migrants that participated in the various programs as friends and therefore, it was important to me to be an advocate and mediator that encouraged students to engage with them respectfully and openly. When Adam expressed to me his concerns about how to interact with community members I reminded him of the importance of not using tú, the informal "you." As English does not make the distinction between formal and informal "you," I knew from previous experience that students can inadvertently resort to the informal form without realizing it or contemplating its potential disrespectful impact, even as an unintentional error.

Whereas my own participation has certainly altered the outcomes of my research in many instances the discomfort, questions, and concerns that students experienced were independent of my presence. They chose to share these moments with me, perhaps due to my familiarity and our shared experiences. This was the case when the students approached me at Home Depot to express their distress that we were keeping the migrants from getting jobs by distracting them. In general the interviews I conducted with students were the only spaces in which I observed students reflecting critically on their experiences. Therefore, I conclude that my presence and my interventions further support the need for integrating space for this type of critical reflexivity as a part of the CSL experience.

4. FRAMING THE CSL LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A staff member from the CSL Office, Katy, gave a brief classroom presentation to the students at the beginning of the semester to explain the goals and requirements of their CSL experiences. I begin with this presentation as a means of introducing the CSL activities, as this is how learners were introduced to them. I then engage in a brief analysis of Katy's framing in order to consider the binaries that it establishes. Data comes from my field notes.

4.1 CSL Program Descriptions

Katy begins her classroom presentation of the CSL activities by saying: "This class requires a CSL component. This is going to make your Spanish class better, more intentional. Your experiences will enhance the classroom and you will make relationships with community partners." After asking students if anyone had previously done CSL, she continues: "this will enhance and expand what you learn in the classroom. It is a practical application. It may seem like an extra burden but in the end you won't feel that way," because ultimately the experience will "deepen your experience" and "broaden your horizons." Katy also reminds students that they do not have to worry about their Spanish language skills, that they will not be judged if they make a mistake because "their [the immigrants] English isn't very good."

Katy then outlines the four site options. All students are required to participate in one of the Border Trips, either to San Diego or to Tijuana, and in addition they choose one of the three other sites (the Migrant Program, the Language Exchange Program, or Head Start) where they must complete the equivalent of 12 hours of service[10]. I will briefly summarize each of these programs through the framing Katy employed in her presentation. An extended description of the history of each of the sites and the community organizations that operate them are included in

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[10] Except for Head Start, which is a national association, I have altered the names of each of the programs to protect the identities of the participants.

Chapter 3 and a more detailed description of what happens at each site is included in my analysis later in this chapter. I have not included an analysis of the experiences at Head Start because I did not attend nor did I collect data at this site.

4.1.1 Border Trips. The first stop on the itinerary for the trips to Tijuana is the Salvation Army, which provides food and shelter every night for approximately 100 recently deported migrants, predominantly men. Katy explains that there, "you will hear real stories from immigrants." After recounting the story of an immigrant that worked in Chicago for 10 years who was caught and deported back to Tijuana with no money, papers, or contacts she summarizes: "here is an actual reality." The second stop is a neighborhood center where students complete a project with members of the local community, the example provided is painting a fence. Katy tells students that they will have the opportunity to interact with the community and "practice your Spanish but in a more meaningful way," and she highlights that there is zero judgment from the kids when they make language errors. The last stop is a large market close to the border, where students are told they can get an idea of food prices and think about what it means to feed a family on an average Mexican salary.

For the San Diego trips, Katy explains that the students meet at the CSL office on campus to make peanut butter and jelly sandwiches for the migrant day laborers, mostly men. The first stops are a series of three local parking lots, a grocery store and two Home Depots, where the day laborers wait to be contracted. Katy provides snapshots of this experience: "there are these guys you probably drive by and see at gas stations"; "these guys have traveled from Mexico and Latin America"; "we'll go work with these guys and talk to them"; "these guys are extremely nice and they love it when we talk to them, we usually bring them lunch and hot coffee." At the second site, Friendship Park students will learn about the dangerous and frequently deadly journeys of immigrants. The final stop is a detention center for immigrant youth below the age of 18. There the students are told they will play baseball and soccer with the youth. The overall purpose of the San Diego trip according to Katy is to "wake students up to the reality on this side of the border, you don't have to go across the border to see it."

4.1.2 Migrant Program. This program is run by a local parish and it meets every Sunday from 9AM to noon in the parking lot of a landscaping business in northern San Diego county. After setting up for Mass, Katy explains that the students tutor the migrant workers in English for approximately one hour. After Mass the parishioners serve lunch and everyone participates in cleaning up. Students are required to attend three Sundays. As Katy explains, the migrants are "men that mostly live in the canyons." She highlights the relational aspect of this experience: "they are men that want to connect with others over their faith" and "it is a great friendship that forms," so much so that "they look forward to your coming back."

I also attended the 15-minute orientation session led by the two site coordinators for the Migrant Program, Saul and Mariana. In it they also emphasized the building of relationships, with goal being to create a bond with the migrants. Therefore, they recommended that students turned off their cell phones and mingled with them, "to find migrants and talk to them," in order to tell their own stories and listen to the migrants' stories during both the tutoring session and the communal lunch.

4.1.3 Language Exchange Program (LED). This program meets for two hours every Tuesday and Thursday evenings at a community center 1.4 miles from the SDU campus and

students must attend six times. As Katy explains, "you will be working with the indigenous community from Southern Mexico. They speak Mixteco, they don't even speak Spanish let alone English." Ultimately students will learn "what life is like assimilating in the States." For the first hour and a half students are told that they either tutor adult members of the community in English or Spanish, depending upon their preferences, or they work with the Kids Program by helping children complete their homework. For the last half hour the SDU students, the community members, and the children participate in a Mixteco language class, which is taught by one of two Mixteco speakers.

4.1.4 Head Start. The Head Start program is offered at a local school, just a short drive from campus. According to Katy the program is "tailored to families from lower socio-economic backgrounds," and she reminds students, "you are working with an extremely diverse community in [Buena Vista]." Katy explains that the students spend an hour at a time in the classroom, helping the children to prepare and eat their snacks or engaging in play time with them at different stations that are set up with computers, paints, or toys.

4.2 Creating Binaries

Katy's presentation was informative: she wanted students to understand the goals of and requirements for their CSL experiences. At the same time, it provided a framing for the students from which to understand their experiences. I provide a brief analysis of this framing in order to consider the meanings Katy ascribes to the students' experiences, the performative expectations she establishes for both the students and the immigrants, and the positionality and identities she constructs for all of the participants.

Katy identifies specific goals that primarily focus on what students will obtain from the experience, which include: practicing Spanish in a meaningful way, interacting with the community, hearing "real stories" of immigrants, and learning "what life is like assimilating in the States." Although she recognizes that this is a reality that students might have driven by and seen now they will engage with it. Overall, Katy emphasizes that the students' experiences will be "deepened," their horizons "broadened," and they will "wake up" to the reality on this side of the border. This framing suggests that like Bart, as previously analyzed, students will ultimately become enlightened through their experiences. These goals establish the first binary: what is considered "real," i.e., the experiences of the migrants, versus what is imagined, i.e., students' previous and erroneous understanding of the migrants' experiences. Furthermore, Katy's framing of these goals privileges the development of students' perspectives vs. those of the community members because students will come to know the immigrants' reality and benefit from this knowledge whereas the immigrants already live this reality and simply represent it as objects.

It is significant that Katy did not engage students in a discussion of their own expectations for their CSL experiences. Whereas their experiences and reflections will be analyzed at length in the next section, I will briefly consider students' expectations vis-à-vis Katy's framing because there are significant differences. In a survey I conducted at the beginning of the semester designed to explore students' attitudes and motivations towards CSL, more than half of the class strongly agreed that they thought it would help them to examine their own privilege; they would be able to help other people; they would have the opportunity to practice their Spanish; and it would help them to pass the course. More than half moderately agreed that it would help them to understand the needs of other groups of people; they would learn about the

causes of social and economic inequality; and it would help them to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts[11]. In general, these responses suggest students' interest in critically engaging with this reality, not just becoming aware of it, by considering their own relationships to difference through interaction, and in developing an increased awareness of their own privilege in order to understand inequality and to interact appropriately with these communities.

In order to achieve the goals she outlines for CSL, Katy highlights in her presentation what students will do: their performance primarily consists of "working with them" and "talking to them." In her representation of this relationship, Katy does not consider what immigrants will do, other than tell their stories; the expectations for the migrants' performance are primarily based on how they will respond: "they love it when we talk to them" such that a "great friendship" will be formed. The immigrants are interpellated as objects in an us-them dichotomy, the second binary that is established. Katy constructs them as men or "guys" who live in canyons; they are families from lower socio-economic backgrounds; they are "extremely nice"; they want to share their faith with others; their English is not very good, if they speak it at all; they are non-judgmental about students' Spanish errors; and they love to be talked to. Katy does not mention that this interaction will influence the migrants' experiences, perhaps because they do not need to be "deepened" or "broadened" because they already live in, or represent, reality.

In Katy's framing there are two constructions of the immigrants that I argue speak to larger and interrelated narratives that both objectify and romanticize them. Like orientalism, these narratives depend on a flexible positional superiority, "which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing himself the upper hand" (Said, 1979, p. 7). The first part of the narrative is that of the "poor immigrant": the hapless, lonely, diverse, deprived worker or child that only wants to be talked to. This representation puts the students in a position of superiority, they can "serve" the immigrants' by fulfilling their desires to be talked to. At the same time that the immigrants are lowered to the status of being served they are also raised up, sanctified and beautified, because they are non-judgmental objects that are extremely nice and through them students can come to know reality. From this position, they are serving the students; however, not as individuals with unique experiences and identities, but as objects in which the students are still in the position of superiority because the students define these experiences. In the end, the construction of both parts of the narrative reify the server-served binary, which indexes a colonizer-colonized binary, while establishing the performative expectations for both students and immigrants. However, as my analysis will demonstrate there were remainders – meanings that revealed these binaries and through which students adopted a critical perspective on their operation and the power implicit in them.

5. "PUTTING A FACE ON IT"

In exploring the process of "putting a face on it" and the related questions of whose face, who is putting it, where is the face, and what is 'it', I will organize my analysis based on the specific CSL sites: the Migrant Program, the San Diego Border Trip, the Language Exchange Program, and the Tijuana Border Trip. In keeping with Butin's (2010) emphasis on CSL as a lived experience, in the first section I attempt to contextualize these experiences through an analytical

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[11] The complete results of this survey are presented in Appendix F.

reflection on the interactions, events, and community participation. These data are primarily from my field notes in addition to interviews conducted with community members. The second part focuses on an individual student's experiences as elaborated in the interviews I conducted at the end of their CSL experiences. I analyze the binaries that are revealed, how they operate in relation to larger narratives, and their remainders, the excess meaning that does not fit into these binaries and as such point to something else.

5.1 The Migrant Program

5.1.1 Reflections on Interactions. Upon arrival at 9 AM the parishioners, with the help of the SDU students, set up for Mass, which involves positioning the wooden benches, erecting the tarps, preparing the alter, and distributing the booklets. Usually there are approximately 10 to 15 parishioners. The students that attended from SDU were primarily Spanish students from the class I was researching, although occasionally students from other classes attended as well. Typically there were between five and ten total students plus the two site coordinators, Saul and Mariana. The migrant men arrive around 9AM as well for the tutoring sessions, generally there are between three and five. Other migrants arrive with their families around 10AM for Mass, they stay for the communal lunch afterwards.

There were two instances in which the migrants and the SDU students interacted, during the approximately one-hour English tutoring sessions prior to Mass and the communal lunch. The tutoring sessions occured under the tarps and they roughly followed the same format: the migrants and the site coordinators, Mariana and Saul[12], selected a topic and, using the booklets, all collectively recited the vocabulary words. For example, the day the migrants practiced vocabulary related to landscaping –words such as wheelbarrow, bush, and mower- the SDU students said the words in Spanish and in English and then the migrants repeated the words in English. One day I asked one of the migrants, Juan, about these tutoring sessions. He stated that he did not really learn anything because neither he nor the other the migrants had books nor did they write anything. He also highlighted that he did not really attend to learn, only to practice talking with the students.

These tutoring sessions were frequently disrupted; either Saul or Mariana encouraged one of the migrants to "tell his story." For example, on March 25 the vocabulary lesson on days of the week was interrupted when Mariana asked José, a new arrival, if he had anything he wanted to share. After additional prompting, he recounted his recent story of crossing the border from Mexico to the United States with a group of other migrants. Mariana recommended that all of the students move closer and form a circle around him. The following is a summary of his story from my field notes:

> José had only been back in the U.S. for 2 weeks, he decided to return because he wasn't able to make enough money in Oaxaca. He had been to the U.S. before so when he returned he knew where to cross. However, when José got to the border he discovered that a new wall had been built and there was no way to cross, so he and his fellow migrants had to take a different route. He said that it was obvious that the new route

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[12] Mariana and Saul were both born of immigrant parents from Mexico and they spoke fluent Spanish. They were both seniors at SDU. Saul highlighted in his interview that he came from a "low-income" family. His father owned a landscaping business and he had worked with him since a very young age. Saul had been working as site coordinator for the Migrant Program for two years and Mariana for three years.

hadn't been used for very long as it was difficult to see and to follow it – it was through the desert. When they got to the mountains José said that it got very cold, and they didn't have anything with which to cover themselves so they just kept walking. Whereas in the past he had crossed and arrived in San Diego in 2 days in this case he left on Monday and didn't arrive until the following Sunday. When José finally got to Alpine he went to a Vons [a grocery store] parking lot and asked someone to call him a taxi. He took the taxi to San Diego, which is about 30 miles away. When he arrived someone from the church gave him a tent and a blanket, for which he said he was very grateful.

There was limited interaction between the SDU students and the migrants during the communal lunch. Most frequently, the students sat together and talked about their weekend activities, speaking predominantly in English. Saul and Mariana usually ate with the migrants. The topics and tone of the conversations were very different from those of the tutoring sessions, as I frequently noted in my field notes. In contrast to the stories of the difficulties of crossing the border and trying to find work, they compared their favorite soccer teams, joking about which team was better; they engaged in personal discussions, such as whether or not Saul was going to work with his father over the upcoming break; and they frequently teased each other, about how much food they ate, about one of the migrant's new haircut, etc.

On the last day this pattern was interrupted. Upon our arrival, Pedro, one of the migrants, approached Mariana and me to report that he was very worried about having to negotiate a deal with a man who wanted to contract him and six other men. He feared that his linguistic skills in English would limit him from successfully negotiating a fair deal. The man had offered $10.00 an hour but the conditions of employment had not been stipulated and Pedro was specifically concerned about the work hours, the question of transportation, and whether or not lunch would be provided.[13]

In response to his request for help, during the tutoring session Gary, one of the focal students, another SDU student named Michael who was not in the Spanish class, and I helped Pedro to formulate the questions he needed to ask the man and during lunch he practiced repeating the sentences to improve his pronunciation. These are my notes summarizing this exchange:

> The first question we [Gary, Michael, and I] originally wrote in the form of a question, Do you provide lunch?. Pedro insisted in the importance of the question of who pays and the fact that if lunch isn't included he might not be interested in the job. For this reason he wanted to change it into a statement, I want you to pay for lunch. For the question of how far away the house is I strategized with Gary and Michael to formulate a yes/no question so that we could write both follow-up questions. For yes, the house is far away, the follow-up question was will you provide a ride. For no, the house is not far away, the follow-up question was is it possible to walk there and how many minutes would it take.

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[13] While $10.00 an hour is a very low wage for manual labor their take home pay is significantly reduced when the workers have to also buy their own lunch and water. In addition, after working 8 to 12 hour days the men frequently have to walk up to one hour to return home, which is physically exhausting. Finally, it is very common for contractors to trick the workers, promising them lunch and then not providing it, leaving them stranded at the end of the day without a ride, and even docking their pay or not paying them at all, knowing that they have little legal recourse to wage complaints. As a result, the migrants were generally very careful about negotiating these deals with contractors and they were understandably fearful of being cheated.

Pedro seemed relieved with the yes/no strategy because he would be able to understand these simple responses.

5.1.2 Gary: "We just take over." When I asked Gary, one of the SDU students, about his experiences participating in the Migrant Program he commented that "maybe there's something more fulfilling that can be done." I asked him why it was not fulfilling and he replied, "there's not very many men and when you do work with them it's like ½ hour it's not actively engaging with people or anyone else." In response to my request for clarification, he elaborated: "it's more like a chore to do instead of like going there and like having fun like being involved like really involved." I asked him to describe the tutoring sessions with the migrants: "um they've been pre-pretty good they're really they're happy that we're there and that people are trying to help them or teach them English and they're willing to learn the ones that that want to learn that want to participate um so it's been pretty good."

Despite the fact that his experiences talking to the migrants had been "pretty good" Gary still "feels like an outsider cause we're all from SDU and we just take over." As he explained:

> "we're just like half the people there in terms of numbers and we just (.) I don't know (.) it's kinda like it's (.) we just like they bus us in and [laughter] we just show up for (.) a little like you know show up for the two hours that we're or four hours that we're there and then leave and then that's it you know we're only there for three times and those people are there every weekend you know throughout the year so it's kind of like (2) I don't know I feel like we're kinda (2) just (1) it's like kinda like going to SeaWorld like you just go there for like the day and then **leave** it's kind of like you just oh you see these people and then you **leave**"

Perhaps from Gary's perspective "putting a face on it" can be understood as a visit to SeaWorld. Through his comments and the SeaWorld metaphor Gary reveals the existence of numerous binaries: insider vs. outsider; seeing vs. being seen; server vs. served; being involved vs. visiting for a few hours; a chore vs. something that is fun. In these binaries the SDU students are in a privileged position; they visit SeaWorld and they see, an action, while the migrants are being seen, a passive position. Despite Gary's complaints that he felt like an outsider, the students also had the privilege and freedom to come and go, to put the face or not. In contrast, the migrants were inside the aquarium; they did not have this same privilege of movement and they remained as objects. It is not their face that is relevant, only what they represent: the poor immigrant who overcomes hardships only to struggle more.

