Learning to Teach a Foreign Language: A Student Teacher's Role Identity Negotiation

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Jason Peter Martel

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my classmates. I could not have asked for a more wonderful group of partners in crime with whom to share my graduate school experience.

Abstract

Traditional foreign language remains a conservative and underdeveloped subject. Change-promoting efforts like ACTFL's National Standards have had a limited impact on teachers' pedagogies (Glisan, 2012), and program-exiting student proficiency levels remain relatively low (CASLS, 2010). Given the reciprocal shaping relationship between identities and classroom practices (Kanno & Stuart, 2011), documenting the ways in which budding teachers construct their identities may help in supporting the implementation of much needed educational innovations.

Using symbolic interactionism (Reynolds & Herman-Kinney, 2003) and teacher socialization (Zeichner & Gore, 1990) as complimentary theoretical lenses, the present study adds to the paltry amount we know about foreign language teachers' identity development. It employs ethnographic methods associated with qualitative case study to deeply explore the identity construction processes of a student teacher seeking Spanish licensure in a preparation program that emphasizes content-based instruction (CBI). Data sources include interviews, classroom observations, digital journal reflections, documents, and post-observation conference recordings.

Findings show that the participant negotiated her identity at the interface of competing messages from significant others (e.g., students, university supervisors, mentor teachers) in her preparation program and student teaching placements and that she demonstrated agency in appropriating or rejecting these messages. She grappled with two principal "designated" (Sfard & Prusak, 2005) identities encoded in these messages: (a) provider of target language input and (b) enactor of a particular approach to foreign

language teaching. It also surfaced that she left the program with a weaker Spanish teacher role identity than when she started, which may be attributed to concerns she had with her Spanish proficiency, a strained connection with her secondary-level students, and the lack of opportunities for validating her Spanish teacher role identity—i.e., for inhabiting the role in a comfortable fashion that reinforced a positive sense of self.

Important discussion topics for foreign language teacher educators stem from these findings concerning student teaching placement timing, mentor choice, and opportunities for developing language skills. Above all, they call us to ponder the following question: How can we as teacher educators support student teachers in constructing the identities they want to have for themselves as new foreign language teachers, all while encouraging them to acquire identity positions that improve the state of foreign language teaching?

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale for Study

Learning to teach a foreign language is a complex, multi-faceted process. It involves a multitude of actors and takes place in a variety of contexts, all of which bear upon what student teachers learn. In the United States, most foreign language student teachers learn to teach in teacher preparation programs (at both the undergraduate and graduate levels) that include university-based coursework and school-based field experiences (see Huhn, 2012). During coursework, they interact principally with professors and fellow students, while during field experiences, they come into contact most often with their mentor teachers (Delaney, 2012) and with the students they teach. University supervisors are unique among these influential characters, for they work with student teachers in both university and school settings and inhabit what might arguably be the most complex role in relation to student teaching, as evidenced by their dual function as confidant and grade-giver (Slick, 1997).

Scholars in the field of second language teacher education (SLTE), which includes foreign language teacher education, have sought to understand new teachers' learning-to-teach processes in a variety of ways. Freeman (2009) identifies the 1990s as a lynchpin decade in this endeavor, for it is at this time that scholars "argued for positioning SLTE as form of activity based on a professional learning process that was identity- or meaning-oriented, contingent of the settings of learning and of work, and that developed over time" (p. 13, citing Johnson, 2006). This development is well reflected in the work of Wenger (1998, cited in Clarke, 2009), who notes that "issues of education

should be addressed first and foremost in terms of identities and modes of belonging and only secondarily in terms of skills and information" (p. 263). Interest in language teacher identity has exploded over the past decade-and-a-half, resulting in at least 40 empirical studies using identity as a central construct, contributing to the "widening gyre" (i.e., the expanding scope) of SLTE (Freeman, 2009).

Despite the growing interest in language teacher identity generally, there has been very little attention paid to the identity development of teachers in traditional foreign language K–12 contexts[1]. To my knowledge, only three studies out of the 40+ referenced above do so (Antonek et al., 1997; Luebbers, 2010; Vélez-Rendón, 2010). This represents a significant gap, for the simple reason that context matters. In other words, the role of traditional foreign language teacher, although similar, exhibits important differences from other second language teacher roles, such as immersion teacher, bilingual education teacher, English as a second language (ESL) teacher, etc. By extension, the identities of foreign language teachers will be similar, yet different. I will illustrate this point with an example. Research has demonstrated that achieving a counterbalanced pedagogy in immersion (Lyster, 2007) is facilitated by professional development that helps immersion teachers to see themselves as both language and content teachers (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). This identity position is rather specific to immersion teachers (although it could arguably be extended to ESL teachers as well). Foreign language teachers, on the other

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I will use the phrases foreign language and traditional foreign language (and by extension foreign language teacher and traditional foreign language teacher) interchangeably and synonymously.

hand, grapple with identity positions that reflect pedagogical innovations[2] in their own context, such as 90% target language user (ACTFL, 2010; Teacher Effectiveness for Language Learning [TELL] Project, n.d.; Stanford Center for Assessment, Learning and Equity [SCALE], 2012).

The present study seeks to add to the limited knowledge we have about foreign language student teacher identity development. It does so with the express intention of producing findings that will inform the design of foreign language teacher preparation programs. It also does so in innovative ways. First, following Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson's (2005) call for the use of multiple theoretical frameworks for studying teacher identity, it employs symbolic interactionism, a framework not yet used in second language teacher education scholarship and only barely used in the teacher education literature (Allen, 2009; Sexton, 2008; Smit & Fritz, 2008). Symbolic interactionism adds to the conversation about teacher identity development by highlighting the ways in which student teachers construct identity positions as they imagine themselves in others' shoes (Brinkerhoff, White, Ortega, & Weitz, 2008; Mead, 1934). Second, it breaks ground in the teacher identity literature by contextualizing identity development within a student teacher's socialization into the role of teacher. This is facilitated by the study's symbolic interactionist lens, which casts socializations as life-long processes that involve the refashioning of identities (Light, 1980; Stryker, 1980).

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[2] Following Cammarata (2009), I use the term innovation according to Markee's (1992) conceptualization: "proposals for qualitative change in pedagogical materials, approaches, and values that are perceived as new by individuals who comprise a formal (language) education system" (p. 231). What stands out in this definition is the newness of the materials, approaches, etc., *to the teacher* rather their newness to the field.

Third, it is the first to inquire into the identity construction processes of a foreign language student teacher in a program that emphasizes content-based instruction (CBI).

Statement of the Research Questions and Rationale for Methodology

In accordance with the gap just identified, the purpose of this study is to better understand the identity construction processes of foreign language student teachers. It is guided by the following research questions:

Overarching question:

- How does the participant construct/negotiate her foreign language teacher role identity during her teacher preparation program?

Sub-questions:

- What role identity positions is she in the process of negotiating?
- What significant others/socializing agents are involved in these negotiations, and how are they involved?
- To what extent does the participant internalize suggested/imposed positions?
- What is the relationship between the identity positions she is in the process of negotiating and her behaviors/actions in the classroom?

As their phrasing indicates, I have chosen to answer these questions by conducting a case study on one foreign language student teacher, Anna[3] (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2005; Yin, 2009). I chose case study because it facilitated a deep exploration of identity construction in complex, rich contexts (Yin, 2009). Indeed, Gaudelli and Ousley (2009) note that "identity work is inherently messy

[3] All people and place names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

and difficult because it is embodied" (p. 932). Furthermore, I elected to do an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) due to my particular interest in Anna, as opposed to the other student teachers I followed during data collection. A definition of intrinsic case study and my rationale for choosing Anna will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

Situating the Study

This study is situated squarely within two principal domains: traditional foreign language teaching/learning and foreign language teacher education in the United States. Before proceeding, it is necessary to outline the specific characteristics of these domains.