Both the migrants and the students performed these identities and roles in their interactions as if on stage: the students are to put the "face" by forming a circle around José, who provides this "face" through his story of a perilous border crossing, which the students absorbed as if watching a dolphin performing leaps in a show. It is significant that Mariana provoked this performance and orchestrated these roles, albeit with positive intentions as she believed that she was facilitating the process of putting a face on it. It is striking that outside of this performance space, when the students were not around, the migrants performed different identities, as they engaged in discussions of soccer and the weather.

The migrants' stories are painful and personal and I do not intend to minimize their importance, only highlight their objectification through their performance and how they speak to

the construction of the narrative of the "poor immigrants": they suffer hardships and exploitation but they are still "willing to learn" and they are "happy" that the SDU students are there to help them. Gary attributed these emotions to the migrants while simultaneously positioning them as "not having" and; therefore, needing to be "served" and the students as "servers" because they "have" the knowledge of English.

Gary demonstrated concern with both positions, his own and that of the migrants. On the one hand, Gary concluded that he was not actively engaging with them and that the experience was not fulfilling: it felt more like a chore because it was not fun. On the other, he also suggested that this relationship was unfair to the men because, "like we just you know we just show up and stay there for you know help them for 30 minutes and then leave I don't know if it's helping them that much like I'm just not sure what's it really doing for them maybe a little bit of language like learning English but that's really minimal." In the end Gary's larger question centers on what the experience really did for the migrants, a goal-oriented perspective that is unidirectional, it denies the migrants' own agency. Indeed, the stories the migrants tell were ones of survival but ones in which the migrants are agents, like Pedro, who desire to learn the linguistic skills necessary to combat their continued exploitation as undocumented workers

Despite his criticism of the SeaWorld model and all that it implies, Gary reproduces it, objectifying the migrants as receivers of benevolence and knowledge, in fact his central concern was how much they received. Therefore, while Gary's comments are critical of the performance he cannot completely escape the binaries between seeing-seen; servers-served; helpers-receivers that are implicit in the goal-oriented process of putting a face on it. However, his comment that "we take over" points somewhere else, suggesting an outside of these binaries, a remainder. In questioning traditional conceptualizations of CSL Butin argues: "From the notion of autonomous individuals consciously willing positive change to the win-win mantra of service-learning advocates, conceptualizations of service-learning have glossed over the presumption of neutrality, the privileging of whiteness, and the imbalance of power relations" (Butin, 2010, p. 7).

The excess meaning that Gary's comment contains speaks to what has been glossed over. "Taking over" is not a neutral stance: it is one imbued with power, akin to a conquering army that imposes its own cultural, social, and political constructions, it is the perspective of the colonizer. Furthermore, it highlights students' privilege, as white, middle to upper class students at a local university that possess not only knowledge but impose how that knowledge is to be received. In the statement "we take over" Gary points to an awareness of this privilege and he critically reflects on the imbalance of power implicit in it and the discomfort it provokes. Through his SeaWorld metaphor it is possible to perceive his own distress and perplexity through markers of uncertainty, such as "just" and "like" and his multiple hedges, "it's kind of like we just like" and "so it's kind of like I don't know I feel like we're kind of just it's kinda like…" Gary struggles with his own positioning, that of the students, and that of the migrants through this critical reflection as he juxtaposes the "I," the "we," the students, and "these people." However, he seems unable to exert his own agency to convert these reflections into action by reframing the experience, altering his own performative participation, or actively engaging in different ways with the migrants. At the same time, I might suggest that the very structure and organization of the experience limit his potential to act.

5.2 San Diego Border Trip

5.2.1 Reflections on Interactions. We spent approximately 20 minutes at each of the local parking lots where migrant workers seek day labor. There were 14 students, so we travelled in three minivans with the CSL Program Director, Katy, and a community partner, Jorge. At all three stops Jorge was the first to get out of the van; he approached the migrants, all men, in order to explain why we were there. As he explained to me later, this first contact was particularly important so as to not give the false impression that we were there to contract them, and to assuage any doubts about our intentions given the harassment that the migrants receive from store security personnel and the increased raids by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents.

At all three locations the migrants were gathered in small groups of three to five. As I later discovered through our conversations, the men maintained a careful balancing act between being simultaneously visible and invisible. They needed to be visible to contract work, yet not too visible because potential employers tend to be intimidated by a large group. They also had to remain invisible to avoid harassment and detention. By standing in small groups they increased their odds of obtaining work while avoiding calling too much attention to themselves and, in the case of an immigration raid, providing a better chance of escape. Within these smaller groups, the migrants described acting in solidarity, relying on each other for various forms of assistance, whether financial or communicative in order to negotiate with potential employers.

Once Jorge explained our intentions to the men, Katy, he, and I branched out to speak with different groups. The students congregated around one of us, either due to linguistic insecurities or other discomforts, as will be elaborated. The students distributed peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, coffee, and bottled water while engaging in conversations, which were conducted in Spanish.

At the first parking lot a group of three students and I engaged in a conversation with two migrants, whose names were Carlos and Miguel. Carlos explained that he had previously worked as a baker in Mexico. The current rate for day labor was around $8.00 an hour, and most of the jobs were in construction or, because it was the end of the month, moving. Miguel asked one of the SDU students, Alberto, what he studied, and Alberto replied psychology. Miguel commented that even with a degree, there was a thin line that separated them and united them because anyone can end up on the street looking for work after losing a job. As an example, he mentioned that Carlos was recently laid off and now he too was working as a day laborer.

Whereas at the first stop no vehicles entered the parking lot, at the second stop, a Home Depot parking lot, several cars approached. The students expressed to me their feelings of discomfort: they were concerned that the men were losing potential jobs because we were "distracting them." As we left, Cathy, one of the focal students, approached me to proudly report that one of the men told her that her Spanish was really good. She wanted me to tell her instructor, Yesenia. I replied that of course her Spanish was good because she had been able to communicate. Cathy replied, "Not according to our exams, what is important is spelling and verb forms." I suggested that she report this conversation to Yesenia instead of me.

At the third site, a different Home Depot parking lot, a group of four students and I talked with three men who were very concerned about two recent problems: 1) the accusations that they were criminals and drug addicts, which led to them being forced out of the parking lot and 2) the multiple Migra[14] raids conducted in the past month. The first concern was mentioned when a man walked by with his dog. They claimed that he was a local drug dealer who caused damage

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[14] Migra is a term used to refer to U.S. Immigration and Customs law enforcement agencies.

to the creek area below where he conducted his deals, but because he was white and a citizen no one harassed him. In contrast, all they wanted was a job and they were frequently harassed. They claimed that they were not so concerned themselves with the Migra raids, because they were "ágil" (*agile*) they were confident they could continue to successfully run away, but every time a raid happened people were "desaparecido" (*disappeared*). One of the men joked that if they conducted a raid on this particular day, they would hide behind us instead of running. This was a particularly poignant reminder of white privilege: their skin color and appearance made them visible and vulnerable but we would be able to hide them. Our whiteness made us invisible, it is unmarked.

With regards to work, they had devised a system whereby they would get into a vehicle and immediately start negotiating their wage and working conditions in order to avoid being cheated. Since the contractors, or potential employers, did not want to conduct these negotiations in the parking lot where they were visible, they immediately began driving away. Once in the vehicle, if the migrants were unhappy with the negotiation or feared that the person intended to cheat them, they had time to exit at the stoplight before entering the highway. From there they walked back to rejoin the others.

5.2.2 Emily: "we bribed them with food and then pretty much forced them to talk to us." In her interview I asked Emily about her experiences talking with the migrants. This was her initial response:

> I feel like it's I almost feel like **I'm** being offensive (1) in some ways that I'm (3) I don't like **I'm** an educated student coming to talk to you and bring **you** food why↑ because I think that **you** are unable to provide food for yourself or because I think that while you're trying to be get work you want to help in **my** education↑ you know so I think that like for sometimes I'm like I wonder wh- I mean none of them gave me that reaction and they all seemed very welcoming and kind and (1) I don't think that I would necessarily think of (2) if I was in their shoes I don't think I would think of **us** that way but some part of me says like there's (2) I don't know like (1) I don't know it was like kind of uncomfortable for me I wasn't I was (1) I don't know

Emily struggled throughout this response to explain herself, using multiple hedges "I feel like," "I don't know," and "it was kind of like." Her concerns centered on her struggle with the server-served binary and how she felt she was positioned within it. She initially identified feeling that she was being "offensive" because of the contrast between herself, an educated student, and the migrants. Two assumptions were implicit in the way in which this interaction was organized. The first is tied to the act of giving them sandwiches, which assumed that they were unable to provide food for themselves, in which case they needed to be served and she fulfilled the role of server. The second is that by coming to talk to them it is assumed that they were willing to help further her own education, when in reality they were really trying to contract work in order to provide for themselves. This assumption positions Emily as needing to be served, she needs to be educated by "putting a face on it," and from this perspective the men are the servers, they can provide her with this "face." Yet in the end she already has access to an education and they have access to food through work. The binary does not give her a way out, an alternative for positioning herself and her relation with the migrants. Much like Gary who felt that the migrants were "happy" that the students were providing tutoring, Emily assures herself that that the

migrants did not feel offended, even imagining herself in their shoes, reporting that they were welcoming and kind.

At the center of her discomfort with the server-served binary, much like Gary, is the question of privilege. When I ask her about privilege, she continues:

> I kind of felt like (3) I was like **paying** you to be part of my education or you know like bribing them to (1) like with something to make **my** education better where it's like I already am given so much more in opportunity and privilege to begin with like why should I you know and then like I felt like we were distracting them from getting jobs and I felt you know so I felt like (2) like who am I to come talk to you in my broken Spanish about you know like (1) the work you're trying to get while I'm like distracting you from **that** so I don't know like to me it just (2) I feel like sometimes white people in particular don't really like when they're doing good things don't think of it like **that** you know like they I feel like they're doing something to make them feel better rather than to actually help people

In this segment, as in the last, she alternated between talking to the migrants, "you," and about them, "they": "paying you," "distracting you," "talk to you," "bring you food" vs. "bribing them," "distracting them," "they all seemed very welcoming" suggesting a movement between a positioning in which they are people with whom she engages and they are objects who have something done to them, they are both participants and recipients, visible and invisible. At the same time she reframes the server-served binary as a business exchange: she feels like she was paying the migrants with sandwiches so that they would be part of her education, like the contractors pay them in exchange for work. However, she recognizes that it is not an equal exchange: the contractors exploit them with low wages and as a student she is taking advantage of them by "bribing" them. This exchange was particularly egregious for her because it was conducted in her "broken Spanish." Here she questions her own sense of entitlement: not only was she there to bribe them and to distract them but her Spanish is broken, incomplete, and imperfect.

The act of serving itself is an enactment of white privilege. It does not take into consideration those served because, in the end, the binary favors the server who sets the terms of engagement and ultimately benefits from it. Emily contrasted her own critical reflection on this relationship and her own privilege with other "white people" who do not question their privilege and from whom she distances herself, as suggested by her use of "they." She accused them of "doing something to feel better": the end goal is not to help others but to feel better about themselves, thereby perpetuating the cycle of privilege. By not including herself within the collective "we," Emily maintained a distance, perhaps to distinguish herself as not belonging to this category of people, but her frustration suggests that she cannot escape because she has already been constructed within the binary by her whiteness, socioeconomic status, and the organization of the CSL experience. In the end perhaps she felt as agentless as she imagined the migrants to be.

Emily backtracked briefly, acknowledging that "maybe that was a nice gesture" but then continued:

> it would be a nicer gesture if (.) you worked to solve the problem of why there are people standing on the corner working for less to nothing with no rights you know like I feel like

that would be more (1) caring but you don't necessarily get that immediate gratification by (1) you know and that's not an afternoon worth of work so I don't know sometimes like I have a problem with community service that way is that is am I doing this because it makes me feel better or am I doing it because it's actually working to solve a problem (1) so I don't know

She questions both the means and the goals of the server-served binary that is at the heart of doing community service: the immediate gratification for the server as opposed to the server's caring about solving the problem of the exploitation of migrant workers in the long term. Both positions still privilege the server. For Emily, "putting a face on it" is not enough in one sense, because it does not solve anything: it only makes privileged white people feel better about themselves. Her solution, "working to solve problems," centers on an "I" who has become an advocate for social change, but the migrants themselves are not included. They are still invisible as it would be done benevolently for them and not with them.

Emily began her reflections by stating "I almost feel like I'm being offensive" and she concluded her reflections by stating "that's just wrong":

we're coming there so that we can feel sorry for them or we can like feel like their situation is **so** bad and to me that's just like (2) like that's just **wrong** like I just feel like you shouldn't communicate with people like if you want to have a conversation with somebody like you shouldn't (1) call it like that's not what we did wasn't community service we didn't I don't think we did the community any service I think **we** wanted to go see what it would be like to be them and so we bribed them with food and then pretty much forced them to talk to us (laugh)

Emily is no longer an "I" but now she is part of a collective "we": "what we did wasn't community service," "we wanted to go see," and "we bribed them with food." This "we" indexes a larger construction of "we the people who do community service" and she critically questions the purpose of this model of community service as being based on objectifying others by reducing them to representations of problems, taking advantage of them, and ultimately benefiting from it. Her conclusion that "we bribed them with food" echoes Gary's "we take over": there is a remainder that in calling into question the binary points to the possibility of something else. That remainder points to the possibility of imaging an interaction that acknowledges the privilege of whiteness and class but does not reproduce it through the act of bribing migrants to share their experiences and "put a face on it."

5.3 The Language Exchange Program

5.3.1 Reflections on Interactions. One of the primary founders of the Language Exchange Program (LEP), Vanesa, is a trilingual Spanish, English, and Mixteco speaker, originally from Oaxaca, who obtained a Master's degree at a local university. According to her, LEP aims to respond to several community needs: to learn how to read and/or to write Spanish; to learn English; and for their children to retain their cultural and linguistic heritage by learning Mixteco.

Participants in the program include students from several local universities, including SDU, others with no university affiliation, and Mixtecan community members. The format of the small group tutoring sessions in English or Spanish vary and the content is based primarily on

the participants' interests: writing a letter in Spanish to a family member in Mexico or completing a job application in English. The format of the Kids Program is based on the schoolwork assigned; these conversations are conducted in a mixture of Spanish and English. Two members of the community, Ovidio and Manuela, teach the Mixteco language class that takes place during the last half hour of the program. Neither had been trained as a teacher and, according to what they told me, neither ever imagined themselves teaching a Mixteco class. Topics include learning appropriate greetings, vocabulary to talk about food and body parts, and expressing likes and dislikes. Everyone is organized in a circle such that there is a Mixteco, English, and Spanish speaker in close proximity to facilitate comprehension and pronunciation practice.

According to Vanesa, the LEP was purposely designed as an "exchange" program with the goal of disrupting several traditional hierarchies based on perceived colonial ideologies: 1) language hierarchies: instead of privileging English all languages are equally valued; 2) the server-served roles of the participants: everyone who attends is both a student and a teacher; and 3) the have-have not binary that privileges the knowledge of some over others: all have cultural and linguistic knowledge that they contribute. When I ask Vanesa what she wants the university students to learn from their participation in the program, she replies: "eso es lo que queremos en cambio más que todo terminar con la discriminación y la injusticia" (*this is what we want in exchange more than anything to put an end to discrimination and injustice*).

When I asked Vanesa to comment on how the Language Exchange Program has impacted the community, she spoke of the historical discrimination suffered by the Mixtec peoples:

la historia no↑ que ha impa- en la discriminación que ha pasado la gente entonces tenían ese (1) ese timidez de decir que habla mixteco o que son indígenas o que son oaxaqueños y um entonces llegaban llegan al programa con una (1) muy tímidos muy callados pues cómo↑ entonces um poco a poco cuando cuando::: escuchan cuando el:: (1) cuando escuchan que alguien más que no es indígena está hablando está aprendiendo tratando de aprender su idioma habla dice algo una palabra en mixteco es una se dan cuenta **ellos** wow alguien más está interesado en mi idioma si vale mi idioma entonces um allí se da el efecto no↑ entonces ya una sonrisa no↑ (1) y ya en cuanto empiezan um a aprender a leer y escribir en español su autoestima **cambia** su modo de ver la vida **cambia** y más porque allí en el centro se se sienten respetados valorados queridos no↑ y bienven- y y:: (1) y eso les les ayuda emocionalmente y:: al darle este espacio valora su idioma pues (1) se sienten muy bien (laugh) allí nos damos cuenta que que sí tiene impacto positivo porque después de tantos años ellos escucharon que su idioma no vale nada y de repente nosotros decimos no pues eso fue **mentira** fue es mentira no más para oprimirlos no↑ pero ahora ya no aunque de hecho sí nos tomó tiempo para hacerlo porque de un día a mañana no fue el cambio así

the history no that has im in the discrimination that the people have experienced so they had this this timidity to say that they speak Mixteco or that they are indigenous or that they are from Oaxaca and um so they arrived they arrive to the program [the language exchange program] with a very timid very quiet well how little by little then when they hear when when they hear that someone else who is not indigenous is speaking is learning trying to learn their language and speaks says a word in Mixteco it is one realizes that wow someone else is interested in learning my language my language does

have value so and there you see the effect already in a smile no and as soon as they begin um to learn to read and to write in Spanish their self-esteem changes the way they see the world changes and even more because in the center [the community center where the language exchange program takes place] they feel respected valued wanted no and wel and and this helps them them emotionally and by giving them this space they value their language well they feel very good (laugh) there we realize that yes it does have a positive impact because after so many years of hearing that their language isn't worth anything we say it was a lie it was a lie just to oppress them no but now no more although in fact yes it took us a long time to do this because the change didn't happen overnight like that

Vanesa establishes a connection between language valorization, self-esteem, and worldview, concluding that the belief that the Mixteco language is not valuable is a lie created to oppress indigenous peoples. Therefore, through its decolonizing methodology, the goal of the LEP is to create a space in which the lie does not function because all languages and their speakers are valued. For the Mixteco speakers this ostensibly happens through the linguistic knowledge they acquire and in hearing their language uttered by the Other, predominantly white, middle class U.S. citizens. Even though Vanesa herself identifies as an indigenous woman and she is a native speaker of Mixteco, she employs the third person plural to speak of her fellow community members. The reasons for this were never clear to me, although based on our conversations and the context of the program I postulate three possible and interrelated explanations: 1) she positions herself as having already passed through the process of learning to valorize her language and therefore she distinguishes herself from those that she feels are in the process of doing so; 2) she has an advanced degree from a local university and, perhaps as a result, she feels different and separate; or 3) she is speaking as the director of the program and therefore is assuming a detached, outsider position as opposed to a personal one.

The community expressly states in their orientation to the LEP that they do not allow researchers because they believe that research is a one-directional process of knowledge extraction that exploits and objectifies community members in a way that reproduces other colonizing processes. I had been working in solidarity with this organization for a year prior to initiating my research project and, perhaps as a result of my personal relationship with community members, they agreed to let me take fieldnotes and both Mixteco language instructors, Ovidio and Manuela, agreed to let me formally interview them.

Ovidio was a student in my English tutoring session. We commonly greeted each other by saying: "Good evening teacher." He describes the LEP as being like a family:

aquí somos una sola familia este comp- es:: compartir la lengua no↑ entonces:: ellos comparten su inglés o o español (.) y nosotros también compartimos el mixteco no↑ es que somos mixtecos (.) pues es algo muy bonito no se vuelve parte **de** (1) de nuestras de nuestro círculo de amistad entonces eh:: no lo vemos:: como otra gente o no es no es parte del programa no entonces yo pienso que todos tomamos esa (1) pues tomamos esa este este compromiso no de venir también tanto los que vienen a enseñar y tanto los que vienen a aprender (1) pues:: es algo muy bonito no de la relación (.) y pues de mi parte este pues la el respeto (.1) sí se se aplica no↑ y entonces pero yo pienso que eso es lo que buscamos todos no↑ a mí me gusta que me respeten y de igual manera respetarlos no↑

here we are a family like to sh- it is sharing the language no so they share their English or Spanish and we share Mixteco no it's that we are Mixteco well it is something that is very beautiful no they become part of of our circle of friendship so eh we don't see them as other people or no it is not part of the program no so I think that we all make this well we make the commitment to come here as well those that come to teach and those that come to learn well it is something very beautiful about the relationship and well from my perspective like well the respect yes it applies no and well so I think that that is what we look for no I like it when I am respected and in the same way to respect them no

His words echo Vanesa's explanation of the goals and impact of the program: all are members of a family who share a commitment and demonstrate mutual respect. The result is a disruption in the process of othering, the us-them binary, because all become valued members of the circle as both teachers and learners. Unlike Vanesa, Ovidio positions himself as a member of the "family" and the process, employing an all-inclusive "we" as opposed to a "they," including himself in the family of language sharing.

In the beginning of Manuela's interview she refers to Mixteco saying that is commonly used on the ranch in her home state of Oaxaca, which she translated to Spanish: olvidarse de lo que es una vergüenza, *forget about (or pay no mind to) that which is shameful / humiliating*. She learned the expression from her father when she was a child; she did not want to work in the fields because she feared that others would see that she did not know how and as a result she would feel humiliated.

Throughout the interview Manuela references the importance of this expression as she describes overcoming shame and humiliation as an ongoing process in several key moments of her life. All are related to her linguistic and cultural identity. In her late 40s, she has been in the United States for 23 years. Upon her arrival, and for many years afterwards, she worked in the fields where she initially felt ashamed to speak Mixteco, until she discovered that most of the other workers were also Mixteco speakers. Outside of the context of her own community, she continued to experience shame when interacting with non-Mixteco speakers. For the past several years she has been working in a hospital and there she met another Mixteco speaker. One day a man confronted her because he did not understand the language and he thought that they were talking about him. This became her first teaching experience: Manuela not only taught him about her language but he began to ask her how to say words for different animals. She summarized the effect of this experience:

lo hablas hablas mixteco y te sientes como que:: se te quedan mirando o te sientes humillada algo algo así por eso pero mientras te pones a pensar y:: dices no no tengo por qué tener vergüenza no al contrario tienes que sentir orgullosamente de que hablas

you speak it you speak Mixteco and you feel like they are looking at you or you feel humiliated something something like thatfor that reason whereas if you think about it and say no no I don't have to feel shame on the contrary you have to proudly feel that you speak it

The last instance in which she mentioned feeling shame is upon becoming a teacher for the LEP, not because she is a Mixteco speaker, on the contrary she says "hay respeto porque lo que platica su lengua normal es normal" (*there is respect because what one speaks is their*

normal language it's normal). She felt shame because she did not know how to write Mixteco, although both Ovidio and she are learning[15]. Through her experiences as a student of English and a teacher of Mixteco, she concluded: "aprendemos ellos aprenden de lo que sabemos nosotros y nosotros aprendemos lo que saben ellos" (*we learn they learn from what we know and we learn from what they know*). In the process, she concluded that everyone needs to overcome their shame in order to learn, expressed as an obligation through her use of the expression "tener que": "tenemos que aprender o sea no tener vergüenza no nada de eso porque si tienes vergüenza no aprendes nada no aprendes nada" (*we have to learn I mean not to have shame no nothing like that because if you have shame you don't learn anything you don't learn anything*).

5.3.2 Adam: "I thought we take in." Upon his arrival the first day, Adam approached me to express his concerns about interacting appropriately and respectfully with the community members. At the same time, he said that he was very confused about who the Mixteco peoples were, which eventually led him to do online research. He tutored two adolescent boys and in his interview he reported that overall he enjoyed working with them and learning about them. However, he mentioned several times that "they make fun of me a little bit because my Spanish isn't great." I asked him if this bothered him:

> uh no:: not necessarily I don't know I can tease them a little bit back though when they ask me questions so (1) you know it's definitely (1) it doesn't (1) I think they don't give me a chance in some ways you know what I'm saying I feel like if they try to help **me** out a little bit you know what I'm saying because I'm trying to help **them**

After negating that the teasing bothered him Adam backtracked to admit that it did "a little bit." He concluded that the boys owed him "a chance" in return for helping them. The server-served binary is a reciprocal one that establishes expectations: he was the server who helped them, and as the served he expected to receive something in return.

Understood in the larger context of the Mixteco community, Adam's response represents an unexamined shift in language ideology and positionality. Outside of the LEP, Manuela, like others, reported feeling humiliated when speaking Mixteco because it is a language and cultural identity that is not valued by the dominant society in Mexico or in the United States; however, in the LEP this "lie" does not function as all languages were respected. The adolescent boys most likely felt humiliated in school because their English was accented and they made frequent mistakes. Within the LEP, the boys had the privileged knowledge of the Spanish language. In his daily life and in his own educational setting, Adam would not experience linguistic humiliation; however, faced with not being in this privileged position within the LEP Adam protested the boys' teasing, reasserting his privilege as server. As there were no opportunities to reflect on these larger dynamics within the classroom or as part of his CSL experiences he does not interrogate his own positionality within them.

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[15] The writing system is relatively recent and therefore, Manuela would never have been schooled in written Mixteco. In 1997 the Mexican government supported the creation of the Ve'e Tu'un Sávi, or Academy of the Mixtec Language, in Oaxaca. Its goal was to create a Mixteco writing system in an attempt to preserve and to promote language maintenance. There has been much controversy surrounding its existence in relationship to colonial practices: the project was initiated by the government, who also benefits from the knowledge gained, and it recreates ideologies that privilege writing over orality.

When I asked him why he thought that the boys did not want to help him, he attributed it to them not knowing the Spanish language completely, specifically verb conjugations, and because they were "little kids": "I think they think it's funny hearing me speak I don't speak they're not necessarily mature enough to understand that I'm trying to learn **their** language and help **them** out." He elaborates:

> I don't know I think it's (1) for them I think it's kind of interesting having other people that aren't you know culturally that don't look like them or in their communities speaking different language I think that's kind of for **them** I think it's a little different so and we probably speak with a different accent to them so I feel like that is yeah it's a big thing for them I think but it's becoming bigger I think that they need to I shouldn't say they need to adjust like we both are kind of learning from each other though cause their English might sound a little different to **me** but my Spanish sounds different to **them**

Adam recognizes himself as the "Other", the outsider to their community who does not look like them or have the same accent, which he concluded was probably a "big thing" from their perspective. Presumably it is not a "big thing" to him, he already recognizes the reality that "it's becoming bigger," in other words it is more common for people to speak different languages and for cultural barriers to blur. He positions himself as offering to them this privileged, cosmopolitan perspective, which would be represented in their acceptance of his differently sounding Spanish. The binary between his privileged "I" that can serve and the "them" that he is serving ceases to function in his concluding "we": "we both are kind of learning from each other". This "we" reflects Ovidio's "we" that includes all of the participants in the program as a circle. However, whereas this adjustment is, from Adam's perspective, mutually beneficial, it largely ignores the power dynamic implicit and explicit in their relationship, not just related to age, but also to class, constructions of race, access to education, etc. If the server-served binary is based on the server having the resources, knowledge, and goodwill to help the served Adam is still claiming the right to receive something in return, tolerance and acceptance from the served for his benevolent offering.

Adam's concerns with the binary between "us" and "them", "insider" and "outsider", "English speakers" and "Spanish speakers", extends to "here" and "there" through his reflections on the larger San Diego / Mexico border community:

> being so close to Mexico there's a lot of culture **here** I didn't realize that the communities are so in San Diego are so connected to Mexico I thought it was going to be more diverse you know what I'm saying split down the border that a lot of people (1) I understood that you know cause we are close to the border so there's a lot of culture you know a lot of Hispanics but I didn't necessarily that the communities themselves you know learning that they were that they're a lot over here even though just cause we're different countries they're still practicing the same things over here you know it's the same and I think that's why the cut off that people think that just splitting down the border that we're in a completely different country but in some ways I feel like a lot of ways I feel like I'm in parts of Mexico so they're bringing the same culture the same everything the same um views over here and it is involved in the community as well

Adam came to understand that the geographical boundary between the United States and Mexico represents an artificial cultural and social boundary. By seeing how "they" are practicing their culture "here" he concluded: "you think that they are American in some way you know they don't they they know a lot about our community you know they're around **us**." They, the migrants, practice their culture here, but the adaptation process is still one directional as they seemingly become "American" by being in the presence of other Americans and by knowing them. Despite his earlier observation that "it's becoming bigger," i.e., that white, middle class U.S. citizens speak Spanish such that there is mutual adaptation, he returns here to the binaries that mark the boundary between "us" and "them."

His experiences lead him to critically reflect on the "us" that is the United States and his own presumptions about this imagined community (Anderson, 2006) and its foundational fiction. One evening Manuela's son was very sick, it was obvious that he had a fever and he vomited. The students came to tell Manuela who decided to take him home. Adam thought that he should be taken to the hospital, but Manuela, who works in a hospital, said that she would have to wait until the next day when she could take him to the doctor in Tijuana as she did not have medical insurance. In his interview, Adam reflected on this experience:

> she was saying that the mom was saying that she couldn't you know take her she had to go back to Mexico to take her son to the hospital um which was you know it was eye opening because I thought that we (1) you know we take in you know I thought that as America that people can just come in and get you know if they're sick go to the hospital I thought we take in

Adam's repetition of the verbal phrase "take in" and his preconceived notions of America as a nation that opens its national and hospital doors to immigrants is reminiscent of the New Colossus sonnet engraved on the Statue of Liberty in 1903: "Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." This poem represents the foundational narrative of the United States as a country that "takes in" the "huddled masses," benevolently serving them by providing shelter so that they too can become free.

To Adam, the realization that the sick child would not be taken in by the hospital forced him to question the limits of this fiction: "we," the United States, does not automatically "take them in." The immigrants face these boundaries on a daily basis, and this larger reality may partially explain the boys' reluctance to embrace their role as "served" as constructed and understood by Adam. Adam "took" the boys in but he did so expecting something in return from his position of privilege as "server," their gratitude expressed by giving him a "chance."

At a microlevel Adam's reflections point to a remainder, an excess of meaning, namely the contradictions that exist in the server-served relationship with the boys in the context of the CSL experience and his own shifting positionality and awareness of privilege. At a macrolevel these contradictions reflect larger ones that immigrants live on a daily basis; Manuela works for a hospital yet she is denied access to medical care and faces humiliation. The "it" that Adam has put a face on marks the limits of his preconceived idea of "America," yet without opportunities to further this critical reflection he does not seem to connect this macro and microlevel.

5.4 Tijuana Border Trip

5.4.1 Reflections on Interactions. The students met at the campus office at 8AM. There were 11 total students, plus Katy and Eduardo who attended as site coordinators and later in Tijuana we were joined by María, a representative from the partner organization that coordinates these trips. Prior to departing Katy presented a brief overview of the days' activities to the students and their main objective, "to open your eyes," a phrase she repeated several times during the day.

Crossing the border Katy briefly explained the fences and specifically the construction of the second as part of Operation Gatekeeper while the students pondered why they did not need to show their identification to enter Mexico. The group paused at the border marker to take pictures; Nora exclaimed that she had one foot in the United States and one in Mexico. As she later explained, "the biggest thing that was crazy for me was I guess seeing the border I've never actually seen it although I guess I knew it was a fence I never really thought it was a fence."

The first stop in Tijuana, or TJ as the students and many residents of San Diego call it, was the Salvation Army in the Colonia[16] Libertad, just a few miles from the border. As we sat in the chapel its director, the Capitán (*Captain*), briefly explained how it functioned as a shelter for up to 100 recently deported men who arrive at all hours as the U.S. Border Customs Agents frequently drop them off in the middle of the night. The shelter provides not only a place to sleep, but food, a phone to call worried family members or friends, and access to other support agencies.

Alejandro arrived late, he was the featured speaker. He recounted his life story of arriving to the United States with his parents when he was a year old, his later drug abuse and gang membership, and his deportation at 30 years old after being arrested. Alejandro described his life "out here," i.e., Tijuana, prior to his deportation he had never been to Mexico and he barely spoke Spanish. The idea of Tijuana as being "out here," as opposed to the more common reference "over here," conjured images of a liminal, frontier space akin to the Old West which, because of its lawlessness, existed outside of the perimeters of a "normal," civilized space. Alejandro attributed his overcoming his drug habit and his violent past to being saved by the Salvation Army, where he now works to help others both practically and emotionally. In counseling other migrants he recognizes their need to "hold on to something" but he encourages them to let go in order to get on with their lives. Upon the conclusion of his story the students did not have any questions and, as Katy and María were worried about time, they gave us a brief tour of the facilities, including the shower, sleeping rooms, kitchen, and main office, and we left.

The second stop was a community center in a Colonia called Las Terrazas, it is an approximately 30 minute drive towards the east of the center of Tijuana. Katy was worried that the community members had left because we were late but she was still hopeful that "we would get lots of them" as they became aware of our arrival. The idea of "getting them" highlights their utilitarian value as objects with the goal of opening students' eyes. In the end there were two women, and both had two children with them. Our task was to paint the wall in front of the community center as it had been covered in gang markings. The students immediately began painting. I introduced myself to the women and I asked the children if they wanted to help paint, and, they enthusiastically but shyly replied affirmatively. I suggested to the students that they share their paintbrushes and help the children to paint the lower part of the wall that they could reach. Despite what I perceived as initial reticence to engage with the children, the students began to do so and later they decided together that the children would sit on the shoulders of the tallest students in order to reach the upper part of the wall. At the end of the day one of the

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[16] Colonia refers to a community or a neighborhood. All of the colonias in Tijuana, like in San Diego, have a name such that when someone asks you where you live you generally reply using the name of the colonia.

students, Allen, commented that this had been one of his most memorable moments. After finishing, the students decided to engage in a soccer game that local youth were playing on a court beside the community center. Meanwhile, a group of five women were preparing lunch in the center, which we ate at a communal table and after some of the students went outside to play with the children and a few of us remained behind to clean up. Prior to our departure we all gathered and the women mentioned that they hoped that the students would "take the experience home with them" and that they were always welcome to come back. As we left I commented to Katy that this act of leavetaking made me uncomfortable: as an act of hospitality and solidarity I wanted to return the gesture and welcome them to my neighborhood, but, I knew that this was impossible given the border reality.

Before crossing the border we stopped at a local market. The wait time to cross the border on foot was approximately an hour and 20 minutes, and students spent the time talking about plans for that night, classes, and favorite restaurants. On the way back to campus, Nora made several phone calls, she had been out dancing the night before and had lost her car keys on the dance floor. As I wrote in my field notes, "it was as if the day had been a parenthesis that had only distracted her from her real objective of fixing the car situation."

5.4.2 Nora: "I didn't feel like I was invading anyone's space." In their interviews many of the students commented on their preconceived ideas about Tijuana as based on media reports of drug violence. Nora's parents were particularly concerned about her trip to Tijuana: "my dad was like what are you doing down there you're going to get shot and stuffed with drugs (laughs)." While she acknowledged the outlandishness of her father's concerns by laughing they do underscore the perpetuation of the black legend of Tijuana as a place of uncontrollable barbarism and hedonism reminiscent of Alejandro's use of the phrase "out here."