Foreign language teaching/learning in the United States.[4] Most Americans learn second/additional languages in traditional foreign language settings. Traditional foreign language programs are offered in elementary and secondary schools, although few students benefit from articulated sequences spanning from the early elementary to the late secondary years. In fact, "the high school grade range (grades 9 through 12) represents the point at which most Americans begin formal FL study; it accounts for more enrolled students than K–8 and higher education combined (Watzke, 2003, cited in Watzke, 2007, p. 64; see also Reagan & Osborn, 2002).

Traditional foreign language programs are probably best recognized by their curricula. In both elementary and secondary (but principally in secondary programs), there tends to be a predominant focus on language forms (i.e., grammar) (see Martel, in press; Tedick & Walker, 1994; Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Tochon (2011) sums up the ethos of a typical foreign language class well:

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[4] Readers might also want to consult Met's (2008) chapter on this same topic.

> When I observe a foreign language class, I note that activities are often focused on language structures rather than being student-focused. They are paced in a speedy sequence of 5- to 7-minute activities at a maximum. The rationale is that you have to keep up intensifying interactions in a way that will prevent students from getting bored. It goes along with the TV culture of being spoon or even, force fed information, then asked to memorize for test taking. […] It is as if the meaning of the discipline were in the meta-linguistic awareness rather than in broader life goals which language learning could fulfill. (p. 13)

In accordance with the communicative turn in second language acquisition (SLA) research (Richards & Rodgers, 2001), efforts have been made to shift the focus in traditional foreign language programs from grammar to authentic communication, such as the National Standards for Foreign Language Learning (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999). Foreign language remains a conservative subject, however, and this initiative has had limited success in influencing teachers' pedagogies (Glisan, 2012; Martel, 2013; ACTFL, 2011; Troyan, 2012).

In addition, teachers in traditional foreign language programs tend to use a high percentage of students' first language (which, in most American programs, is English) (cf. Luebbers, 2010; Vélez-Rendón, 2010). Again, initiatives have been put in place to encourage foreign language teachers to use more of the target language in their teaching (ACTFL, 2010; TELL Project, n.d.; SCALE, 2012), given the fact that SLA research has identified comprehensible input as a necessary (but indeed not sufficient) condition for

language acquisition (Gass & Mackey, 2007; Krashen, 1982; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Van Patten, 2002).

When it comes to the nature of the student body, traditional foreign language programs tend to include speakers of the dominant societal language (again, in the United States, this means English). For most, the foreign language is the students' second language, but this is not always the case. Additionally, for many of these students, foreign language courses represent a hurdle to jump over in order to access higher education (Reagan & Osborn, 2002), which bolsters the view of foreign language as an elitist subject (Tedick & Walker, 1994). Often, heritage language learners are placed into foreign language classes, but given their particular needs, this tends not to be a good fit for them (Bateman & Wilkinson, 2010; Carreira, 2004; King & Ennser-Kananen, 2013).

Finally, traditional foreign language programs are defined by specific time constraints (Reagan & Osborn, 2002). In most secondary programs, "a daily class of 40 to 55 minutes is still most common for foreign language instruction in U.S. secondary schools" (Schulz, 1999, p. 32). In elementary schools, programs consist of FLEX (Foreign Language Experience) programs that meet generally for 15 minutes, three times per week or more articulated FLES (Foreign Language in the Elementary School) programs that meet for at least 90 minutes per week or more (Curtain & Dahlberg, 2010). These programs are few and far between and are decreasing, however; the number of elementary schools offering foreign language programs dropped from 31% in 1997 to 25% in 2008 (Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011).

Foreign language teacher education in the United States. Although the field of SLTE has experienced steady growth over the past 30 years (i.e., the "widening gyre" [Freeman, 2009]), the subfield of foreign language teacher education, which is subsumed under SLTE, is in its infancy. It is only over the past decade that this subfield has come into its own, with scholars voicing positions about the design and curriculum of foreign language teacher education programs and initiating research agendas related to foreign language student teachers and their learning.

Currently, most foreign language teacher preparation programs exist at the undergraduate level, although some institutions have shifted to post-baccalaureate models in response to the Holmes report (Tedick, 2009). In a recent review of the scant literature, Huhn (2012) outlines foreign language teacher education programs' major components, which include language proficiency development; linguistics, culture, and literature courses; foreign language teaching methods courses; early and ongoing field experiences; technology-enhanced instruction; and study abroad opportunities. She foregrounds the *ACTFL/NCATE program standards for the preparation of foreign language teachers* (ACTFL, 2002) as a benchmark for designing effective programs, citing the following requirements for obtaining ACTFL/NCATE recognition:

1. The development of candidates' foreign language proficiency in all areas of communication, with special emphasis on developing oral proficiency, in all language courses.
2. Upper-level courses should be taught in the foreign language.

3. An ongoing assessment of candidates' oral proficiency and provision of diagnostic feedback to candidates concerning their progress in meeting required levels of proficiency.
4. Language, linguistics, culture, and literature components.
5. A methods course that deals specifically with the teaching of foreign languages, taught by a qualified faculty member whose expertise is foreign language education and who is knowledgeable about cur- rent instructional approaches and issues.
6. Field experiences prior to student teaching that include experiences in foreign language classrooms.
7. Field experiences, including student teaching, that are supervised by a qualified foreign language educator who is knowledgeable about current instructional approaches and issues in the field of foreign language education.
8. Opportunities for candidates to experience technology-enhanced instruction and to use technology in their own teaching.
9. Opportunities for candidates to participate in a structured study abroad program and/or intensive immersion experience in a target language community. (p. S166, citing ACTFL, 2002)

Based on these criteria, Huhn (2012) identifies five innovative foreign language teacher preparation programs, attributing their ground-breaking qualities not only to their ACTFL/NCATE recognition, but also to the ways in which they develop students'

language proficiency, blend language and content, include collaboration with colleagues from colleges of education, and stimulate professional development activities (see also Tedick, 2009, who frames some these innovative features in terms of goals for reform).

Within the literature that Huhn (2012) reviews, there are many pronouncements on what should be included in the content of foreign language teacher preparation programs (e.g., Hlas & Conroy, 2010; Wagner & Osborn, 2010), yet few empirical studies that chronicle content that is *actually* included in these programs (ACTFL, 2011; Cooper, Hall, Hawkins, LaFleur, Rossbacher, Tesser, Walz, & Young, 2004; Dhonau, McAlpine, & Shrum, 2010; Wilbur, 2007). Of these studies, Wilbur's (2007) stands out due to its primary focus on course syllabi. Analyzing 32 syllabi and questionnaire data from 10 instructors, Wilbur found a large variability in the content studied in foreign language methods courses. This is well exemplified in the syllabi's approaches to the study of SLA; while all acknowledged the importance of input for SLA, they highlighted different theories and methods, such as sociocultural theory and Total Physical Response Storytelling. She also found that "nearly all syllabi evaluated identified the need to understand standards-based instruction, planning, and assessment, but…did not adequately address those connections to the classroom" (Huhn, 2012, p. S170). Taken together, Wilbur's study and Huhn's (2012) review demonstrate that although progress has been made, there is still much work to be done in aligning the content of preparation programs with evolving conceptualizations of language proficiency and effective practices for developing it in foreign language classrooms.