The students' experiences challenged this foundational fiction of Tijuana and many of these preconceived ideas. Carissa commented that "it's not some like scary savage place things might have gotten worse but it's there are a lot of wonderful things happening and the people there are still are very much people." It is unclear what the people would be besides people, but her comments suggest that Tijuana was not as foreign and lawless as she had expected because people still engage in their daily activities. Gary echoed this sentiment when he expressed his realization that "people aren't running around with guns."

When I asked Nora what stood out from the day's experiences she highlighted the impact of meeting Alejandro and how "hearing those sides of the stories" complicated her understanding of immigration policy:

> it's not just oh we need to build a fence and nobody's allowed in and we're going to deport everyone because like (1) that sounds **so** easy and it sounds like it would be like the solution but then you forget that these are actually real people you know who now have homes here who like grew up here and you know there are these acts that let 'em over and then they're taking them back and then letting them over and opening it and closing it and opening it closing it and people are getting caught in the crossfire and I think like a lot of us are ignorant to the fact that it's just they're people you know and like (1) you know everyone's like why are they here this isn't their home but it is their home you know your parents were an immigrant here once too

In the process of "putting a face on it," Nora meets "real people" who "open her eyes" because they symbolize the supposed arbitrariness of immigration policies, the opening and closing of the border; the resulting violence of these "acts" on the peoples' lives that are caught in the crossfire; and the reality that excluding and deporting people is not the answer because the situation is much more complicated. Perhaps for this reason she was so struck by the physical reality of the fence, even though she knew that it existed.

On one level, as Katy had hoped her "eyes have been opened." However, on another level Nora's preoccupations still focused on the fence as a system of containment and its ultimate implications for "here" in terms of U.S. policies. She did not consider the larger transglobal realities that have displaced peasants from their land and forced them to migrate in order to feed their families only to find themselves subject to exploitation in the United States without recourse to legal protection given their ascribed status as "illegals."

Nora concluded her reflections on the fence by voicing the question that "everyone" asks, "why are they here this isn't their home?" and she responded to this imagined "everyone" by reminding them that "your parents were an immigrant here once too." This answer references patriotic notions of the foundational fiction of the United States as being inhabited and built by immigrants. Conjuring this past is a way of humanizing immigrants because ultimately it suggests that we, everyone in the United States regardless of legal status, are all the same. At the same time; however, it also reinforces the distinction between us and them; here and there while erasing the historical particularities of immigration that include the operation of labels like "legal" and "illegal", past and present forms of slavery and, in the case of Mexico and Latin America, neoliberal policies that directly implicate the United States.

In light of her reflections on the meaning of the border fence perhaps it was ironic that in the Colonia of Las Terrazas the students were charged with painting a fence that encircled the community center. When I asked Nora to talk about this experience she replied:

> one of the things that was really like um (1) interesting to hear as I was talking to one of them and cause we were painting over the graffiti and the guy was saying like it's really nice that you're doing this but by tomorrow morning it'll be all graffitiid and I was like (1) **really**↑ like really like no I don't believe it and he was all yeah for sure you know blah blah blah and it just like its upsetting you know like its disheartening but then it made me think of like at first you want to jump to the conclusion oh like **Mexico** you know this is their problem but I can probably name like 20 neighborhoods in LA [Los Angeles] where that would be the **exact** same circumstance you know so it makes you think like their problems are a lot more similar to ours then we're willing to let on

The purpose of the visit was understood initially as a goal-directed activity such that confronting the reality that the fence would be marked again by the next morning was "disheartening." However, this reality did provoke a reflection on the similarities between "their problems" and those of the United States, specifically Los Angeles, which is notable because the presence of gang markings in San Diego is also ubiquitous, although perhaps not in the areas that she most likely frequents. She employed the impersonal "you" to distance herself from those that do not want to acknowledge these similarities, as she has just done, and doing so has assuaged her frustration over the situation. Furthermore, she concluded that "even though there's a physical wall I don't think there has to be like a other wall you know like a theoretical one I definitely think it's like a way to like help knock those down." The "it's" is a reference to her CSL

experiences, which has prompted her to question these physical and theoretical walls and to feel a "connection," an outcome that in the end was more important than painting the wall.

She summarized her experiences with this community in Tijuana thusly: "they were so nice and like everyone was really they wanted us to be there they wanted interaction with us and were really thankful and grateful for our help it didn't feel like we were doing something for nothing." The theoretical and physical walls may have been "knocked down," or at least questioned, through her experiences, yet some walls remained, specifically those that delimit the boundary between server-served. She accepted that the wall may be marked again but Nora walked back across the border with the sense that another goal had been realized: she got something out of the experience as the server, namely gratitude from the community for how they were served.

Nora recounted how later in the semester, after her trip to Tijuana, she decided to drive to the U.S. side of the border with a friend, her primary goal was to eat churros[17]. She described her experience thusly:

> we sat there and like you know I didn't feel like (1) I was invading somebody else's space I didn't feel like a **tourist** in my own county you know whereas I think if I went to the border before I would have been like wow everybody here doesn't speak English and doesn't like how am I supposed to get a churro

The border still marked the boundary of "her country," which is attached to language, specifically the use of English, in the service of a goal-oriented activity, the ability to obtain a churro. On one level, this experience marked a sense of belonging and connection to a place through her use of Spanish, because "it didn't bother me having to speak a little Spanish." On another, it represented a process of reclaiming space because Nora no longer felt like "a tourist," stating "I didn't feel out of place," nor did she feel like she was "invading." Xenophobic popular discourse frequently refers to immigrants as "invaders" in order to justify the further fortification of the national border and the enactment of policies to criminalize immigration. However, in this case she was the one who previously felt like she was invading, which does not imply a simple reversal of her positionality in the binaries of immigrant-citizen, invader-invadee, or colonizer-colonized. Instead, it suggests an awareness of her class, race, and national privilege: she can freely enter any space she wants and she can consider herself a friend as opposed to an invader, whereas the migrants do not have this privilege. This is the remainder, the excess meaning, and whereas Nora does not explore it nor is there a space to do so in the classroom her experiences nonetheless point to its existence.

5.5 Conclusions

Through their CSL experiences students personalized and humanized the immigrant experience, including issues of immigrant rights, language issues, border policies, and social and economic realities related to poverty and exploitation from their differing positionalities within the context of the United States. Perhaps from this perspective one could conclude that the goals of the technical, cultural, and political conceptualizations of CSL were achieved: the experiences

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[17] A churro is a fried dough pastry.

enhanced student learning, they contributed to an appreciation of cultural diversity, and they led to reflections on social issues.

I have demonstrated in my analysis that to realize these goals the immigrants were objectified, their faces to some degree were utilized to reproduce the students' privilege by benefiting their education. From an anti-foundational conceptualization of CSL, I have explored how the students' reflections point to the presence of problematic binaries implicit in CSL and the goal of "putting a face on it": server-served; have-have-not; colonizer-colonized. These binaries function to both objectify the immigrants and to trap the students into a pre-established role such that in the end both the students and the community participants, the migrants, lack agency. Furthermore, I have considered how these binaries operate to reproduce larger narratives of the "poor immigrant," who is downtrodden and sanctified but wholly grateful for the service, while also bringing to the fore foundational fictions of the United States as a country that historically has opened its arms to embrace immigrants, as long as they contribute productively to its economy.

I asked Vanesa, the founder of the Language Exchange Program, how she understood the goal of CSL as being "to put a face on it." She replied:

> wow es super difícil ponerle un **face** (laughs) una cara um si lo vieran así con [name of program] y lo categorizan como no sé cómo lo verán lo verán como mixtecos o como indígenas en general (.1) put a face si lo vieran así como el mixteco siendo mixteca yo misma creo que tendrán una que es una muy mala manera de verlo porque no:: es todo lo nosotros no somos todo nada más lo que ven allí es muy poco en lo realidad hay mas **allá** no puedes ir a una clase o un programa y decir oh ya con ya ya sé lo que es pobreza es los mixtecos no no es nada más eso es mucho mas allá hay mucho más allá atrás no↑ de los mixtecos hay mucho más tanto:: tantas tanto tantas injusticias y también tantos valores tantas riquezas no↑ atrás de nosotros entonces you're just going to go and say oh I'm just going to put a face on it it's not it's not (1) de esa manera it's not good pero (1) I don't know if it's algo a nada at least you have **some** kind of id- at least you know **something** a nada no sé si es ya es algo bueno o malo por lo menos ya sabes algo you have a tiny face to it but not a big face (laughs)

> *wow it is super difficult to put a face (laugh) a face um if they saw it like that with [name of program] and they categorize it like I don't know how they saw it they saw it as mixtecos or as indigenous peoples in general put a face if they saw it like that as mixteco being a mixteca myself I believe that it is a really bad way to see it because it is not all we are not all what they see there is very little in reality there is much more you can't go to a class or a program and say oh now that's all I know what poverty is it is the mixtecos no no not just that it is much more there is much more behind the mixtecos so many so many injustices and so many values so many riches behind who we are so you're just going to go and say I'm just going to put a face on it it's not it's not in this way it's not good but I don't know if it's something or nothing at least you have some kind of id at least you know something or nothing I don't know if it's something good or bad but at least you know something you have a tiny face to it but not a big face*

Vanesa initially rejects the assumptions involved in "putting a face on it," and she does so clearly positioning herself as a Mixtecan woman. Her initial protest was based on the fact that it is

reductionist: students only see a small part of who they are, the Mixtecan peoples, as a community. To conclude that the "mixtecos are poverty" ignores this larger reality, history, and identity. She concludes by contemplating whether something is better than nothing, if having some idea of their face, a "tiny face," is better than having no idea at all of the Mixtecan community, but she is clear that the big picture, the "big face," is impossible to grasp from their limited engagement.

Given her hesitancy I followed up by reframing her statement in the form of a question: is it acceptable that students know something rather than nothing? Vanesa replied:

> es el principio de algo que ya por lo ya tienes un poquito algo la mente abierta un poquito *(it is a beginning of something that at least you have your mind opened a little)* but you can not just put just generalize it no oh now (1) put a face on poverty or on indigenous no that's not **it** you have to look more you have to **convivir** con la gente (*live with the people*) you have to **talk** to them you have to um (1) to get to **know** more to learn more about what is poverty what is um (1) what is their language what else other injustice are there what is this combination what is racism what is all this injustices (1) or language barrier whatever (1) all this you can not just and that way yeah pero the other face just the other one that which I think is also important that too just go because you want to put a face on your own face

Acknowledging that something is better than nothing, according to Vanesa, is just the beginning of the process of opening one's mind; to continue requires prolonged engagement in order to understand how larger social, economic, and racial realities operate on them as a community. It is important to note that the rest of this interview was conducted entirely in Spanish, yet the responses to these questions about "putting a face on it" include multiple examples of code-switching between English and Spanish. This may be a response to the fact that in the formation of the question I used the English phrase, "to put a face on it." Given her struggle to determine if something is better than nothing, this code-switching may also represent an attempt to mediate between these two realities, that of her community and its values and experiences and that of the students and the CSL goals. Ultimately she switches almost completely into English, with the exception of the verb "convivir." The literal English translation is "living with" but generally it is closer in meaning to the English expression "living in solidarity with," a slight shift in meaning to emphasize that it is not just a physical experience but one that is based on a shared vision, in this case based on positioning oneself against racism and injustice.

Vanesa concluded that "you just want to put a face on your own face." By "you" she meant students, and she attributed to them a desire, "you just want," to engage in a reflective act, putting a face on their own face. If the implicit and reflexive desire in "putting a face on it" is actually to put their own face on themselves at one level this could be understood as reminding themselves of their own privilege in relation to the community members: they are white, middle- to upper-class citizens who do not face poverty, racism, or injustice.

However, the remainders that I have identified in their language point elsewhere: "We can live here for a dime cheaper every orange," "we take over," "we bribed them with food," "we take in." The insistence on the "we" indicates that students are putting a face on themselves, but it is one that acknowledges their privilege through metaphors of invasion and bribery, thereby indexing the larger power structures that reinforce their privilege. I argue that this acknowledgement is not a simple inversion of the binaries between self and other, server and

served, colonizer and colonized but a realization that they are interdependent and relational constructions. I do not intend to romanticize a process of knowing the other; in this case, the students cannot know racism, exploitation, and injustice, but they can understand their place within the construction and operation of these binaries as well as their direct and indirect contributions to their perpetuation. In the end, the students struggle with their positionalities, they reflect on their privilege, and they do engage with the immigrants, and the process produces remainders. The existence of the remainders points to the transformative potential of CSL, however, the students are not given the tools to engage in a critical reflection on these remainders.

6. IMPLICATIONS

In considering Butin's (2010) anti-foundational conceptualization of CSL I argued for the need to contextualize CSL within what Keith (2005) identifies as the tripartite phenomena of globalization, namely 1) neoliberalism; 2) time-space compression; and 3) globalism. I return now to a consideration of the implications of my analysis of "putting a face on it" in relationship to each of these three processes in order to consider the transformative potential of CSL.

6.1 Neoliberalism

Bart's conclusion that "we can live here for a dime cheaper every orange" acknowledges the relationship between himself, the "we" that indexes a U.S. citizen with access to consumer goods, and "they," the exploited migrant workers whom he meets through his participation in the Migrant Program. A charity perspective on CSL, that reinforces the binary between server and served, ignores the root causes of structural inequalities that reproduce class divisions, in this case based on national belonging through citizenship and exploitative economic policies, amongst others. From this perspective, the goals are for the students to feel good about themselves as they become engaged citizens who serve others while potentially acquiring knowledge and skills that will lead to the successful completion of the class and that will eventually contribute to their resumes.

In contrast, a critical perspective on CSL interrogates the larger structural issues that create inequalities and class divisions. In the case of all of the students, there was no opportunity in the classroom or as part of their CSL experience to explore the remainder, the excess of meaning. Such an inquiry necessitates an interrogation of larger global processes and structural relations, such as neoliberalism, and how they function to reproduce class inequality.

Ultimately such a critical interrogation would not necessarily eliminate the binary between server and served but understood as a dialogical relationship it would illuminate how and why the binary functions. By critically interrogating their own positionality in the binary, i.e., putting a face on themselves, students can also question the presumed lack of agency that they feel in needing to "bribe them with food" and that they also attribute to the migrants as objects performing in SeaWorld. Thus the goals would not focus on a fixed outcome or the acquisition of knowledge or skills nor would it have as an unintended consequence the reproduction of privilege, class inequality, and/ or economic policies. Instead, it would serve as an opportunity to speak back to these larger global processes and to open space for solidarity and collective action.

6.2 Time-space Compression

In speaking of his experiences at the Migrant Program, Gary concluded that "we just take over," the "we" referring to the students. After her Tijuana border trip, Nora embarked on her own visit to the border, in order to buy churros, concluding that "I didn't feel like I was invading anyone's space." While both statements contain remainders, they both also employ a language of conquest that implicates the students themselves as potential colonizers.

Through their experiences, students came to recognize the power of the fence, as a physical border and a symbolic one. They became aware of the geography of exclusion (Sibley, 1995) on their local campus, in the communities of San Diego, and in the international relationship between the United States and Mexico. This geography functions to maintain their privilege: they can move freely by choosing to cross these borders whenever they want; furthermore, they can retain their invisibility while doing so. As a characteristic of globalization, the time-space compression benefits them. In contrast, the migrants do not have this privilege to move freely through time and space, as they are constantly visible and suspect.

As Keith (2005) postulated, the time-space compression opens up new opportunities to engage with cultural diversity and to take up different identity constructions and community affiliations. While Gary observes the performance and sees no way out of his own role in it, Nora undertakes her own journey to the border and, in the process, discovers that she could be someone other than an invader. Both are critical stances, but the future potential of Nora's differing construction of herself is engagement with other communities. At the same time, those communities that she encounters are no longer necessarily invaded. While still based on different positionalities of privilege due to larger structural issues, the relationship moves beyond a simple binary. What at first glance could be a superficial encounter has become something more: the possibility of long-term engagement, which as Vanesa argues, goes beyond simplistic reductionism.

6.3 Globalism

In response to delivering sandwiches to the day laborers in various parking lots Emily experiences discomfort: "we bribed them with food and then pretty much forced them to talk to us." When Manuela explains that she cannot take her son to the hospital, despite working at one, Adam concludes "I thought we take in," referring to the foundational fiction of the United States as taking in immigrants, granting them freedom and access to social services and ultimately better lives. The remainder implicit in both brings into question the processes and outcomes of CSL when conceptualized as a missionary expedition: the act of giving to the "have-nots" food and hospital care, which ultimately and problematically perpetuates this foundational fiction.

The values that compose globalism, as Keith (2005) emphasizes, include "difference, dialogue, and an ethic of collective responsibility for the world" (p. 6). Yet Emily highlights the limitations of a possible dialogue when framed within the problematic assumptions and positionings that accompanied the economic transaction of exchanging sandwiches for conversation. Adam reinforces the impossibility of emerging forms of collective responsibility when based on nationalistic ideologies. Both are "assigned encounters" (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002) with difference, understood as an assignment for a course that ascribes roles that exoticize and objectify the other and establishes predetermined goals and outcomes that benefit the "haves."

Overall the values of globalism have contributed to new political and social movements that in addressing local and global issues ultimately promote social justice. In order to foment

long-term engagement and the interrogation of larger structural issues, CSL can be conceptualized not as a missionary expedition or volunteerism but a form of activism, understood as acts of dissent that promote social change (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002). As part of their experiences, they could be encouraged to engage in others socially reflective acts. To some degree, the students already engaged in these acts. When Adam gave his end of semester in-class presentation summarizing his experiences at the Language Exchange Program, he began by introducing himself and greeting his fellow students in Mixteco. What if Emily enacted her vision by asking the migrants if they wanted to engage in a conversation and when they would be available to do so? What if Bart started a movement on campus to boycott oranges to raise awareness of the workers' exploitation? What if Gary shared with the migrants his own story of alienation at SDU because he, unlike his classmates, is from a working class background? Such acts of dissent would not eliminate discomfort in the encounter with privilege nor would they necessarily alter the larger power relations implicit in CSL relationships. However, they would be a means of responding to these moments of critical reflexivity, of opening spaces to reframe relationships and, in the process, to explore the remainders.

CHAPTER 7
Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

The central goal of this dissertation has involved understanding how larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism have influenced language and culture teaching and learning. In order to understand these processes, I have taken up Scarino's (2014) call for expanding theoretical explorations of language, culture, and learning. More specifically, I have explored at a microlevel how two instructors and the students in their classrooms understand culture; how they understand language; and how these understandings are constructed through their classroom interactions and negotiated in relationship to the lived experiences that they bring into the classroom and to the interactions that occur at the community service-learning (CSL) sites. At the macrolevel, I have explored how these understandings relate to larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism broadly speaking and as applied to research in education and to foreign/second language instruction.

As summarized in my literature review, much previous research has been conducted on students' and instructors' attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions in relationship to questions of motivation, self-efficacy, and anxiety. This current study has addressed gaps in this existing research in two ways: 1) by incorporating an ethnographic lens that includes classroom interactions; and 2) by considering these attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions in relationship to teachers' and learners' constructions of language, culture, and learning. Furthermore, with this ethnographic lens I have explored these understandings not as static or fixed moments in time. Instead, using a dynamic orientation (Wesely, 2012), I have considered how these attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions are constructed in relationship to the complex interaction of various factors that include considerations of instructors' and learners' own positionalities and privilege, their lived experiences, their teaching and learning contexts, and their classroom and CSL experiences.

Overall, my findings suggest that globalization and neoliberalism have added new understandings of language, culture, and learning, which produce new tensions that influence the foreign/second classroom as a contact zone. After summarizing my primary findings, I will consider the limitations of this study as well as its potential implications for further avenues of research.

2. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

2.1 Language Learning

The instructors and the learners understand language and language learning in multiple ways and all of these meanings exist in relationship to institutional structures as well as the contexts of language use. More specifically, the case study of Vicente's classroom reveals that students have different perceptions of language and expectations for language learning that do not always align with their instructor's learning philosophy or pedagogical choices. On the one hand, they understand language learning as accumulating grammatical formulas and memorizing

vocabulary lists; they know that this is what they need in order to pass the standardized departmental exams. This increased emphasis on the standardization of second/foreign language curricula in addition to this instrumental view of language have been greatly influenced by neoliberalism, as I argued in Chapter 5. As Vicente's worksheets do not present grammatical formulas or lists of vocabulary, students do not feel that they receive what they need in order to successfully pass the course. On the other hand, as demonstrated in the formal interviews, students also espouse the belief that language learning is about more than the accumulation of these grammatical structures and words: it also involves communicating in the language and coming to know the values and beliefs of the other, and that doing so can effect personal change. This, however, is not how they perceive the goal of the language classroom in the university context. Instead, this understanding of language is one that would be developed outside of the classroom, through future study, work, or travels abroad.

Vicente rejects what he calls programmed instruction as well as the instrumental approach and chooses to focus on language use. He wants to provide his students with an opportunity to learn how to use language to reflect on, analyze, and express opinions about their world. But, Vicente is caught in the crosshairs: he is not entirely free to design the worksheets following his own language learning beliefs because he must adhere to institutional expectations and a standardized curricula in which his beliefs are not reflected. In other words, he must adhere to the language content that students must know to pass the exams. As I argued in Chapter 5, perhaps his insistence that students produce what is expected of them in a format that is recognizable is his way of attempting to still help them to achieve the department's goals.

Ironically, in the end, in the classroom interactions I have analyzed, students are able to do much more than "spit out translations" (Matthew) despite their resistance to Vicente's pedagogical choices and view of language and language learning. As I have demonstrated, they are able to use language to reflect on, to analyze, and to express opinions about their world. Perhaps then Vicente's goals were realized, even if students reject this view of language and of learning in their classroom context.

Overall, the tensions that emerged in this case study reinforce the importance of considering how institutional structures influence understandings of language and language learning, the pedagogical choices that are made in the classroom, and the possibilities for agency on the part of both instructors and learners to explore their own understandings of language in relationship to pedagogical choices and learning. I have attempted to situate these influences in an examination of the perceived purposes of learning a second/foreign language and culture from the perspective of both a liberal arts education and what I have called a neoliberal education in order to reflect on this larger institutional context.

2.2 Culture Learning

Most of the learners in both classrooms are themselves mobile subjects with extensive travel experiences. They bring their own perspectives on cultural differences and their own positionalities into the classroom, which interact in complex ways with how they feel that they are positioned by the textbook and by the instructors. It also influences their expectations for learning culture in the classroom.

As evidenced in the case study of Yesenia's class as analyzed in Chapter 4, learners largely reject the construction of what I have called the tourist gaze in favor of developing what they identify as cultural awareness: caring about the realities of Latin America. Yet caring about

these realities uncomfortably implicates them in larger global relationships in which they must confront their privileged positioning as mostly upper- middle to upper-class white subjects living in the United States. This process was particularly evident in their CSL experiences in which "putting a face on it" reproduced problematic binaries, such as that of "us" and "them" and "server" and "served." These binaries reinforced larger power structures and reproduced privilege. Even though learners demonstrated awareness of the construction of these binaries and their implications in terms of the reproduction of power, as evidenced in the remainders that I analyzed in Chapter 6, they were not given the tools to engage in a critical reflection on these remainders.

Yesenia also brought her own understandings of cultural differences and her own experiences having lived in Tijuana into the classroom. In fact, this was one of the central reasons that she made CSL a required component of the course. However, she constructs for herself only two options: to teach students about the problems of Latin America or to participate in the construction of the tourist gaze that highlights its beautiful beaches, for example. She opts for the latter, fearing that students would not have the language skills necessary to understand the problems without themselves feeling implicated and potentially resentful. As I have demonstrated, this tourist gaze is in reality a continuation of a (neo)colonial gaze on Latin America, in this case one that has been largely influenced by neoliberalism as Latin America and its culture is now constructed in the tourist industry as ripe for consumption. Finally, I have suggested that as opposed to viewing these two options as contradictory perhaps by providing spaces for critical reflection on the tourist gaze itself students would still have the opportunity to develop cultural awareness, understood here as an awareness of the larger social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the tourist gaze in an era of globalization.

3. LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The findings of this study are limited by several important considerations. First, it is a rather small study, based only on two classrooms, in the specific context of the San Diego / Tijuana border with participants that have specific demographic profiles and it is limited to one semester. As a result, it is questionable to what extent the tensions I have identified would also be present in a Midwestern university, where, for example, the tensions of the border zone might not be as salient and where representations of drug-violence might not be as prevalent. It would also be important to consider the understandings of language, culture, and learning of instructors who are U.S. born and do not bring with them the same personal identifications to Latin American culture or the same concerns regarding transmitting its beautiful aspects to counter the negative representations in the media. The students in these two classrooms were rather heterogeneous. It would be important to consider how other populations of students might react to the construction of the tourist gaze, for example, if they were not privileged and had never travelled or if they themselves were international students and did not have previous exposure to the cultural representations of Latin America that circulate in the United States. Finally, the study is limited in time to one semester. It might be important to consider how the attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of language, culture, and learning were negotiated over a longer period of time in order to capture their dynamic and constantly changing nature.

Second, this study only considers perspectives on language, culture, and learning in the context of the teaching of the Spanish language and Latino cultures. This brings into question

how applicable the findings are to the teaching of other languages and cultures. For example, is a tourist gaze constructed in French or German textbooks and what representations of these cultures does this gaze (re)produce? Do Italian and Slavic departments, which generally have much lower enrollments, emphasize to the same degree the standardization of curricula and assessments as observed in the case of the teaching of Spanish?

Finally, I am aware that my presence as researcher has influenced the findings of this study. Perhaps most significantly, the questions I asked of students and instructors in interviews and other personal communications potentially created spaces for reflection on participants' understandings of language, culture, and learning that, as I have documented elsewhere, were not otherwise available to the participants. I wonder then, for example, if learners would have become aware of their own positioning as tourists in the construction of the tourist gaze had I not invited them to articulate their reactions to their classroom learning experiences. In the case of their CSL experiences, I have argued that students became aware of their own positionality and privilege but they were not given the tools to engage in a critical reflection on them. I wonder if the learners would have become aware of their own positionality and privilege had they not had the space to reflect on these experiences with me. Would the remainders I was able to identify in their reflections have come to the fore at all? I also wonder to what extent and in what contexts the two instructors would have had the opportunity to revisit their language and culture teaching philosophies and to reflect on how these influence their pedagogical choices. I do not mean to suggest with these wonderings that the tensions that I have documented would not have existed, as there is enough evidence to suggest that they probably would have. For example, it was obvious that Vicente's students were engaging in frequent discussions of their complaints with their classroom learning experiences amongst themselves. However, I am wondering to what degree I opened spaces of reflection and how much doing so contributed to the exacerbation of these tensions as well as to both the learners' and the instructors' understandings of language, culture, and learning.

4. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

I have argued that the language and culture classroom can be considered a contact zone (Pratt, 2008), a social space where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (p. 7) and where larger social structures and institutional power are (re)produced. The dynamic orientation that I have assumed in this research has allowed me to explore how different perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs regarding language and culture are constructed, to document how they "meet, clash, and grapple with each other," and to identify the tensions that emerge. My findings suggest that the classroom is indeed a social space where disparate understandings of language and culture are constructed and contested, and these have implications in the immediate context of learning but also in relationship to the larger context of preparing learners to participate in a globalized world. I will consider the implications of these findings both at a methodological and a theoretical level.

4.1 Methodological Implications

The learners and the instructors in these two classrooms do demonstrate an awareness of the conflicting attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions that they bring to the classroom and how these

interact with those of their instructors as well as the teaching materials. For example, learners recognize themselves as represented in the tourist videos that Yesenia shows and they demonstrate awareness of how this representation of their white privilege (re)produces larger power structures. The instructors are also aware of and grapple with their own understandings and the difficult choices that they face in relationship to respecting their own learning and teaching philosophies and their cultural histories in the context of their working conditions. For example, Vicente articulates quite clearly his rejection of the tourist gaze, preferring instead to teach students how to reflect on their realities through language while struggling to transmit the information deemed important for the standardized exams students must take. Ultimately both students and instructors are aware of and respond to the construction and operation of various symbolic borders: between differing representations of Latin American culture, as beaches and fun or full of barbaric violence; between various positionings, as tourists or immigrants themselves; between understandings of the purpose of language study, as accumulating linguistic structures or learning how to use language; and between their own perceived desires for learning and those of the institution.

Overall, my findings suggest that the tensions that emerge in these two classrooms and in the CSL sites offer an opportunity to go beyond just becoming aware of these borders but also to critically reflect on the meanings they produce, the power structures they reproduce, and participants' own positionings within them. Ultimately, perhaps preparing learners to participate in a globalized world requires the development of learners' and instructors' critical reflexivity. In the classroom context, doing so would open the potential to reflect on language and culture in relationship to how instructors and students understand themselves, their own worldviews, and the languages they use to construct them in relationship to the other. It would also open a space to critically reflect on the borders that globalization creates and reinforces while simultaneously coming to recognize and to cross these borders: between the self and other, between linguistic codes, between cultural representations, and between multiple contexts and power structures.

I have interrogated to what degree my questions in formal interviews and personal communications opened spaces for reflection so that participants both became aware of and articulated the tensions they were experiencing with respect to their positionings, their learning experiences, and their expectations. Yet, independently of whether or not I contributed to this awareness as researcher, I would argue that one of the primary implications of this study in the foreign/second language classroom is that it points to the need to not only include explicit discussions of pedagogical choices in the classroom, but also the creation of spaces for this kind of reflection. This would respond to similar calls from researchers who study attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions in relationship to notions of motivation, self-efficacy, and anxiety in language learning. This previous research has pointed to instances of misalignment and even contradictions between those of instructors' and those of learners'. Suggestions for change include instructors incorporating into their classrooms explicit discussions of their pedagogical choices in order for students to understand their rationale. In fact, I have already hinted at this possibility in my discussion of the implications of the Yesenia case study in which I argued that as opposed to negating the existence of the tourist gaze students could critically engage with it, opening considerations of why and how it is constructed.

I have suggested that educating multilingual and multicultural subjects in a globalized world requires opening spaces that encourage critical reflection on the borders that globalization creates and reinforces while learners simultaneously allowing them to recognize and to cross these borders. This research project has made it apparent that both instructors and learners are

already aware of these borders, but lack the critical tools to reflect on them and to understand their operation. Developing these tools would provide the opportunity for critical reflection on language, culture, and learning in relationship to power structures, cultural representations, and lived experiences. The goal of doing so would not necessarily be to resolve differences in understandings, but to provide space for reflection on their constructions as they are directly relevant to and implicated in what and how students are learning.

4.2 Theoretical Implications

Both of the conceptual frameworks I have employed have facilitated the process and analysis of my data yet both have also opened spaces for additional considerations. The first, a dynamic or complexity orientation (Wesely, 2012), has allowed me to explore how beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions towards language and culture learning are constructed and negotiated in the relationship between the learners and the instructors, as complex social beings, and the learning site, which includes the classroom, the university, and the local context, understood as contact zones (Pratt, 2008). This orientation is a response to calls by Barcelos' (2003a, 2003b) for studies that focus on the "dynamic, constantly negotiated, embedded and interconnected nature of learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs" (p. 599). I have attempted to analyze these attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs as socially constructed and negotiated, as situated in the lived experiences of the participants in relationship to the local context of learning, and as dynamic and constantly changing. I recognized that one of the limitations of this study is that it is attached to a strictly delimited moment in time, one semester, and, therefore, does not include a longitudinal perspective, my analysis has nevertheless revealed many tensions, and, all have implications for the learning of languages and cultures.

The second theoretical framework is interconnected with the first, and it is a response to Scarino's call for expanded theoretical understandings of language, culture, and learning in relationship to larger processes of globalization and neoliberalism. From this perspective, learning is understood as a process of interpretive meaning making, not as a final and static goal. Scarino further argues that it is "necessary to focus on how to develop the understanding that teachers and students, equally and both, bring their own interpretive resources to their learning: how they both see the subject, the language and culture being learnt, the process of learning, and their roles as reflective interactants" (Scarino, 2014, p. 398). My analysis has attempted to document these interpretive resources to understand how the instructors and the students position themselves as interactants and how they see the Spanish language and Latino cultures that they are learning.

These two frameworks suggest ever increasing tensions between understandings of learning language and culture in the classroom in contrast to the potentiality of this learning as applied outside of the classroom. On the one hand, learning languages and cultures in a classroom has come to be understood by many as a process of acquiring instrumental knowledge of the language and accumulating superficial representations of otherness, i.e., the tourist gaze on Latin America. On the other hand, this classroom learning exists in a problematic relationship to larger questions of language use outside of the classroom because the accumulation of these language structures is largely divorced from to its application in communication. Even more, language learning, as this study has revealed, is disconnected from developing an ability to reflect on and to analyze the world and the cultural representations that are constructed and circulate within it.

Throughout the tensions that I have documented around these understandings is the central question of power, in which social structures are (re)produced both in and outside of the classroom. Indeed, one of the central limits of these two theoretical frameworks that I have employed is that they do not centrally interrogate this question of power. The institutional structures that create standardized curricula limit the instructors' agency to apply and to explore their own experiences and beliefs regarding language and culture learning in relationship to their pedagogical choices. These same structures contribute to the belief on the part of the students that they should focus on accumulating grammatical forms and vocabulary lists in order to successfully pass the course and leave the "real" language learning for future travel or work abroad. The tourist gaze reproduces tourism discourse already circulating in the United States which reinforce larger (neo)colonial narratives of Latin America. The CSL learning experiences, which take place in the "real" world outside of the classroom, reproduce problematic binaries of "us" and "them" and "server" and "served" that are also imbued with power, both in its symbolic and material forms. Students lack the critical tools necessary to reflect on the realization of their own positionings of privilege.

In the end, if one of the primary consequences of globalization and neoliberalism is the exacerbation of asymmetrical power relations, in order to understand how they have influenced language and culture learning and how to prepare learners to participate in a globalized world would require additional theorizations of how this power is operating.

5. AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The current study and the tensions that I have documented open numerous important avenues for future research in the field of SLA. All centrally focus on exploring the importance of critical reflections on language, culture, and learning in relationship to the foreign/second language classroom. Based on the implications of this study, all point to the importance of continuing to explore theorizations of symbolic power in language education research.

5.1 What would a longitudinal follow-up contribute to understanding the tensions I have documented?

The tensions that I have documented suggest the need for future inquiry that continues to explore the ecology of language and culture learning and teaching using an ethnographic lens that also includes a longitudinal perspective. This perspective would open up the possibility of exploring students' and instructors' understandings of language and culture as constructed in the classroom in order to document how these change or not over time in relationship to their language use outside of the classroom. In case of this current study, a longitudinal perspective would have allowed for a consideration of how students' positioning as tourists would influence their future travels and encounters with cultural difference in their daily lives. Would they attempt to negotiate for themselves a different positionality? How will they use language to understand and negotiate this positioning? What new meanings would emerge in relationship to their understandings of self and the other? What new awareness would emerge in relationship to the operation of power? If preparing students to engage in a globalized world requires developing critical reflexivity to understand the borders that globalization constructs and the

power structures that it exacerbates, how might they employ this critical reflexivity outside of the confines of the classroom and what would it look like?