In addition to researching foreign language teacher preparation programs, more and more scholars are setting their sights on foreign language student teachers and their learning trajectories. Examples of burgeoning research lines include attitudes and beliefs about target language use (Bateman, 2008); the effects of methods courses on field experiences (Burke, 2006); writing language objectives while planning content-based lessons (Bigelow, 2010); and of course, identity development (Antonek et al., 1997; Luebbers, 2010; Vélez-Rendón, 2010).

The foreign language preparation program studied in this dissertation is unique compared to the programs described in the literature cited above in several ways. First, it follows a post-baccalaureate model, whereas most programs follow an undergraduate model (Tedick, 2009). Second, it emphasizes CBI, which is not common in foreign language teacher preparation programs despite its inclusion in the ACTFL/NCATE standards (ACTFL, 2002). Finally, it trains both foreign language and ESL student teachers together; that is, student teachers obtaining these two distinct licenses take the same courses, together. The program will be described in further detail in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

> *Foreign language education in the United States is clearly not successful for most students, nor could it be given the way that it has been, and continues to be, implemented in schools. (Reagan & Osborn, 2002, p. 6)*

K–12 foreign language education in the United States remains underdeveloped. Recent data from the Center for Applied Second Language Study (CASLS) at the University of Oregon show that most American students obtain a relatively low level of

proficiency after for years of foreign language study (CASLS, 2010). Furthermore, recent survey data from the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages show that the National Standards (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999) have had a limited impact on the teaching force (ACTFL, 2011; Glisan, 2012). One could therefore say that as an institution, we produce learners with inadequate capacities and our teachers are rather impervious to innovations that are geared toward enhancing student language learning. I see these as urgently pressing problems in our profession and believe that analyzing the ways in which student teachers construct their identities can help us along the path to solving them, for it is in the making of a new teacher that arguably rests the largest potential for implementing educational innovations.

By way of naturalistic generalization, i.e., the ability for readers to live vicariously through single cases (Stake, 2000), this study contributes to our field most significantly in its practical recommendations geared toward the design of teacher preparation programs. It offers responses to complicated questions on general and specific levels, such as:

- How should teacher educators help student teachers to develop their identities during their preparation programs? (Izadinia, 2012)
- How might foreign language teacher educators help student teachers to acquire identity positions associated with particular educational innovations?

These questions are indeed pertinent if one holds that "teacher training has traditionally emphasized instructional methods and proficiency measures while ignoring the realities of teachers' lives both inside and outside of the classroom" (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 406).

The significance of this study also extends into the realm of theory, particularly in regards to student teacher identity construction. It broaches questions such as:

- To what extent do student teachers have identities as teachers?
- During teacher preparation, do student teachers spend more time negotiating role expectations than internalizing identity positions?

Constructs such as role, identity, and role identity as they are explained in the symbolic interactionist literature and as they are applied to this study's data aid us in advancing possible answers to these questions.

Finally, this study is significant in that it provides messy data; in other words, it does not paint a rosy picture of identity development during student teaching. According to Izadinia (2012), in the literature on student teacher identity development, "there seems to be a sole reliance on reporting positive outcomes" (p. 14). This is exemplified in studies by Liu and Fisher (2006) and Kanno and Stuart (2011) (and arguably Antonek et al., [1997]), in which student teachers move from having a weaker identity as teachers at the beginning of student teaching to having a stronger identity as teachers at the end. While this may indeed be the case for some student teachers, for many it is not, and I would argue that studies that honor the "messy" and "embodied" nature of identity work (Gaudelli & Ousley, 2009, p. 932) are of more value to teacher educators invested in improving the quality of their programs.

Overview of the Study

In the present chapter, I have highlighted a substantial gap in our knowledge of American foreign language (student) teachers' identity construction processes. I have

argued that even though there is a considerable amount of research conducted on other language teachers' identity construction processes (e.g., ESL teachers), the specifics of the role of foreign language teacher warrant that we better understand how teachers in this role see themselves. Following this, I outlined the research questions that frame this study and gave a brief overview of the significance it has for the field of foreign language teacher education.

In Chapter 2, I outline the theoretical grounding for this study in three parts. First, I briefly explain central tenets in symbolic interactionism before turning my attention to specific constructs related to identity construction, such as the looking-glass self, role taking, and role identity (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008). Second, I define teacher socialization and then weave the construct of role identity into theories of teacher socialization. In this section, I also review a set of socialization studies that feature educational innovations, and I define the educational innovation related to this study: CBI. With this dual-focused theoretical framework in place, I review and critique the second language teacher identity literature as it is related to the role-specific context of this study (traditional foreign language teaching in the United States) and to the study's research questions.

In Chapter 3, I lay out the methodology and methods that weave together to form the design of the present study. I begin by defining qualitative case study and by highlighting some of the limitations associated with this methodology. Then, I describe the data collection methods I used, followed by rationales for their use. Finally, I outline the data analysis procedures I employed, including triangulation procedures and reflections on positionality.

In Chapter 4, I present the findings generated from my analysis of the focal case, Anna. I organize these findings into two overarching themes: (a) processing designated identities and (b) losing/weakening her Spanish teacher role identity. I support each of these overarching themes with several subthemes, connecting the findings to the theories and research findings elaborated in Chapter 2.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I conclude the dissertation by summarizing the findings in light of the study's research questions; by presenting recommendations for foreign language teacher preparation programs; by discussing methodological limitations of the study; and by laying out an agenda for research that builds upon the findings generated from this study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Review of Related Literature

The dual objectives of this chapter are to explain the theoretical lenses that guide the conceptualization of the present study and to situate it within a review and critique of relevant empirical research. The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first, I introduce the theory of symbolic interactionism, focusing on several constructs within this framework that aim to explicate the processes underlying identity construction. In the second section, I argue that identity construction can be viewed as a form of socialization. After defining teacher socialization, I review a set of recent socialization studies and demonstrate how they can be interpreted in terms of identity development. To conclude, in the third section I review the literature base on language teacher identity. I do so first by giving a general overview of the literature and second by parsing out what the literature contributes to this study in terms of its specific context and its research questions.

Symbolic Interactionism

This study adopts symbolic interactionism as its principal theoretical lens. Symbolic interactionism is an "intellectual tradition of long standing" (McCall, 2006, p. 3) that emanates from the field of sociology, with roots extending as far back as the Scottish moral philosophers from the 18th century including Thomas Hobbes and Adam Smith (McCall, 2006) and more recently to thinkers such as Charles Horton Cooley, George Herbert Mead, Herbert Bloomer, and Sheldon Stryker (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; McCall, 2006; Stryker, 1980). It can be considered a "theory of *human nature*" (McCall, 2006, p. 1, emphasis in original) or, similarly, a "relatively distinctive approach to the

study of human group life and human conduct" (Blumer, 1969, p. 1). Aiming to understand how humans come to be as they are, interact with each other, and behave, symbolic interactionists have theorized a large variety of constructs, ranging from self and socialization to role and identity (see Reynolds & Herman-Kinney's [2003] edited volume). Although a thorough review of foundational tenants of SI lies outside the scope of this dissertation, I will briefly describe a few scholars' attempts to characterize it before turning to ways that symbolic interactionists perceive identity construction—the focus of the present study.

Symbolic interactionism defined. Several prominent scholars have offered definitions of symbolic interactionism. McCall (2006) considers symbolic interactionism to be "much like a pearl, accreting successive layers of development" (p. 3) in its evolution over time. Two scholars' definitions contain foundational premises or themes that help one to understand the multifaceted essence of this theory of human nature and behavior.

Codifying many of the ideas of George Mead (Atkinson & Housley, 2003), Blumer (1969) set forth three underlying premises of symbolic interactionism:

1) human beings act upon things based on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them,
2) meanings arise within the contexts of interactions with other people, and
3) meanings come to be through a process of interpretation (pp. 2–5).

This ensemble of ideas eschews behaviorist epistemologies that undergird the notions of intrinsic and/or received meanings (Blumer, 1969; Patton, 2002), holding instead that

humans are active constructors and interpreters of the meanings that inform their actions. With these three premises as his base, Blumer laid out a theoretical grounding for symbolic interactionism by elaborating upon concepts such as the nature of human society or group life, the nature of social interaction, the nature of objects, the human being as an acting organism, the nature of human action, and the interlinkage of action (pp. 6–21).

McCall (2006) chose to describe symbolic interactionism in terms of core themes:

- *Axiom A*: All humans share a common nature that is unique among all animals but obscured by human social differences.
- *Axiom B*: Humans generally behave in socially proper ways.
- *Axiom C*: Human conduct is self-regulated.
    - *Postulate C-1*: A person is a social animal.
    - *Postulate C-2*: Fundamental to society is communication.
    - *Postulate C-3*: Fundamental to a person is mental life.
    - *Postulate C-4*: The key link between society and a person is the looking-glass self. [See below for an explanation of this construct]
    - *Postulate C-5*: Self-regulation is a process. (p. 2)

According to McCall, these themes, which date back to the Scottish moral philosophers, have passed through several iterations both in Europe and in North America yet "are…consistent with all the leading textbooks of symbolic interactionism, not only those of yesteryear…but also those of today," albeit "heavily elaborated" (p. 13).

I include these two characterizations because they form a backdrop for Burke and Stets' (2009) description of structural[5] symbolic interactionism, which draws not only on the premises and themes listed above, but also on the work of Stryker (1980). Calling upon foundational sociological concepts such as the self, symbols, and interaction, Burke and Stets (2009) note that symbols "provide a shared view of the world" (p. 15) and that their meaning(s) (as well as the meanings of behaviors) are negotiated in interaction with other people. These meanings are the same for many, but not always, and differences lead to constant negotiations of these meanings. It is thus through meanings that society (i.e., social structure, patterns of behaviors) and individual agents meet, producing a constant "tug-of-war" (p. 16) of meaning negotiation.

Symbolic interactionism and identity. Since the middle of the 20th century, symbolic interactionists have taken up the construct of identity, defining and theorizing it in a variety of ways (Vyran, Adler, & Adler, 2003). For this study, I follow Brinkerhoff et al. (2008), who highlight three concepts that are implicated in the process of identity construction: the looking-glass self, role taking, and role identity. I elaborate upon each of these concepts in turn in the paragraphs that follow.

The looking-glass self. Brinkerhoff et al. (2008) attribute the concept of looking-glass self to Charles Horton Cooley (1902). They define the looking glass self as "the process of learning to view ourselves as we think others view us" (p. 60) and outline the following three steps that guide its formation:

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[5] Burke and Stets (2009) attribute the term structural symbolic interaction to Stryker (1980), stating that it refers "to a set of ideas about the nature of the individual and the relationship between the individual and society" (p. 9).

1. We imagine how we appear to others.
2. We imagine how others judge our appearance.
3. We actively think about, internalize, or reject these judgments. (p. 60)

What is important to take from this concept in terms of identity is that one's identity (i.e., self-concept), "is not merely a mechanical reflection of those around us; rather it rests on our interpretations of and reactions to those judgments" (p. 60). We are thus active participants in the shaping of our identities.

Role taking. Role taking is a concept associated with George Herbert Mead (1934) that has been written about by many sociologists (e.g., Blumer, 1969; Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; Stryker, 2008). Brinkerhoff et al. (2008) state that role taking involves "imagining ourselves in the role of others in order to determine the criteria others will use to judge our behavior" (p. 60). It thus presupposes the ability to put ourselves in others' shoes—i.e., the looking-glass self, or the ability to see ourselves as an object (Blumer, 1969; see also definitions of self in Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 9). By putting ourselves into others' shoes, we form ideas of what they expect of us in the roles we occupy (Blumer, 1969; Brinkerhoff et al, 2008). I would argue that we do not simply learn role expectations during these occasions, however; I hold that we also do identity work (i.e., construct our identities) to the extent that we internalize expectations that we learn in the process (see the role identity section below for a clarification of the distinction between role and identity). While involved in role taking, we learn not only about the expectations held for our role by various significant others (i.e., "the role players with whom we have close personal relationships" [Brinkerhoff et al., 2008, p. 61]), but also about the

expectations held by the generalized other ("the composite expectations of all the other role players with whom we interact…Mead's term for our awareness of social norms") (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008, p. 61).

Stryker's (1980) definition of role taking highlights the ideas of meaning, interpretation, and agency that have been themes throughout this section:

> One takes the role of others by using symbols to put oneself in another's place and to view the world as others do. Role taking is the process of anticipating the responses of others with whom one is involved in social interaction. Making use of symbolic cues present in the situation of interaction, prior experience, and familiarity with the particular other or with comparable others, one organizes a definition of others' attitudes, orientations and future responses when is then validated, invalidated, or reshaped in ongoing interaction. Actors take the role of others to anticipate the consequences of possible patterns of action they can initiate and they take the role of others to monitor the results of their actions. Using the results of their role-taking, *they sustain, modify, or redirect their own behavior*. (p. 62, emphasis added)

Furthermore, Stryker's conceptualization of role taking contextualizes it within socialization, which he considers to be "a continuous, life-long process" (p. 64; see also Dolch, 2003 and McCall & Simmons, 1978) that occurs during every interaction in which we engage. Therefore, during role taking, role expectations and/or identity positions are suggested and at times foisted upon us by others—what Stryker calls a "social control

function" (p. 64). This important point, which I referenced in Chapter 1, will be developed in greater depth in subsequent sections.

Role identity. Role identity is this study's central construct; it is the developing role identity of foreign language teacher candidates in which I am interested.[6] Like many constructs in research, role identity has many definitions:

- "all of the *meanings* that a person attaches to himself while performing a role" (Stets, 2006, p. 89, emphasis in original)
- "the image we have our ourselves in a specific role" (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008, p. 61, citing Burke, 1980, p. 18)
- "…the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position. More intuitively, such a role-identity is his imaginative view of himself as he likes to think of himself being and acting as an occupant of that position." (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 65)

These definitions of role identity are slightly different than symbolic interactionists' definitions of identity (note that role identity and identity are distinct yet related concepts):

> An identity is the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person. (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 3)

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[6] I consider the phrases teacher identity and teacher professional identity to be synonymous with teacher role identity.

As this definition holds, one's identity is multifaceted, containing among other components the meanings associated with the multiple roles one fills in social life, such as mother, Democrat, teacher (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Therefore, one has multiple role identities corresponding to the multiplicity of roles one occupies, which I demonstrate in the following figure:

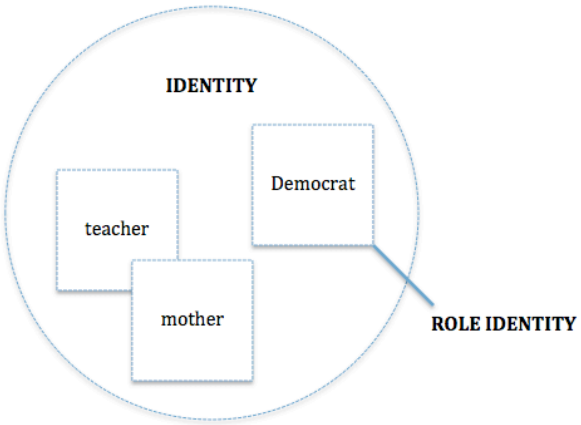

Figure 1: Identity and role identity

In this figure, I use dotted lines to highlight the fluid, ever-changing nature of identity and role identity boundaries (Clarke, 2009; Varghese et al., 2005). I also demonstrate how one's various role identities may overlap; that is, one may associate some of the same meanings to both roles of teacher and mother, such as caretaker or moral nurturer.