5.2 How can spaces be constructed in teacher training programs to encourage critical reflection?

In the case of Yesenia and Vicente, I have wondered in what other professional or institutional spaces they have the opportunity to revisit their teaching and learning philosophies. Do teacher preparation and training programs encourage foreign/second language instructors to critically reflect on their own lived experiences and the construction of their own cultural representations and how these influence their pedagogical choices? Do they have access to continued professional development that supports this same process throughout their teaching? Given these concerns, I argue for the importance of future research that would include an exploration of teacher training programs and what it would look like to construct spaces for this critical reflection and what potential effects it would have on instructors' own understandings of language, culture, and learning. Of course, these considerations cannot be separated from larger concerns regarding teaching contexts, particularly in the case of the increased reliance on part-time adjunct instructors that do not enjoy security of employment.

5.3 What are the political dimensions of SLA?

The implications I have highlighted in this current study point to the importance of further developing frameworks that centrally interrogate structures of power and their operation in the construction and negotiation of understandings of language, culture, and learning. The multilingual, poststructuralist turn in SLA has contributed a conceptual framework from which to explore in new ways questions of the construction of meaning through language use. However, it has simultaneously perhaps eclipsed the question of power that a Marxist framework would open up. I would argue for the further exploration of poststructuralism and structuralism as potential analytical frameworks, not with the intention of reconciling their seemingly irreconcilable differences, but instead to consider the tensions that emerge between them as fruitful places of inquiry. If language and culture learning is centrally political, as Crookes (1997) and others have argued, then recognizing that the multilingual, poststructuralist turn itself is political would offer new avenues of critical reflection in the field. In this regard, at a more practical level, my findings suggest the importance of including in SLA training and instruction a reflection on this political nature.

5.4 How does SLA construct its own object of study?

The concept of the tourist gaze, its construction and operation in relationship to larger critical reflections in the field of SLA, merits further elaboration and analysis. As already stated, at one level this would involve considering its construction through the teaching of languages other than Spanish. At a broader level, I wonder if the concept of the tourist gaze would also be a useful construct from which to critically reflect on the field of SLA itself. How does the field construct its object of study? How does this construction position researchers and practitioners? Would the tourist gaze, for example, add new dimensions and understandings of recent research on the commodification of language and culture?

EPILOGUE: REFLECTIONS ON JOURNEYS

"For the phenomena that interest me are precisely those that blur the boundaries, cross them, and make their historical artifice appear, also their violence, meaning the relations of force that are concentrated there and actually capitalize themselves interminably" (Derrida, 1998, p. 9)

In this epilogue I return to the three journeys that framed this dissertation: 1) Alberto and Ernesto's historical journey as retold in the contemporary movie Motorcycle Diaries; 2) the dissertation journey; 3) my own professional journey. What connects these journeys is that they all involve geographical, cultural, linguistic, and symbolic border crossings in various and interrelated contact zones (Pratt, 2008). The social spaces that comprise these contact zones include the geographic borders between the United States and Latin America, San Diego and Tijuana, and San Diego University (SDU) and the surrounding neighborhood community of Linda Vista. I have argued that as a social space, a university Spanish language and culture classroom can also be understood as a contact zone, where representations of otherness also "meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (Pratt, p. 7). These contact zones all centrally involve "asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 2008, p. 7) where power is exercised. They can also be spaces of contestation, as subjects (re)negotiate their positionalities through contact.

All of these journeys have blurred boundaries, between the self and the other and between cultural representations that have opened up and foreclosed differing positionalities. In differing and similar ways these blurred boundaries have made the historical artifice's that Derrida mentions appear. The relations of force that have emerged in the process provide a space from which to consider the tensions of globalization and their implications, specifically with regards to the teaching of languages and cultures in contact zones. In what follows I will briefly consider each of these journeys anew.

1. ERNESTO AND ALBERTO'S JOURNEY

This first journey is the 2004 movie retelling of the 1952 journey of Ernesto (Che) and his friend, Alberto through Latin America (Motorcycle Diaries) as analyzed in the introduction to this dissertation. As previously argued, this journey across national as well as economic and social borders highlights the differing and interrelated faces of globalization and the economic, social, and political inequalities that it has exacerbated. These inequalities are particularly poignant in the scene analyzed in the introduction, which takes place in the Atacama Desert of Chile. On the one hand, the privileged tourists Ernesto and Alberto enjoy unfettered mobility as they "travel just to travel," collecting representations of otherness along the way. On the other hand, the nameless immigrants suffer forced displacement due to their political and economic realities.

Teaching language and culture, and in this case specifically the teaching of the Spanish language and Latino cultures in the United States, is not divorced from cultural representations that always already exist in the popular imaginary. These representations, like that of Che, are commodified, imbued with political significations, reinforced by power structures, and bought and sold in a global marketplace. As Pratt (2008) argues, since the Conquest Latin America has been constructed as a garden of Eden, an untamed paradise ripe for exploitation of its natural resources through the modernizing forces of first the colonizers and later the multinational

corporations. It has also been constructed as a harsh landscape of drug lords, poverty, and crime that somehow exist independently from the larger global relations that have created and sustain this violence. The character of Ernesto as portrayed in this movie recognizes and cares about these realities. Yet, he does not demonstrate the critical reflexivity necessary to consider the underlying historical, political, and economic causes that frame his encounter with otherness.

These representations of Latin America have been (re)constructed and (re)produced in the United States through the tourist industry. The vast, sweeping landscapes of the Andes, the Amazon, and the exoticized indigenous cultures as captured in the movie the Motorcycle Diaries are reproduced in tourist brochures and magazines that suggest that despite this violent backdrop Latin America is now ripe for consumption. These same representations populate textbooks (Kramsch & Vinall, 2015), as students travel from one country to another, accumulating commodified facts and language snippets that will allow them to consume these representations.

In this dissertation project, I have analyzed these representations in relationship to what I have called the tourist gaze as it is constructed in the textbook, and reinforced, or not, through the teaching materials. Like Ernesto, both instructors struggle with their awareness of these representations and realities. Yesenia argues that her students do not have the prerequisite language skills to engage with these larger social, economic, and political realities and, as a result, they will not be able to appreciate the beauty of her culture and heritage. She chooses to participate in the construction of the tourist gaze. Vicente wants to confront students with these realities and their own positionings within them. Therefore, he chooses not to participate in the construction of the tourist gaze. As I have previously suggested, perhaps one of the significant implications of this conflicted positionality is not the choice between one or the other but the opportunity to critically reflect on the tourist gaze itself, thereby revealing what is at stake in its construction.

2. THE DISSERTATION JOURNEY

The second journey is that of two instructors and the students in their Spanish university classrooms as they explore representations of cultural and linguistic Otherness through their classroom studies and their community service-learning projects. For the teachers, this journey has focused on exploring their understandings of language and culture; their teaching and learning philosophies and objectives; and the relationship between these and their pedagogical choices and the learning experiences they create. These beliefss exist in relationship to the textbook as well as the objectives and curriculum established by the department in which the instructors inhabit tenuous, temporary adjunct positions. For the students, this journey has focused on exploring their own perceptions of language and culture and their learning objectives in relationship to their instructors' and to the textbook. They inhabit a privileged position as predominantly middle class, white university students, with goals of obtaining positions in business and continuing their international travels. Together, the instructors' and the students' understandings create and structure classroom participation structures as well as interactions with local residents at the community learning sites.

Throughout this journey two central tensions have emerged in relationship to language and culture teaching and learning in an era of globalization. The first, as already discussed, is the construction of a tourist gaze on culture that highlights the pleasurable, entertaining, and enjoyable aspects of Latin American culture, such as its beautiful beaches. This tourist gaze

exists in relationship to a cosmopolitan view, which emphasizes cultural awareness based on appreciating difference and caring about the problems of Latin America. The second tension is between an instrumental approach to language and using language to "understand, reflect, and propose" (Vicente) as part of the holistic development of the individual. Both of these tensions played out differently in each of the two classrooms, and, as demonstrated by my analysis both had differing implications. And, both are related to the larger influences of neoliberalism and globalization in education broadly speaking and specifically with regards to language and culture teaching.

This dissertation research did not provide me with the concrete answers I had expected to the question of how foreign/second language and culture learning can prepare learners to participate in a globalized world. Instead, it has raised new questions. Personally, I resist the understanding of the purpose of language teaching as preparing students to travel and consume other cultures while successfully negotiating service encounters. Yet, I wonder where are own agency as instructors lies in relationship to larger structural realities. How can we as instructors successfully speak back to textbooks that perpetuate this utilitarian understanding of language and the construction of the tourist gaze? Do we have opportunities to engage with the type of critical reflection that would facilitate our own understandings of our positionalities vis-à-vis these cultural representations? Where is the agency of our students to explore their own language and culture learning desires and expectations? Do our language programs, with their increased emphasis on standardized assessment and formulistic knowledge, provide space in which both teachers and students can critically interrogate their own journeys and negotiate their own positionalities? How do universities frame the role and objectives of language and culture learning within an increasingly neoliberalized education and how does this framing implicate us as teachers and our students in this same process? What can the fields of second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics contribute to these critical discussions?

3. MY OWN JOURNEY

The third journey is my own professional journey both as a Spanish language and Latino cultures teacher and as a dissertation researcher. The impetus for this dissertation project came from concerns that emerged from my own teaching experiences around what it means to prepare language and culture learners to participate in an ever more diverse multilingual and multicultural world. This journey brought me to graduate school. Thanks to wonderfully knowledgeable professors that have supported and encouraged me in this journey, I have armed myself with intellectual and theoretical tools that have helped me to question the theory and practice of language and culture teaching and learning as I have hopefully demonstrated in this dissertation project.

As I now write the conclusion to this dissertation my own professional journey has assumed new trajectories and has opened new perspectives on the tensions that have emerged in my research and their pedagogical and methodological implications in the classroom. In Fall 2015 I enthusiastically returned to the language and culture classroom as a full-time Spanish instructor at a community college in the Silicon Valley. Full of the questions I posed at the end of the last section, I was open to this incredible opportunity to explore and try to understand the implications of my research through my own teaching.

I now find myself inhabiting new and different contact zones. I daily cross the border between my own home in a working class, urban area of the East Bay into the affluent Silicon Valley. On the one hand, this commute and the fact that I cannot afford to live anywhere near the Silicon Valley is a constant reminder of the economic and social disparities endemic to globalization. On the other, it is a constant reminder of the privilege that comes with my own social and geographic mobility.

The campus itself is also a contact zone. The majority of the students are themselves from low-income, minority and international families, and many, like myself, are the first in their families to graduate high school and attend college. They too commute, by bus and car, up to four hours a day from distant and poorer neighborhoods and cities, crossing their own boundaries. In the process, they chase the illusive American Dream as represented in the Google and Apple office complexes that surround the campus.

My Spanish 1 classroom is also a contact zone. It is a multilingual and multicultural space. The students include second and third generations of Latin American immigrants, many of whom are heritage speakers of Spanish that have never formally studied the language. There are also international students from around the world who are already multilingual as they add to their linguistic repertoires by learning English alongside Spanish. And, there are undocumented students who arrived in the United States from Latin America as children and who believe and hold out hope for the possibilities of obtaining their legal status through the Dream Act.

The weight of the implications of this dissertation project became even more apparent when I realized that the assigned textbook for the Spanish 1 classes I teach is the same textbook used at San Diego University. Both Yesenia and Vicente felt trapped by the options they constructed for themselves, which included participating in the construction of a tourist gaze on language and culture so that students could appreciate the beauty of Latin American culture or engaging students with the political, social, and economic realities of Latin America so that they would learn how to use language to understand, reflect and propose. While I felt that I deeply understood at the time both Yesenia and Vicente's consternation and I empathized with their difficult choices, I now face my own, making their experiences looking back even more poignant.

I chose not to perpetuate the tourist gaze as constructed in the textbook. Doing so with these particular students would imply denying their lived realities and struggles, imposing upon them an identity as "tourists" that they may never construct or imagine for themselves. Given their varied backgrounds, most of them were already aware of the political, social, and economic realities produced by globalization as experienced both in Latin America and the United States. There was no need to confront them with this reality. Instead, I chose to try to create a third space from which I hoped that they could critically reflect on their own identities and positionalities, their understandings of the self and other. To that end I developed a semester long project that I call the identity project. The primary goal of its various stages is to create a space for students to reflect on how they understand their own cultural and linguistic identities and positionalities in relationship to those ascribed to them by others and how all of these are negotiated through language. In the process, I also hope to encourage the recognition of the classroom as a contact zone, as a space in which various cultural and linguistic identities and lived experiences come into contact with each other and with the teaching materials and texts that I incorporated.

Each stage concluded with an exploratory assignment that focuses on the theme of the textbook lesson and that incorporated the vocabulary and grammatical structures under review. For the first stage, students read and discussed a poem written in Spanglish by a queer latina

feminist author in which she speaks back against the identities that had been imposed upon her. Afterwards, they write their own poems and reflections on the identities they chose to represent in it. In his reflections, one of the students explored how, because of his surname and his physical appearance, he is constantly interpolated as Latino. As a result, people speak to him in Spanish, which to him serves as a constant reminder of what he considers his own linguistic shortcomings, as he never learned the language from his grandparents. For the second assignment, we analyzed a movie scene in which upper class Chilean students in a private university are introduced to five new students from a nearby shanty town that have received scholarships. Students then completed an interview (with questions in both English and Spanish) with a Spanish speaker about his/her experiences as a student and then transcribed these interviews. The interview questions were prepared in class. In one of my classes, reflecting on their own experiences, the students wrote the following question, "how has being a low income student impacted how you see your opportunities and experiences at the university?" For the third assignment, students brought an object to class that symbolized their relationship to their families and gave a short "show and tell" presentation in which they explained this significance. In one of the classes, a student presented on the cultural importance of drinking coffee. She taught the class the word for coffee in Eritrean, prompting for the first time in my experience a chorus of voices repeating a Eritrean word in a Spanish classroom.

The assignment I developed for the chapter that focuses on leisure activities is a short essay. Students are to write about their participation in three or four activities in their personal lives and how these activities reflect their sense of self. After a class in which we conducted a brainstorming session in preparation for the essay a student approached me. She told me that one of the activities that is most important to her is traveling, although she had actually never been able to travel given her status as undocumented. Travel to her implies great risk when she travels within the United States and she cannot travel abroad. She wondered if it would be acceptable for her to still include travel as one of her activities.

I have elaborated details and examples of this identity project in order to demonstrate my own thinking about the classroom implications of this research project and how it has informed my own practice. As an instructor I, like Yesenia and Vicente, operate within departmental and curricular restrictions, such as the selection of the textbook. I struggle with larger questions of the intended purpose of language and culture instruction, in the personal and professional lives of my students. I am not suggesting that the identity project that I conceived is a solution to any of the tensions that I have documented and explored through this dissertation project. Instead, I had envisioned it as a possible way of critically engaging with students on questions of our positionalities, the negotiation of our identities, and the role of culture and language as part of this negotiation. Indeed, the question posed to me by the student about travel brought me haltingly back to the central question: what is at stake?

The identity project that I had created in some ways has made the historical artifices appear. These include the reality of a globalized world in which the undocumented student was, like the migrants in Motorcycle Diaries, forcibly displaced from her home in Mexico for economic reasons. Hers is not a reality of unfettered mobility. She inhabits a tenuous legal space that denies her the position of tourist, except in her imagination. With the appearance of these historical artifices also appear the relations of force, the violence, according to Derrida. This project had revealed that violence at a personal level by her having to confront yet again her own lived reality. It also produced anxiety at a professional level in relationship to worries about how she could satisfactorily complete the assignment. I was not prepared for these implications nor

did I feel equipped to help her analyze or critically reflect on her own reality, one that a project for my class had put her in the position of confronting.

Perhaps then what is at stake then is not just (re)producing power structures, privilege, and cultural representations. It is not just about introducing critical perspectives, on the tourist gaze itself or through other means of engaging with otherness such as the identity projects. It is also not just about critically interrogating the historical, political, economic, and social realities that have been produced by these power structures. But, what is also at stake is facilitating the development of students' understandings of meaning making processes themselves: What significations did the word "travel" evoke for her? What emotional resonances do those significations have? How do the emotional resonances relate to past imaginings and future projections of self?

These teaching experiences and these questions reinforce for me the importance of continuing this line of research, as elaborated in my conclusion, into how to incorporate spaces for critical reflection into the classroom and what implications doing so has for understandings of language, culture, and learning.

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APPENDIX A: STUDENT SURVEYS

Beginning of Semester Student Survey

*This survey is for research purposes only. These results will only be seen by the researcher, Kimberly Vinall. Your Spanish teacher **will not** have access to your answers.*

Name:_____

PART I: Background information

How many years have you been studying at USD? _____

What is your major and/or minor? _____

Did you study Spanish in high school? If so, for how many years? _____

What other Spanish courses have you taken at USD? _____

Do you speak Spanish outside of class? If so, with whom? _____

Do you plan on continuing your study of Spanish after this course? If so, for how long?

_____

What are your goals for Spanish 201? What do you hope to learn?

_____

_____

_____

_____

PART II: Attitudes and motivation: Language and culture study

Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following to be important reasons for you to study Spanish. For each item, write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree

Studying Spanish is important because…

    a. _____ It will be useful in getting a good job.
    b. _____ I would like to travel to Latin America or Spain.
    c. _____ It will help me to communicate with family and/or friends.
    d. _____ It will help me to learn about another culture.
    e. _____ It will help me to understand and be able to communicate with local communities in San Diego.
    f. _____ It will help me to learn about my own language and culture.
    g. _____ It will help me to be successful in business.
    h. _____ I would like to learn about myself.
    i. _____ It will help me when I go to Mexican restaurants.
    j. _____ Other?: _____

PART III
As part of this course you are required to complete either community-service learning or cultural activities. Please respond to the appropriate section.