With the difference between identity and role identity clear, it is important to distinguish the concepts of role and (role) identity. The lack of clarity around this difference muddles the explanatory power of the three definitions of role identity listed above. Vyran et al. (2003) differentiate these two highly related yet distinct concepts well, stating:

> Whereas roles involve expectations attached to positions in organized sets of relationships, identities consist of *internalized* role expectations. Thus, although people may be said to occupy roles or to enact performances of them, they do not necessarily identify with those roles. (p. 368, emphasis added)

In other words, a role consists of "the expectations for behavior" (Dolch, 2003, p. 394), something external, whereas a (role) identity consists of internalized expectations, something internal. For instance, a foreign language teacher's students and their parents may want her to be a grammarian (role expectation), but she may see herself differently, not just as someone who teaches grammar, but also as someone who asks her students to use language communicatively and purposefully (role identity).The difference is crucial. It is also crucial to note that one's role identities are not simply an internalized collection of others'/society's role expectations; rather, they are an amalgam of those societal expectations and of the expectations/meanings we associate ourselves with a particular role (Burke & Stets, 2009; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Vyran et al, 2003). The concept of (role) identity thus implicates both social structure *and* personal agency: "both the individual and society are linked in the concept of identity" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 3).[7] Or, as McCall and Simmons (1978) put it, "the conventional expectations provide the structural framework of a role-identity, whereas the individual embellishments put some human meat on these arid bones" (p. 68).

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[7] Clarke (2009) also notes this, informed by a post-structural/discursive framework: "Our identities are thus partly given yet they are also something that has to be achieved, offering a potential site of agency within the inevitably social process of becoming" (p. 187).

In order to make these nuances clear, I would like to submit my own definition of role identity, which will serve as this construct's operating definition for the present study: A role identity is an internalized set of meanings associated with a particular role that are learned in interaction with others and/or generated by oneself. This definition reflects both society's hand and one's own personal agency in identity construction processes (Burke & Stets, 2009; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Vyran et al., 2003). To give an example, a foreign language teacher may see herself in line with what she perceives others/society to expect of her, e.g., as an effective classroom manager, yet she may also see herself in ways that reflect her own personal conceptualization of the role, as seen in the communicative practitioner example above.

Two studies in the general teacher identity literature make theoretical distinctions between role and role identity. I would argue that these studies push the study of teacher identity into a more nuanced, fine-grained space. Gaudelli and Ousley (2009) conceive of a teacher's role as "a suit of clothing to be worn periodically when a student is performing as a teacher" and a teacher's identity "as being one's skin, an embodied feature of the person that is necessarily tied up with one's experiences, beliefs, and worldview; it is an organ that cannot be changed but is itself changing while also restorative, protective, and generative" (p. 931). The suit of clothing reflects expectations for the role, which are reified in professional standards of teaching that define "good teaching," such as those outlined by NCATE. Defining student teaching as a "limbic stage of becoming" (p. 931), the researchers documented student teachers' identity work during a seminar that ran concurrently to their student teaching placements. In this

seminar, the participants processed who they wanted to become as teachers through various conflicts they encountered and perceptions they had of teaching, which often clashed with the realities they lived in the classroom. By engaging in this identity work, the participants "were in the process of sorting through their teacher-self through the lenses of their preparation and new experiences as they developed a pedagogical stance that best fit them" (p. 938). In terms of role and identity, I interpret these findings to indicate that the student teachers used the seminar as a space in which to process which role expectations they wanted to internalize as parts of their own identities. For example, Neil, one of the participants, decided to shirk his teacher identity by leaving the profession given his distaste for traditional, didactic teaching and his feelings of hollowness associated with "going with the flow." He referred to himself as a "doer" and claimed, "if you plan to spend a career in education, you couldn't fight the system all the time as it is too frustrating" (p. 937).

Sexton's (2008) study is one of the only studies in the teacher education literature that uses symbolic interaction as its theoretical framework. It, too, makes a clear distinction between teacher role and teacher identity. In this study, the researcher sought to understand the relationship between role and identity as well as teacher agency. She found that:

> When role and identity aligned for student teachers, they experienced a consonance between personal goals and program expectations, but also limited opportunities for professional growth. Misalignment, however, created dissonance, and students drew on personal experiences or other

> resources to address the divide between personal goals and program expectations. (p. 78)

These findings demonstrate two significant points about student teacher role identity development. First, student teaching is a time during which student teachers foster the beginnings of their identities as teachers by processing what is expected of them in the that role. Again, their role identities represent meanings that have been internalized, while role expectations represent external visions/requirements suggested by people in their preparation programs and student teaching placements that may or may not be internalized. Second, these findings highlight student teachers' agency in developing their own identities. Ultimately, personal goals and program expectations bear together upon the role identities that student teachers fashion for themselves. For example, Jason, one of Sexton's study participants, saw himself as an activist/critical pedagogue and strove to enact that identity in his teaching, even though it was not supported by his teacher preparation program. He thus exerted personal choice in defining how he chose to fulfill the role of teacher.

Identity and behavior/actions. The link between one's identity and one's actions is highly complex. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, one acts toward a symbol based on the meaning(s) one assigns to that symbol (Blumer, 1969). For example, if a student observes a teacher raise her pointer finger to her lips, the student might interpret that as a symbol to be quiet and thus plan her reaction accordingly, namely by ceasing talking. However, it is not solely symbols that one considers while planning out one's actions:

> The things taken into account cover such matters as his wishes and wants, his objectives, the available means for their achievement, the actions and anticipated actions of others, *his image of himself*, and the likely result of a given line of action. (Blumer, 1969, p. 15, emphasis added)

According to Blumer, one therefore takes account of one's identity when deciding how to react to the symbols one observes and interprets.

This being the case, it follows that that "changes in a teacher's identity manifest themselves in changes in his/her teaching practices and behavior" (Izadinia, 2012, p. 13). A few words of caution are in order on this point, however. First, it is simplistic to hypothesize a "straightforward causal link" (Menard-Warwick, 2008, p. 621) between identities and actions. One might not always act in accordance with one's internalized identity positions given contextual factors. In fact, one may exhibit actions that are discordant with one's identity positions—a situation that is "likely to generate a sense of unhappiness" (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 18). Second, the identity/behavior relationship is not unidirectional; one's actions within practice may have a shaping effect on one's identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). If in alignment with her internalized identity positions, a teacher's actions within practice may serve to confirm those identity positions; if in misalignment, however, these actions may encourage her to shift her views of herself in order to alleviate the "sense of unhappiness" expressed above (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).[8]

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[8] I note a connection between this perspective and Cognitive Dissonance Theory, which Marks (2007, p. 4) describes like so: "…Cognitive Dissonance Theory, states that a person's behavior changes when those behaviors clash with held beliefs, attitudes, or perceptions (Festinger, 1957). When a clash occurs, a person changes the behaviors or beliefs so that they match, allowing for the restoration of equilibrium."

Note that this is not a given, though; one might choose to live with tension and hold identity positions and actions that are in conflict with each other (e.g., Mingfang, the focal participant in Tsui, 2007).

Role Identity Construction as a Facet of Teacher Socialization

> *In professional socialization, certain aspects of a person's identity and life pattern are broken down (de-socialized) so that a new identity can be built up. While the person actively participates in the process and to some degree negotiates the terms of his or her new identity, this activity serves more to coopt the person into using the concepts, values, and language of those in power. (Light, 1980, p. 327)*

For this study, I consider foreign language teacher candidates' role identity construction as a component of their greater socialization into the role of foreign language teacher. Until now, definitions of teacher socialization have not included identity, and as such, I consider them to be incomplete. I therefore would augment Staton's (2008) definition of teacher socialization like so: "a complex, communicative process by which individuals selectively acquire the values, attitudes, norms, knowledge, skills, [*identity positions*,] and behaviors of the teaching profession and of the particular school or educational culture in which they seek to work" (para. 1). This new characterization views identity development and socialization processes as inextricably linked, and I count myself among scholars (e.g., Vélez-Rendón, 2010) who view learning-to-teach as a time during which teacher candidates process and potentially internalize role expectations and role identity positions that are suggested to (and at times

foisted) upon them by the significant others with whom they interact (e.g., their cooperating teacher, the students they teach, their university supervisor).

Before proceeding, I would like to argue that it is fruitful to view socialization processes *in terms of* constructs. What I mean here is that when people are socialized into a culture, something about them changes, and that something is one of (but of course not limited to) the many constructs listed in Staton's (2008) definition of socialization (e.g., values, attitudes, etc.). One might also consider the constructs listed in Korthangen's (2004) "onion" model: behavior, competencies, beliefs, identity, and mission. In this model, Korthangen notes that the outer constructs are more easily observed and more susceptible to environmental influence, while the inner constructs are less easily observed and "may be further from direct environmental influence (Rozelle, 2010, p. 22). As expressed above, the construct I will highlight in this dissertation is role identity, and I view foreign language teacher candidates' socialization into the role of foreign language teacher as a time during which their role identities generally undergo substantial changes (Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003).

In the present section of this literature review, I begin by defining teacher socialization and dialoguing with theories of socialization. Then, I review and critique a small set of recent socialization studies related to the present study. To conclude the section, I define content-based instruction, the principal educational innovation that was suggested to the participant in this study during her teacher preparation program.

Defining and theorizing teacher socialization. Teacher socialization is one branch of a larger inquiry into occupational socialization that spans several fields and

philosophical traditions (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). According to Staton (2008), teacher socialization is "a complex, communicative process by which individuals selectively acquire the values, attitudes, norms, knowledge, skills, and behaviors of the teaching profession and of the particular school or educational culture in which they seek to work" (para. 1).[9] Research on teacher socialization thus inquires into how this process unfolds (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Acquiring the values, etc. of the profession is referred to as role or occupational socialization, whereas acquiring the culture of a particular work environment is referred to as cultural or organizational socialization (Staton, 2008).

Zeichner and Gore (1990) organize research on teacher socialization into three categories, or "paradigms": functionalist, interpretive, and critical. Rooted in positivist ways of thinking, studies from the functionalist approach claim objectivity and predictive power and seek to demonstrate how individuals acquire societal norms, with a focus recreating these norms. Individuals' agency is not taken into account in this paradigm. Interpretive approaches to studying socialization, on the other hand, are rooted in post-positivist views about the nature of reality and recognize individuals' roles in shaping their trajectories. Studies from the critical approach to socialization focus on "bringing to consciousness the ability to criticize what is taken for granted about everyday life" (Zeichner & Gore, 1990, p. 331) in service of the quest for social justice, reflecting a socially constructed view of reality. In sum, functionalist studies aim to explain, interpretivist studies aim to understand, and critical studies aim to transform socialization processes.

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[9] To reiterate, I argue that this definition is incomplete because it fails to mention identity.

Teacher socialization scholars have outlined different phases of socialization, reflecting competing conceptualizations of the process over the course of one's life (which includes times during which one is not actually a teacher of record). Almost all descriptions incorporate a pre-training phase, a pre-service phase, and an in-service phase (Schempp & Graber, 1992; Staton & Hunt, 1992, Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Schempp and Graber (1992) include an independent phase for field experiences rather than subsuming it with the pre-service education phase. These two conceptualizations of the pre-service phase reflect the fact that in some teacher preparation programs, students complete their coursework before engaging in student teaching, while in others, they complete their coursework while they are student teaching (e.g., Young, 2008). As these phases indicate, in line with symbolic interactionist thought, socializations are life-long processes (Stryker, 1980). One might therefore think of each phase as a time frame involving heightened interaction with a certain set of significant others. For example, a student teacher interacts frequently with university supervisors during the preservice phase and with colleagues during the inservice phase.

Following Young (2008), I would argue that competing socializations take place for most student teachers who complete their student teaching placements at the same time as they are engaged in university coursework. The aims of university teacher education programs are often in misalignment with the aims of the major players involved in student teaching placements, referred to as the "two-worlds pitfall" (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985). Furthermore, it is often the case that what is learned at the university is "washed out" during student teaching placements (Zeichner & Tabachnick,

1981; see also Watzke, 2007). It thus seems appropriate only to conceive of the preservice phase monolithically in cases where there is alignment between the university and the student teaching placement, in which case socialization is smooth and involves less negotiation (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

Along these lines, Schempp and Graber (1992) describe teacher candidates' socialization processes in terms of dialectics, which involves "a contest of social thesis against individual antithesis" (p. 331). Students come in to pre-service training programs with their own ideas about teaching (e.g., due in large part to their "apprenticeships of observation" [Lortie, 1975]), which often grate against teacher educators' curricular agendas. Sfard and Prusak (2005) view this contest in terms of "designated" and "actual" identities, which can be viewed as the identities that are suggested by one's preparation program and a teacher candidate's personally-derived identities, respectively. According to Liu and Xu (2011b, citing Sfard & Prusak, 2005), "to survive the competing demands, teachers must reconcile the conflicts between competing identities, and learning can be seen as a constant process of shifting between these identities, with the aim of closing the gap between them" (p. 3).[10] Furthermore, they state that "alignment [between designated and actual identities] could be interpreted as a form of socialization" (p. 10), while Sfard and Prusak (2005) add that "a perceived persistent gap between actual and designated identities, especially if it involves critical elements, is likely to generate a sense of unhappiness" (p. 18). In applying these metaphors to socialization processes, three points

[10] The concept of closing the gap raises important questions related to agency: Is it an ethical practice to impose an identity position on a student teacher? Does it take the imposition of an identity position in teacher education to advance educational innovations?

of clarification are in order. First, it would be erroneous to conceive of student teachers and teacher preparation programs as fully and diametrically opposed. In real life, there is more grey area; where there is alignment with some identity positions, there are gaps with others. Second, following Schempp and Graber (1992), the contest of thesis and antithesis result in synthesis, in which both sides are changed.[11] This highlights students' agency, reflecting the view that teacher education is not a passive acquisition of preparation programs' theses. Finally, it is worth noting that preparation programs' theses/designated identities represent role expectations that, according to the theory of dialectics and given student teachers' agency, may or may not be internalized into role identity positions.

Even though student teachers exert agency in their socializations, it is vital to consider issues of power when conceptualizing socialization in a dialectical, gap-closing fashion, as highlighted in Light's (1980) quotation above. Given that professors and university supervisors are in positions to evaluate and serve as gatekeepers, students are often reluctant to voice opposing positions. Student teachers may therefore engage in a practice that Graber (1991) calls "studentship," which involves a feigned positive influence of socializing forces (e.g., completing assignments reflecting the teacher preparation program's views) while one's belief system in fact remains unchanged, intact. In cases like this, "the dialectics of teacher education are often driven underground, and students are forced to give an outward appearance of acceptance while

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[7] Although outside the scope of this study, it is interesting to wonder to what extent teacher preparation programs' messages change within the process of dialectics. A critical framework would help answer this question (cf. Zeichner & Gore, 1990).

harboring and restraining their disagreement with and rejection of the official teaching orientation" (p. 337).