Attitudes and motivation: Community-service learning
Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following characteristics to be important reasons for you to complete community-service learning activities. For each item, write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree

Completing community-service learning activities is important because…
  a. _____ I will develop authentic relationships with people.
  b. _____ It will help me to understand the needs of other groups of people.
  c. _____ I will learn about the causes of social and economic inequalities.
  d. _____ It will help me to examine my own privileges.
  e. _____ I will learn how to work with my community to solve social and economic inequalities.
  f. _____ I will be able to help other people.
  g. _____ It will help me to develop a connection to my community.
  h. _____ It will give me an opportunity to practice my Spanish.
  i. _____ It will help me to reconsider stereotypes and assumptions that I may have.
  j. _____ I will learn more about Hispanic culture.
  k. _____ I will feel better about myself.
  l. _____ I feel I have a lot to give to make my community better.
  m. _____ It will allow me to reflect on social issues in my community.
  n. _____ It will help me to pass this course.
  o. _____ The experience will help me to get a better job in the future.
  p. _____ It will help me to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts.
  q. _____ Other?: _____

Attitudes and motivation: Cultural activities
Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following characteristics to be important reasons for you to complete cultural activities. Write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

Completing cultural activities is important because…
  a. _____ I will learn more about Hispanic culture.
  b. _____ It will give me an opportunity to practice my Spanish.
  c. _____ I will develop authentic relationships with people.
  d. _____ It will help me to understand the needs of other groups of people.
  e. _____ I will learn about the causes of social and economic injustices.
  f. _____ It will help me to examine my own privileges.
  g. _____ I will learn how to work with my community to solve social and economic inequalities.
  h. _____ I will feel better about myself.
  i. _____ It will allow me to reflect on social issues in my community.
  j. _____ It will help me to pass this course.
  k. _____ It will allow me to reconsider stereotypes and assumptions that I may have.

l. _____ The experience will help me to get a better job in the future.

m. _____ It will help me to develop a connection to my community.

r. _____ It will help me to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts.

n. _____ Other?: _____

End of Semester Student Survey

*This survey is for research purposes only. These results will only be seen by the researcher, Kimberly Vinall. Your Spanish teacher **will not** have access to your answers.*

Name:_____

PART I: Spanish class
1. Do you feel like you realized your goals for Spanish 201? Why or why not? What else would you like to learn?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. Did you learn something that you didn't expect to learn? What?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. Will you continue your study of the Spanish language and Hispanic cultures? Why or why not?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

PART II: Attitudes and motivation: Language and culture study
Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following to be important reasons for you to study Spanish. For each item, write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree

Studying Spanish has been important because…

a. _____ It will be useful in getting a good job.
b. _____ I would like to travel to Latin America or Spain.
c. _____ It has helped me to communicate with family and/or friends.
d. _____ It has helped me to learn about another culture.
e. _____ It has helped me to understand and be able to communicate with local communities in San Diego.
f. _____ It has helped me to learn about my own language and culture.
g. _____ It will help me to be successful in business.
h. _____ I have learned more about myself.

i. _____ It has helped me when I go to Mexican restaurants.
j. _____ Other?: _____

PART III
Attitudes and motivation: Cultural activities
Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following characteristics to be important aspects of your participation in cultural activities. For each item, write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree

Completing cultural activities is important because…
a. _____ I learned more about Hispanic culture.
b. _____ It give me an opportunity to practice my Spanish.
c. _____ I developed authentic relationships with people.
d. _____ It helped me to understand the needs of other groups of people.
e. _____ I learned about the causes of social and economic injustices.
f. _____ It helped me to examine my own privileges.
g. _____ I learned how to work with my community to solve social and economic inequalities.
h. _____ I feel better about myself.
i. _____ I will be able to pass this course.
j. _____ It allowed me to reflect on social issues in my community.
k. _____ It allowed me to reconsider stereotypes and assumptions that I may have.
l. _____ The experience will help me to get a better job in the future.
m. _____ It helped me to develop a connection to my community.
n. _____ It helped me to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts.
o. _____ Other?: _____

Attitudes and motivation: Community-service learning
As part of this course you are required to complete community-service learning activities. Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following characteristics to be important reasons for you to complete such activities. For each item, write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Mildly agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree

Completing community-service learning activities was important because…

a. _____ I developed authentic relationships with people.
b. _____ It has helped me to understand the needs of other groups of people.
c. _____ I learned about the causes of social and economic injustices.
d. _____ It helped me to examine my own privileges.
e. _____ I learned how to work with my community to solve social and economic inequalities.
f. _____ I was able to help other people.
g. _____ It helped me to develop a connection to my community.
h. _____ I had the opportunity to practice my Spanish.
i. _____ It helped me to reconsider stereotypes and assumptions that I may have.

j. _____ I learned more about Hispanic culture.

k. _____ I feel better about myself.

l. _____ I feel I have a lot to give to make my community better.

m. _____ It allowed me to reflect on social issues in my community.

n. _____ I will be able to pass this course.

o. _____ The experience will help me to get a better job in the future.

p. _____ It helped me to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts.

q. _____ Other?: _____

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR FOCAL STUDENTS IN VICENTE'S CLASSROOM

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as variations in the cultural activities completed this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases student responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although students will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

Classroom experiences
1. What does it mean to you to know a language? What do you need to know?
2. What does it mean to you to know a culture? What do you need to know?
3. Do you think that the learning of language and culture are interrelated? In what ways? Can you provide a specific example? Is this something that you learned in class?
4. Do you use Spanish outside of the classroom? Where and when? Do you feel like you use Spanish differently outside of the classroom? In what ways is it different?
5. What were your personal goals for the class? What did you want to learn? Why was it important to learn this? In what situations do you imagine yourself using Spanish in the future?
6. Can you describe in general what you have learned this semester in your Spanish class? Why do you think that it is important to learn this?
7. Can you tell me more about the cultural content that you are studying? What have you learned? Is this important to you to study? Why or why not? Has it helped you to learn about your own culture? In what ways? Has your understanding of your own culture changed in any way? How? What other cultural topics would you like to learn about?
8. Ask specific questions based on my classroom observations. For example, the other day you learned about X. How did you respond to this? Did you agree with the way it was presented?
9. Can you think of a time that you reacted emotionally to something that you were studying in the classroom? Can you describe what happened? What emotions did you feel? Why?
10. When you speak Spanish do you perceive yourself differently? Do you think that others perceive you differently? In what ways? Do you feel that your own identity is a factor in the classroom and/or in your language and culture learning? In what ways?
11. Do you feel like your perception of yourself and who you are has changed over the course of the semester? Is this in response to what you are learning in class? What specific things have prompted the changes?
12. Do you remember any uncomfortable moments during classroom activities in response to the content and/or language that you are studying? Can you describe these moments? How did the other students respond? How did you respond? How did the teacher respond?
13. Do you feel like there are opportunities in class to critically reflect on the language and content you are learning? What does critical reflection mean to you in this context? Do you feel that this is an important aspect of language learning?

Cultural Activities
1. Why did you decide to participate in the cultural activities?
2. What specific cultural activities are you completing? Why did you select these projects? Can you describe to me what they involve?
3. What expectations did you have about your participation in these activities at the beginning of the semester? What expectations did you have about what you wanted to learn? Do you feel like these expectations were fulfilled? Why or why not?
4. What do you feel like you have learned from the completion of these projects?
5. Where are you from? What kind of community did you grow up in? Can you describe the members of this community? What types of problems did your community face? Do you feel like your participation in the cultural activities helped you to understand these personal experiences? In what ways? Do you feel that they helped you to understand another community? What community? In what ways?
6. Do you feel that your participation in the cultural activities relates to what you are learning in the Spanish classroom? Does it relate to your language learning? Your culture learning? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?
7. In the classroom you have learned about X (mention specific cultural content from classroom observations). Do you feel that this content is related in any way to your experiences with the cultural activities? In what ways?
8. Have you discussed your participation in the cultural activities with anyone else? What things did you discuss?
9. Did you speak in English or Spanish at these activities? Did you have any difficulties expressing yourself or communicating with others? Can you think of an example? What happened? What types of strategies do you employ to help this communication?
10. Has your understanding and/or relationship to your local community, to San Diego in general or to the border region changed in any way through your participation in these activities? How? Can you think of an example, an interaction or a moment when you became aware of this change? What happened?
11. Do you feel that your participation in the cultural activities has influenced your personal and/or professional development? In what ways?
12. Has your participation influenced how you view yourself? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example, something that has happened to you, that illustrates this?
13. Have you ever felt uncomfortable during your participation? Can you describe what happened? How did you perceive the others that were involved? How did you respond to these situations? How did the others respond to the situation?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR FOCAL STUDENTS IN YESENIA'S CLASSROOM

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases student responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although students will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

Classroom experiences
1. What does it mean to you to know a language? What do you need to know?
2. What does it mean to you to know a culture? What do you need to know?
3. Do you think that the learning of language and culture are interrelated? In what ways? Can you provide a specific example? Is this something that you learned in class?
4. Do you use Spanish outside of the classroom? Where and when? Do you feel like you use Spanish differently outside of the classroom? In what ways is it different?
5. What were your personal goals for the class? What did you want to learn? Why was it important to learn this? In what situations do you imagine yourself using Spanish in the future?
6. Can you describe in general what you have learned this semester in your Spanish class? Why do you think that it is important to learn this?
7. Can you tell me more about the cultural content that you are studying? What have you learned? Is this important to you to study? Why or why not? Has it helped you to learn about your own culture? In what ways? Has your understanding of your own culture changed in any way? How? What other cultural topics would you like to learn about?
8. Ask specific questions based on my classroom observations. For example, the other day you learned about X. How did you respond to this? Did you agree with the way it was presented?
9. Can you think of a time that you reacted emotionally to something that you were studying in the classroom? Can you describe what happened? What emotions did you feel? Why?
10. When you speak Spanish do you perceive yourself differently? Do you think that others perceive you differently? In what ways? Do you feel that your own identity is a factor in the classroom and/or in your language and culture learning? In what ways?
11. Do you feel like your perception of yourself and who you are has changed over the course of the semester? Is this in response to what you are learning in class? What specific things have prompted the changes?
12. Do you remember any uncomfortable moments during classroom activities in response to the content and/or language that you are studying? Can you describe these moments? How did the other students respond? How did you respond? How did the teacher respond?
13. Do you feel like there are opportunities in class to critically reflect on the language and content you are learning? What does critical reflection mean to you in this context? Do you feel that this is an important aspect of language learning?

Community-service learning
1. What does community-service learning mean to you?

2. Why did you decide to participate in a community-service learning activity? Which of the three activities did you select? Why did you select this one?

3. What expectations did you have about your participation in this activity at the beginning of the semester? What were your expectations regarding the people you were going to meet?

4. Can you describe the community-service learning site? Describe what you do when you are there.

5. Where are you from? What kind of community did you grow up in? Can you describe the members of this community? What types of problems did your community face?

6. Can you describe the community of people at the community-service learning site? What are the challenges that they face? What do you think are the causes of these challenges? Do you think that you play a role in these challenges?

7. Do you think that these challenges are related to larger globalization processes? In what ways?

8. What are the differences between your community, your history, and yourself and the people of the community at the community-service learning site? What do you have in common with this community? Do you think that these similarities and differences influence your relationships with the members of this community? In what ways?

9. What do you contribute to the community-service learning site? What do the community members contribute? Can you give me an example.

10. How would you describe your relationship to the community members at the site? Can you give me an example of something that has happened or an interaction that you have had that was an important moment for you in the development of these relationships?

11. Do you speak in English or Spanish at the community-service learning sites? Have you had difficulty communicating with the members of the community? Can you think of an example? What happened? What types of strategies do you employ to help this communication?

12. Have you ever felt uncomfortable at the community service learning sites? Can you describe what happened? How did you perceive the others that were involved? How did you respond to this situation? How did the others respond to the situation?

13. Are you aware of any power differences in your relationships with community members? What are they? How do you explain these differences?

14. Earlier I asked you about your expectations prior to beginning your community-service learning activities. Looking back now, do you think that those expectations were fulfilled? Why or why not?

15. In general, do you think that you have changed as a result of the community-service learning activities? In what ways? Do you think that the people that you have met have changed? In what ways? Can you explain what has caused these changes?

16. Has your participation in community-service learning influenced how you view yourself? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example that illustrates this?

17. Has your understanding and/or relationship to your local community, to San Diego in general or to the border region changed in any way? How? Can you think of an example, an interaction or a moment when you became aware of this change? What happened?

18. Do you plan to continue your community-service learning in the future? Why or why not? Do you plan to continue your study of Spanish? Why or why not?

19. Do you think that the challenges that the community faces can be changed in the future? What would have to happen for these changes to take place?
20. Overall, do you feel that your participation in the community-service learning relates to what you are learning in the Spanish classroom? Does it relate to your language learning? Your culture learning? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?
21. In the classroom you have learned about X (mention specific cultural content from classroom observations). Do you feel that this content is related in any way to your experiences at the community-service learning site? In what ways?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR SPANISH 201 TEACHERS

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although participants will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

Background information
1. Where are you from? What kind of community did you grow up in? Can you describe the members of this community? What types of problems did your community face?
2. How did you learn the languages that you speak?
3. Where and when did you study?
4. Why did you decide to become a language teacher?
5. How long have you been teaching at USD?
6. Do you think that your sense of who you are personally and/or professionally has changed over time? How has it changed? Why do you think that these changes have taken place?
7. Have you experienced conflicts in terms of your language / cultural identity during the process of becoming a language instructor in a U.S. university or now that you are a language instructor? What happened? How did you/do you respond to these conflicts?

Classroom experiences
1. Can you describe your teaching philosophy?
2. What does it mean to you to know a language? What do students need to know?
3. What does it mean to you to know a culture? What do students need to know?
4. What do you want your students to be able to do with what they learn?
5. What fields of thoughts, pedagogical ideas, or methodological principles have most influenced your teaching? In what ways? Can you provide specific examples?
6. How do you think that classroom activities promote student learning? Can you give specific examples?
7. How do you decide what cultural topics to include in Spanish 201?
8. What do you hope that students will learn about Hispanic cultures or the Spanish language over the course of the semester? What do you hope that they learn about their own language and culture?
9. Ask about the why of the specific framing of cultural topics as based on classroom observations.
10. Do you feel that your own language and culture learning experiences influence the way you teach or what you teach? Can you provide specific examples?
11. Do you feel that your own cultural identity is a factor in the classroom? In what ways? Do you talk about your cultural identity? In what contexts?
12. Do you think that students' cultural identities influence their learning? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?
13. Do you see evidence that students' perceptions of themselves change over the course of the semester? Can you give me specific examples? What do you think causes these changes?

14. Do you think that it is important for students to critically reflect on the language and culture that they are studying? Why or why not? In what ways do you encourage them to do so?
15. Do you think that it is important to engage students' understanding of the local U.S. / Mexican border context? Why? How do you engage with these understandings?
16. Have you felt uncomfortable during classroom activities in response to the content and/or language (vocabulary/grammar) that students are studying? Can you describe these moments? How did the other students respond? How did you respond? Have you felt uncomfortable with student reactions to classroom materials? What happened? How did you respond?

Community Service learning / Cultural Activities
1. What does community service learning mean to you?
2. Why do you think that the community-service learning and cultural activities are important? What expectations do you have regarding students' participation in these activities?
3. Do you feel that student participation in the community-service learning and cultural activities relates to what they are learning in the Spanish classroom? Does it relate to their language learning? Their culture learning? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?
4. Do you discuss with your students, inside of class or outside, their participation in community-service learning or cultural activities? What things do you discuss?
5. What do you think (or hope) that students learn about the communities with which they are working?
6. Do you think that the relationships that students develop at the community-service learning sites are important? How would you describe these relationships? What do you think that students contribute to these relationships? What do you think that the community participants contribute?
7. Do you think that students are aware of any power differences in their relationships with community members at the community-service learning sites? What are these power differences in your opinion? What evidence have you seen that they do engage with these differences?
8. Do you feel that students' understanding and/or relationship to their local community, to San Diego in general or to the border region changes in any way through their participation in either the community-service learning or cultural activities? How? Can you think of an example, an interaction or a moment when you became aware of or noticed this change? What happened?
9. Do you feel that their experiences with community-service learning or cultural activities have influenced their personal and/or professional development? In what ways?
10. Do you think that their participation influences how they view themselves? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example, something that you have observed or noticed, that illustrates this?
11. Do students report feeling uncomfortable at the community service learning sites or during their participation in cultural activities? What happened? How did you respond to the student? How did you respond to the situation?

12. Do you think that incorporating community service learning and cultural activities has affected how you view yourself or how you view your teaching? In what ways?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR COMMUNITY-SERVICE LEARNING CENTER

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although participants will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

1. Can you tell me about the Community service-learning center? When was it established? Why was it established? What were the goals of the center? Have these goals changed over time? In what ways?
2. When did you begin working in the center? What are your main responsibilities/roles? What expectations did you have regarding your roles and the goals of the center? Have these expectations changed? In what ways? Why?
3. What does community-service learning mean to you?
4. Can you describe the relationships you have with the students, the site coordinators, and the community partners? What is your role in these relationships? What are the students' roles? And the site coordinators? And the community partners?
5. In your opinion, what do the students contribute to the community-service learning activities? What do the community members contribute? Can you give me an example.
6. Can you describe the community of people at the community-service learning sites? What are the challenges that they face? What do you think are the causes of these challenges?
7. Do you consider the relationships that students build with community members to be an important part of community-service learning? Why? How would you describe these relationships? Can you give me an example of something that has happened or an interaction that you have witnessed that illustrates these relationships?
8. In your opinion, what are the differences and similarities between the students' histories, communities, and identities and those of the people at the community-service learning sites? Do you think that these similarities and differences influence the relationships that the students develop with the members of the community? In what ways? Can you think of an example that illustrates this?
9. Do you think that student participation at the site contributes to their study of the Spanish language and/or the latino cultures? In what ways?
10. Do the students discuss their experiences with you? What types of experiences have they mentioned? How do you respond to these experiences?
11. Are you aware of any power differences in the student relationships with community members? What are they? How do you explain these differences?
12. In general, do you think that students change as a result of their community-service learning activities? In what ways? Do you think that the community members change as a result of these relationships? In what ways? Can you explain what has caused these changes?
13. Do you think that student participation in the community-service learning site influences or changes how they view themselves? In what ways? Does it influence how they understand their local communities, San Diego, or the border region in general? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?