There are many forces in play when it comes to the socialization of teachers over the course of their careers. Zeichner and Gore (1990) outline influences on teacher socialization prior to teacher education, during teacher education, and in the workplace. One of the most powerful socializing forces they describe is Lortie's (1975) "apprenticeship of observation," or the thirteen or more years teachers spend in primary and secondary schools observing their own teachers and forming opinions about what it means to teach.[12] This apprenticeship is so long and so deep that it typically weakens the impact of teacher education. Other forces the authors describe include subject matter, methods courses, field-based experiences, pupils, colleagues, and evaluators. Staton and Hunt (1992) also base their review of socialization influences on chronological phases (biography, preservice, and inservice), organizing it further into contextual factors and agents of socialization. For example, in the case of preservice socialization, contextual factors consist of university coursework and field experiences, while agents include cooperating teachers, university supervisors, as well as others such as principals, family, and even researchers. Given its symbolic interactionist lens, the present study focuses primarily on people—on significant others—and the influences that interactions with these people have on student teachers' identity construction.

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[12] From a symbolic interactionist perspective, I would characterize the apprenticeship of observation as a time when students begin to define role expectations.

Socialization studies involving educational innovations. In the present section, I review three recent socialization studies that involve educational innovations. I include these studies here because:

- they are the few studies I have found that adopt socialization as a principal lens
- they represent current directions in the study of teacher socialization research
- they imply imposed/suggested role identity positions
- they discuss the involvement of various significant others during teacher candidates' learning-to-teach experiences
- they were conducted in teacher education programs that highlight specific educational innovations, like the program in this study

As these criteria illustrate, these studies can be read using the hybrid identity/socialization lens that frames the present study.

McMahon and MacPhail (2007) sought to understand the socialization experiences of a physical education student teacher learning to use the Sport Education model. Sport Education is an innovative curricular approach in physical education that lacks an "appreciation of how teachers actually learn to teach it and the problems they encounter in teaching it" (p. 231). Data consisted of interviews and diary entries collected over the course of the student teacher's ten-week student teaching placement. The researchers found that the students were resistant to certain elements of Sport Education and that it grated with the conservative school culture. Where other studies cast cooperating teachers as the most influential actors in the learning-to-teach experience (Vélez-Rendón, 2000, cited in Brzosko-Barratt, 2006), the students in this study exhibited

more of a socializing force on the student teacher; their reactions to SE reflected the conservative school culture, rejecting an approach to teaching that vested them with more responsibility. Given his lack of familiarity with Sport Education, the mentor teacher remained largely on the sidelines, unable to support the student teacher in her implementation of this innovative approach to teaching sport.

Young (2008) inquired into the socialization experiences of an uncharacteristic group of special education licensure candidates: student teachers who already held positions of record before entering into their licensure programs (see the discussion about competing socializations above). The particular university in question had "a specific focus on one core concept—that of inclusion—as the dominant philosophy of their program" (p. 905). Seven teachers participated in interviews, which served as the principal source of data for the study. Following the grey area perspective on the dialectics of socialization expressed above, the researcher found that the participants experienced different levels of socialization, ranging from almost complete socialization to selective socialization to rejected socialization. On one end of the spectrum was Alice, a student who was "willingly socialized into accepting inclusion as a placement option to educate students and as the dogma of the program and for herself" (p. 908), yet who extended these views only to her own practice and not to her colleagues'. On the other end of the spectrum was Terry, who did not deem inclusion helpful for all disabled students. Her views were shaped largely by the experiences of her own brother, who required special education services and for whom special day classes (separate settings) were successful. Her own experiences thus served as a filter against the socializing forces

of the university. While this study stands out from the three included here as the one that dialogues the best with the theory that frames it, it relies solely on interviews and could be enriched by triangulation from other data sources.

Marks (2007) studied the socialization experiences of four secondary social studies pre-service teachers. These student teachers attended a five-year combined undergrad/post-baccalaureate teacher education program at a large, urban university, whose focus was constructivist teaching practices. Framing her study with cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) and dialectical theory of socialization (Schempp & Graber, 1992), Marks collected data from a variety of sources, ranging from interviews and focus groups to reflective journals and formal evaluations of student teachers' work. She also interviewed the student teachers' mentor teachers in order to learn about their teaching philosophies and practices. The four focal participants had different experiences when it came to implementing the university's preferred practices, which, according to Marks, were shaped by their initial beliefs, the acquisition of knowledge and skills at the university and in their student teaching placements, and by the influence of their university supervisors.

Concerning the present study, these three studies can be mined for what they have to say about the interaction between student teachers and significant others as well as for the identity positions they imply. The studies generally include the traditional cast of characters in student teaching contexts (e.g., university supervisors, cooperating teachers), yet cast the influence that these actors have in new lights, e.g., the highly influential students and hands-off mentor teacher in McMahon and MacPhail (2007).

Young's (2008) study is unique in that it highlights a non-traditional significant other who exerts a very strong influence: Terry's brother. In terms of identity positions, the programs' educational innovations (Sport Education, inclusion, constructivist teaching) can be read as designated identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). All of the studies demonstrate that closing the gap between student teachers' designated and actual identities is not a black and white process involving the student teacher's mechanical acquisition of the preparation program's designated identity. Young's (2008) continuum, in particular, shows the grey areas that exist.

In common with the three studies reviewed above, the present study is contextualized in a program that emphasizes an educational innovation. I therefore include a succinct definition of that innovation: CBI.

Defining CBI. According to Lyster (2011), content-based instruction is "an instructional approach in which non-linguistic content, including subject matter such as social studies or mathematics, is taught to students through the medium of a language that is not their first, so that while they are learning curricular content they are also learning an additional language" (p. 611). As an approach, it consists of an over-arching philosophy pertaining to foreign language teaching and learning, which distinguishes it from a method, or a "laundry list" of techniques for teachers to follow (Tedick & Cammarata, 2010). Tedick and Cammarata explain that an approach represents "a vision of what education should be and the role it should play," or the "how" of teaching, whereas a method is "the means by which this vision is operationalized," or the "what" of teaching (p. 244).

Met's (1998) definition of CBI—"an approach to second language instruction that involves the use of a second language to learn or practise content" (p. 35)—speaks to the various settings in which it is practiced. In several publications (1998, 1999a, 1999b), she proposes a continuum of CBI, ranging from content-driven programs (e.g., total [full] and partial immersion) on one end to language-driven programs (e.g., "language classes based on thematic units" or "language classes with frequent use of content for language practice") on the other. Met's continuum implies that CBI can be practiced in a variety of second/foreign language classrooms, even when it is not the program's defining pedagogy, which is the case for foreign language immersion programs (Tedick, Jorgensen, & Geffert, 2001).

The variety of programs included in Met's (1998, 1999a, 1999b) continuum well mirrors the variety of what qualifies as content in CBI. It is generally agreed upon that content does not include linguistic forms; that is, content is "material that is generally outside the realm of the traditional course material or language programmes" (Met, 1998, p. 35). Met's (1998) and Lyster's (2011) definitions of CBI state that content most often comes from other school disciplines such as math, social studies, or science, as exemplified by immersion programs. Appropriate content is not restricted to these sources, however. Genesee (1994) claims that content "need not be academic; it can include any topic, theme or non-language issue of interest or importance to the learners" (p. 3), and often, teachers in traditional foreign language contexts use relevant cultural topics as content (Bigelow & Tedick, 2005). Wherever content comes from, there seems

to be general agreement that it should sit at the appropriate cognitive level of the learner (Curtain & Dahlberg, 2010; Met, 1991, 1998).