14. Do you think that the challenges that the communities face can be changed in the future? What would have to happen for these changes to take place? What is the role of community-service learning in terms of realizing these changes?
15. Do you plan to continue the community-service learning activities with students in the future? Are you considering making any changes to the way things are currently done? What changes? Why?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR COMMUNITY-SERVICE LEARNING SITE
COORDINATORS

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases student responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although students will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

1.   What does community-service learning mean to you?
2.   When and how did you begin participating in community-service learning activities? Why did you decide to participate?
3.   Do you remember what expectations you had about your participation when you began? What were your expectations regarding the people you were going to meet?
4.   When did you decide to become a site coordinator? Why did you decide to do so? What expectations did you have about what it meant to be a site coordinator?
5.   What site do you coordinate? Can you describe the site?   Describe what you do when you are there.
6.   What are your responsibilities as site coordinator? What do you think your role is? Can you describe the relationships you have with the students?
7.   Did you study Spanish at USD? Are you currently a student of Spanish? What level?
8.   Where are you from? What kind of community did you grow up in? Can you describe the members of this community? What types of problems did your community face?
9.   Can you describe the community of people at the community-service learning site? What are the challenges that they face? What do you think are the causes of these challenges? Do you think that you play a role in these challenges?
10. Do you think that these challenges are related to larger globalization processes? In what ways?
11. What are the differences between your community, your history, and yourself and the people of the community at the community-service learning site? What do you have in common with this community? Do you think that these similarities and differences influence your relationships with the members of this community? In what ways?
12. What do you contribute to the community-service learning site? What do the students contribute? What do the community members contribute? Can you give me an example.
13. How would you describe your relationship to the community members at the site? Can you give me an example of something that has happened or an interaction that you have had that was an important moment for you in the development of these relationships?
14. Do you speak in English or Spanish at the community-service learning sites? Have you had difficulty communicating with the members of the community? Can you think of an example? What happened? What types of strategies are employed to help this communication?
15. Have you ever felt uncomfortable at the community service learning sites? Can you describe what happened? How did you perceive the others that were involved? How did you respond to this situation? How did the others respond to the situation?
16. Do the students that you work with discuss their experiences with you? What types of experiences have they mentioned? How do you respond to these experiences?

17. Are you aware of any power differences in your relationships with community members? What are they? How do you explain these differences?
18. Earlier I asked you about your expectations prior to beginning your community-service learning activities and prior to working as a site coordinator. Looking back now, do you think that those expectations were fulfilled? Why or why not?
19. In general, do you think that you have changed as a result of your community-service learning activities and as a result of being a site coordinator? In what ways? Do you think that the students that you work with have changed? Do you think that the people that you have met have changed? In what ways? Can you explain what has caused these changes?
20. Has your participation in community-service learning influenced how you view yourself? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example that illustrates this?
21. Has your understanding and/or relationship to your local community, to San Diego in general or to the border region changed in any way? How? Can you think of an example, an interaction or a moment when you became aware of this change? What happened?
22. Do you plan to continue your community-service learning in the future? Why or why not? Do you plan to continue your study of Spanish? Why or why not?
23. Do you think that the challenges that the community faces can be changed in the future? What would have to happen for these changes to take place?
24. Overall, do you feel that your participation in the community-service learning relates to what you are learning in the classes you are taking? Does it relate to your language learning? Your culture learning? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS AT COMMUNITY-SERVICE
LEARNING SITES

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is
designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be
relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases responses may require additional
follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in English, although
participants will be instructed that they can respond in Spanish or English.

1. Can you tell me about the border visits, the migrant program, or the language exchange
   program? When was the organization established? Why was it established?
2. When did you begin participating in the organization? What are your main
   responsibilities/roles?
3. What does community-service learning mean to you?
4. Why did your organization decide to include a community-service learning component?
   What expectations did you have about doing so?
5. Can you describe what happens at the site? Describe what you do when you are there.
6. Can you describe the relationships you have with the students and with the site
   coordinators? What is your role in these relationships? What are the students' roles? And
   the site coordinators?
7. What do you contribute to the community-service learning site? What do the students
   contribute to the community-service learning site? What do the community members
   contribute? Can you give me an example.
8. Can you describe the community of people at the community-service learning site? What
   are the challenges that they face? What do you think are the causes of these challenges?
9. Do you think that these challenges are related to larger globalization processes? In what
   ways?
10. How would you describe the relationships that students develop with the community
    members at the site? Can you give me an example of something that has happened or an
    interaction that you have witnessed that illustrates these relationships?
11. In your opinion, what are the differences and similarities between the students' histories,
    communities, and identities and those of the people at the community-service learning
    site? Do you think that these similarities and differences influence the relationships that
    the students develop with the members of the community? In what ways? Can you think
    of an example that illustrates this?
12. Do students speak in English or Spanish at the community-service learning sites? Have
    you noticed any difficulties that they have had communicating with the members of the
    community? Can you think of an example? What happened? What types of strategies are
    employed to facilitate this communication?
13. Do you think that student participation at the site contributes to their study of the Spanish
    language and/or the latino cultures? In what ways?
14. Have you ever felt uncomfortable at the community service learning sites? Can you
    describe what happened? How did you perceive the others that were involved? How did
    you respond to this situation? How did the others respond to the situation?
15. Do the students discuss their experiences with you? What types of experiences have they
    mentioned? How do you respond to these experiences?

16. Are you aware of any power differences in the student relationships with community members? What are they? How do you explain these differences?
17. Earlier I asked you about your expectations prior to initiating the community-service learning activities. Looking back now, do you think that those expectations were fulfilled? Why or why not?
18. In general, do you think that students change as a result of their community-service learning activities? In what ways? Do you think that the community members change as a result of these relationships? In what ways? Can you explain what has caused these changes?
19. Do you think that student participation in the community-service learning site influences or changes how they view themselves? In what ways? Does it influence how they understand their local communities, San Diego, or the border region in general? In what ways? Can you think of a specific example?
20. Do you think that the challenges that the community faces can be changed in the future? What would have to happen for these changes to take place?
21. Do you plan to continue the community-service learning activities with students in the future? Are you considering making any changes to the way things are currently done? What changes? Why?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR COMMUNITY-SERVICE PARTICIPANTS

Given the variety of student learning experiences as well as site variations this interview is designed to be open-ended and semi-structured. In some cases follow-up questions would not be relevant and, therefore, would not be asked. In other cases student responses may require additional follow-up for clarification or elaboration. All questions will be asked in Spanish.

1. How long have you been participating in the migrant program, the language exchange program, or the border visits? Why did you decide to participate?
2. Can you describe what happens at the migrant program, the language exchange program, or the border visits? What activities take place? What kinds of things do you do?
3. Where are you from? What kind of community did you grow up in? Can you describe the members of this community? What types of problems did your community face?
4. How long have you been living in the U.S.? Do you like living here? What kind of work do you do? What kinds of difficulties have you had living here? What kind of difficulties has your community faced? How do you think that these difficulties can be changed?
5. Can you describe the students that you have met at the migrant program, the language exchange program, or the Border visits? Do you think that their lives are different from your own? In what ways? How are your lives similar?
6. What do you think that the students contribute to the migrant program, the language exchange program, or the border visits? What do you contribute?
7. Can you describe the relationships that you have with students? Are these relationships important to you? In what ways? Can you think of an interaction that you had with a student that was important to you in some way? Why was it important?
8. Have your relationships with students changed in any way? How?
9. Has your relationship to the students changed how you view yourself? Has it changed how you view your local community or the city of San Diego?
10. Do you speak in English or Spanish or Mixteco with the students? Have you had difficulty communicating with them? Can you think of an example?
11. In the case of language exchange program: Do you think that students benefit from learning about the mixteco language and culture? In what ways?
12. Are the students tutoring you? Do you think that your English has improved? Why or why not?
13. Have you ever felt uncomfortable working with students? Can you describe what happened? How did you perceive the others that were involved? How did you respond to this situation? How did the others respond to the situation?
14. Are you aware of any power differences in your relationships with students? What are they? How do you explain these differences?
15. Do you plan to continue attending Migrant program, language exchange program or Border visits in the future? Why or why not?

Is there anything else that you want to add that you think is important to mention that we haven't talked about?

APPENDIX C: VIDEOS USED IN YESENIA'S CLASSROOM

Note: The organization of the miscellaneous videos in this table is not chronological in terms of their classroom presentation but instead they are categorized by genre. The purpose of the videos is not explicitly stated by Yesenia; therefore, I have deduced it from what students are asked to do with the information or the images through the classroom activities, or lack thereof. The *Flash cultura* videos accompany the textbook, the others were chosen by the instructor and were found on Youtube.
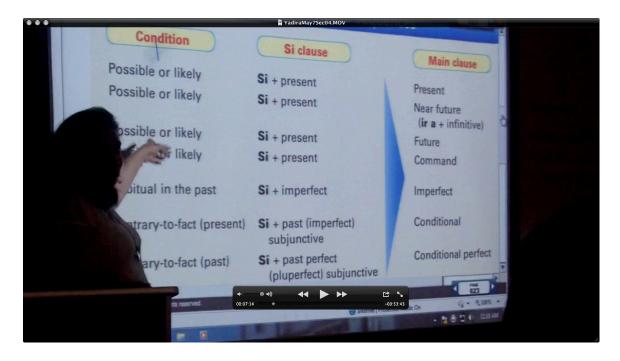
VIDEO CONTENT	PURPOSE OF VIDEO	WHAT DO STUDENTS DO?
FLASH CULTURA VIDEOS		
1. the metro in Mexico City (February 24)	Listening activity: Students were given comprehension questions to answer such as how much does it cost to ride the metro and how many people use it.	Identify information about the metro.
2. Salt reserves in Bolivia	Exemplify cultural information from the textbook. Students are asked to name activities that alleviate stress.	Name activities observed through the application of chapter vocabulary.
NEWS REPORTS		
3. *Carnaval* in Colombia	Exemplify cultural information from the textbook.	Students do not do anything.
4 *Carnaval* in Uruguay	Exemplify cultural information from the textbook.	Students do not do anything.
MUSIC VIDEOS		
5. Maná (February 8) (Mexican rock band)	Introduce the topic of the chapter, environmental problems.	Name environmental problems and practice chapter vocabulary.
1. Kjarkas (March 26) (an Andean folk music band from Bolivia)	Show examples of cultural information from the textbook. Yesenia highlights the indigenous language, the coca leaf, and the flute.	Students name the colors of the outfits and the theme of the song.
7. Beyoncé	Consider the use of the conditional by identifying verbs.	Identify conditional verbs used and practice if-clause structure by answering what they would do if they were a boy instead of a girl and vice versa
DANCE STEP LESSON		
8. Rumba	Exemplify cultural information from the textbook.	Students do not do anything.

Figure 4.1- Summary of Miscellaneous Videos

COUNTRY FOCUS	PURPOSE OF VIDEO	WHAT DO STUDENTS DO?
1. **Colombia**	Imagine a trip to Colombia and identify activities and places shown in the video.	In groups students write affirmative and negative informal commands such as, " Toma el sol, no tomes cocaína".
2. **Venezuela**	Imagine a trip ("If we want to visit Venezuela, what can we do?") and identify activities and places.	In groups students write nosotros commands such as "Vayamos al museo", "Montamos los caballos"
3. **Caracas, Venezuela**	Imagine a trip and students have to decide if they want to live in the city or on the beach based on the images (in conjunction with the other video on Venezuela).	In groups students negotiate their living arrangements by expressing preferences with the subjunctive.
4. **Bolivia**	Imagine a trip and use the images to describe what they have done.	Students report what they have done in Bolivia and other students express doubts about what they have done using present perfect indicative and subjunctive.
5. **the Dominican Republic**	Imagine a future trip and use the images to decide what they will have done.	In a whole class format students report what they will have done using the future perfect.
6. **Nicaragua**	Imagine a future trip and use the images to decide what they will have done.	In a whole class format students report what they will have done using the future perfect.
7. **Paraguay**	To show the possible activities in Paraguay.	Nothing is done ("No tengo más tiempo")
8. **Extreme sports in Paraguay**	To learn about the different extreme sports.	Nothing is done.
9. **Uruguay**	To imagine that they have the opportunity to go to Uruguay and they have to state what they would do.	In groups students have to state what they would have done, what they will do, and what they would do using all three if-clause structures.
10. **Spain: Gaudí**	Imagine an impossible trip to Spain and decide what they would do.	Students state what they would do if they could go to Spain.

Figure 4.2- Summary of Tourist Videos

APPENDIX D: IF-CLAUSE DIAGRAM PROJECTED IN YESENIA'S CLASS

APPENDIX E: VICENTE'S WORKSHEETS

Español 201 (███████)   Wed, Feb. 23

Act. 9.

1. En orden de importancia. Haz una lista de los sitios que debe tener una ciudad moderna

1º.	¿Por qué?
2º.	¿Por qué?
3º.	¿Por qué?
4º.	¿Por qué?
5º.	¿Por qué?

2. En la ciudad donde yo nací...

Hay un metro que cruza la ciudad.	cierto/falso
No hay ningún mercado que venda tacos al aire libre (en la calle).	Cierto/falso
Tengo parientes o amigos que trabajan en un hospital.	Cierto/falso
No hay sitios donde pueda bailar después de las 2 de la madrugada.	Cierto/falso
No hay edificios que tengan más de 15 pisos.	Cierto/falso
Hay un estadio donde juega mi equipo favorito de futbol.	Cierto/falso
Hay una plaza principal donde está el palacio de gobierno.	Cierto/falso
Hay una universidad que tiene más de 200 mil estudiantes.	Cierto/falso
Conozco a un artista que pinta figuras abstractas.	Cierto/falso
No conozco a nadie que hable mixteco u otro idioma indígena.	Cierto/falso

3. Investiga cómo es la ciudad de tus compañeros de clase. Identifica las semejanzas y las diferencias.

_____

_____

_____

Español 201 (███████)
Act. 15.

1. Asocia las columnas según el contexto.

Estos grupos indígenas representan 1/3 de la población de Bolivia	Es una creencia popular en Cuba
Estoy aquí para hablar con el juez	Matilde Casazola
Es increíble que hayas navegado a más de 3000 metros de altura	El sitio arqueológico de Tiahuanaco
Espero que hayas escuchado a los Kjarkas. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4B6MSJjjkpl&feature=related	María Luisa Pacheco
Dudo que hayas bebido un vaso de este cactus	Quechua y aimara
Me parece increíble que hayas recibido una lodoterapia para tu piel en ese lugar.	Sucre.
Me alegro que tu bebé haya tomado el sol por es bueno para fijar el calcio en los huesos	El nopal
Dudo que mis padres hayan visto el monolito Ponce porque estuvieron solamente en Sucre	El lago Titicaca
Algunos poetas han cantado sus poemas. Por ejemplo, "La Estrella." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbQ8Wt9kgbU&feature=related	En los Baños de San Vicente, en Ecuador
En sus pinturas muestra el paisaje y la cultura quechua y aimara. http://r-atencio.blogspot.com/2011/07/pacheco-and-andes.html	Es un grupo que toca la música andina

2. Investiga acerca de la vida y la cultura Boliviana. Consulta el sitio:
   http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/sa/bolivia/indexesp.html

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Act. 21. (SP. 201 ⬛⬛⬛⬛)

1. En tu opinión, ¿Cuáles son las principales causas de la violencia y el crimen que se observa en las ciudades? ¿por qué? (Escribe 5 en orden de prioridad)

2. ¿Cómo sería tu vida si vivieras en un país latinoamericano? (responde de acuerdo a cada una de las categorías). (Escribe nombre del país: _____)

Derechos civiles		
Servicios de salud		
Libertad de expresión		
El uso de la lengua nativa		
El salario		
Acceso a la educación básica		
Convivencia familiar		
Violencia y crimen		
Acceso a la educación superior		
Oportunidades de empleo		

3. Si quisieras cambiar cualquiera de las situaciones anteriores, ¿Qué cambiarías? ¿por qué?

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX F: SUMMARY OF STUDENT RESPONSES TO CSL SURVEY

All Survey Responses	Total Count	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Mildly Agree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. I will develop authentic relationships with people[18]	22	4	**10**	4	2	0
b. It will help me to understand the needs of other groups of people.	22	5	**14**	3	0	0
c. I will learn about the causes of social and economic inequalities.	22	6	**11**	4	2	0
d. It will help me to examine my own privileges.	22	**12**	7	3	0	0
e. I will learn how to work with my community to solve social and economic inequalities.	22	7	7	7	1	0
f. I will be able to help other people.	22	**13**	8	1	0	0
g. It will help me to develop a connection to my community.	22	9	5	6	2	1
h. It will give me an opportunity to practice my Spanish.	22	**14**	7	1	0	0
i. It will help me to reconsider stereotypes and assumptions that I may have.	22	8	7	4	1	2
j. I will learn more about Hispanic culture.	22	9	6	7	0	0
k. I will feel better about myself.	22	7	6	8	0	1
l. I feel I have a lot to give to make my community better.	22	5	6	9	2	0
m. It will allow me to reflect on social issues in my community.	22	5	8	7	2	1
n. It will help me to pass this course.	22	**12**	5	5	0	0
o. The experience will help me to get a better job in the future.	22	3	5	10	3	1
p. It will help me to learn how to interact appropriately with people in different social and cultural contexts.	21	4	**11**	6	0	0
q. Other?	0					

[18] For this question on student responded 1 or 2 and a second student responded 3 or 4.