Language Teacher Identity[13]

Flowing from an interest in language learners' identity construction (e.g., Norton, 2000), the field of language teacher identity has grown exponentially over the past 15 years, resulting in well over 40 empirical studies. This fecund research base spans a variety of second language contexts, such as ESL/EFL (Ajay, 2011; Amin, 1997; Clarke, 2008; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Inbar-Lourie, 2005; Johnson, 2003; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Lim, 2011; Liu & Xu, 2011a, 2011b; Menard-Warwick, 2008, 2011; Morgan, 2004; Morton & Gray, 2010; Motha, 2006; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2011; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Tsui, 2007; Yi, 2009), traditional foreign language (Antonek et al., 1997; Fitchner & Chapman, 2011; Liu & Fisher, 2006; Luebbers, 2011; Vélez-Rendón, 2010), immersion (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012), and bilingual education (Rodriguez & Cho, 2011; Varghese, 2001), and employs a variety of theoretical frameworks, notably situated learning/communities of practice (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Liu & Xu, 2011a, 2011b; Morton & Gray, 2010; Tsui, 2007; Varghese, 2001) and post-structuralism (Ajay, 2010; Golombek & Jordan, 2005, Morgan, 2004, Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2011). Despite this copiousness, however, there are holes in the tapestry, in terms of theoretical approaches and research findings. This study is designed to help mend two of these holes by attending to traditional American foreign language

[13] In this dissertation, I conceive of identity construction as a form of teacher change (Richardson & Placier, 2001).

teachers' identity construction and by using a theoretical framework that has yet to be taken up by researchers in the field.

In an effort to characterize the general trends in language teacher identity research, Martel and Wang (under review) state the following assumptions:

- Language teachers' identities are shaped in interaction with significant others, personal biographies, and contexts.
- Language teachers' identities are negotiated in and influence practice.
- Language teachers' identities are complicated by their own or others' perceptions of their native/non-native speaker status.
- Language teachers' views of themselves as cultural beings bear upon their cultural teaching practices.

These assumptions reflect not only the many ways in which language teacher identity construction has been theorized, but also the substantive findings of studies that focus on this construct. As is evident (and indeed not surprising), studies that investigate the intersection between one's native speaker status and identity as a language teacher have been the most plentiful, e.g., Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003 (Menard-Warwick, 2008).

In the present section, I review the language teacher identity literature as it pertains to this study in two ways. First, I review and critique the limited amount of studies that attend to traditional American foreign language teachers' identity development. Then, I review and critique the literature as it pertains to this study's research sub-questions.

The literature as it speaks specifically to the context of this study. The number of studies pertaining to American K–12 foreign language teachers' identity development is small enough that it can be counted on one hand (Antonek et al., 1997; Fitchner & Chapman, 2011; Luebbers, 2010; Vélez-Réndon, 2010).[14] These studies represent important contributions to the literature, however, for they give us a glimpse into the unique characteristics of this context and how it differs from other second language contexts (e.g., immersion, ESL, bilingual education). Curiously, the majority (three out of four) of these studies were conducted with student teachers; we thus know more about nascent traditional foreign language teacher identities than about the identities of established teachers in this context.

The first of these studies to appear, by Antonek and colleagues (1997), used student teachers' portfolios as a "window into the emergent identity of beginning teachers" (p. 16). Two participants were chosen for the study—one "traditional" student and one "nontraditional" student. The researchers do not explain why this juxtaposition is significant, however; in other words, it is not clear what comparing participants from these two groups would tell us that is special about the phenomenon of interest. Concerning the participants' emerging identities, the researchers found that the participants learned in different ways. For example, the traditional teacher "learned to use his student's performance as a measure of his effectiveness and…learned how to respond to students by changing his teaching to build success" (p. 21). While this study is helpful

[14] Although the participants in Fitchner and Chapman's (2011) study teach at the university level, I include the study here given similarities in role between K–12 foreign language teacher and tertiary language sequence teacher.

in highlighting portfolios as an effective data collection tool (cf. Izadinia, 2012), it contributes weakly to what we know about student teacher identity construction. It joins several studies whose theses are that student teachers develop stronger identities as teachers throughout the course of their preparation programs (e.g., Liu & Fisher, 2006; Kanno & Stuart, 2011). It also relies solely on the portfolios as data and would be enriched by the integration of observations (Izadinia, 2012). Observations would have been particularly informative, for the researchers may have found illuminative differences between what the participants self-reported and what they actually did in their classrooms.

Fitchner and Chapman's (2011) study is significant in that it is one of the very few that attends to foreign language teachers' cultural identities. It is commonly accepted that language and culture are inextricably linked, and that language teachers must possess intercultural competence to do their jobs effectively (Sercu, 2006). Fitchner and Chapman's study, which explored the cultural identities of German and Spanish graduate teaching assistants, revealed that the participants claimed their national identities as primary and relegated the identity associated with the language they were teaching as secondary. It was also found that participants felt insecure about being considered experts in the foreign culture and experienced difficulties in adapting the foreign culture to American cultural norms. According to the researchers, these findings indicate that teacher preparation programs need to support the continued development of students' cultural knowledge and skills in teaching culture. Like Antonek et al.'s (2007) study, this

study relies on one data source (interviews), and would paint a richer, more complex picture if other data sources were used, such as observation (Izadinia, 2012).

Using sociocultural and activity theories (Engström, 1999), Luebbers' (2010) comprehensive dissertation study chronicled the identity construction of seven undergraduate foreign language preservice teachers. Not surprisingly, she found misalignment between the goals of the teacher education program and the participants' student teaching practica, reflective of the "two-worlds pitfall" (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985). This study contributes significantly, however, for it allows one to infer particular identity positions that are specific to the teaching of foreign languages in traditional settings. For example, the participants initially expressed the desire to use as much of the target language as possible while teaching, which one might read position-wise as "provider of a maximum amount of target language input." Over the course of their student teaching experiences, the participants generally came to believe that this was not a viable position in this teaching context. Similarly, the participants struggled to and ultimately did not succeed in enacting the positions of "communicative language teacher" and "standards-based teacher," which were recommended by their teacher program. Several participants "begrudgingly saw their roles during ST [student teaching] evolving into that of entertainers—trying to make FL learning fun while keeping students on task" (p. 154). In general, the participants lost their idealized views of language teaching and ended up using traditional pedagogies, largely in the image of their cooperating teachers. This study serves as a powerful example of the ways in which educational innovations emphasized by teacher preparation programs deflect off school-based student teacher

learning experiences—i.e., the "washout" effect (Watzke, 2007; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). It paints a grim picture of the viability and sustainability of educational innovations.

Vélez-Rendón's (2010) study brings the construct of native speaker to the discussion of identity construction processes in the traditional foreign language context. It is different from other studies in the language teacher identity literature in that it focuses on a native speaker rather than non-native speakers (e.g., Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003). In this study, Marcos, a 30 year-old native Spanish-speaking teacher candidate, relied on his native speakerness as legitimacy for being a Spanish teacher, resulting in a "taken-for-granted view of…subject matter knowledge" (p. 635). In other words, he believed that he could be an effective Spanish teacher simply by virtue of being a native speaker. His practice, however, painted a different picture, for he made frequent errors while explaining grammatical concepts to students. Unfortunately, this unfounded legitimacy blocked important opportunities for the participant to grow as a teacher. Like Luebbers's (2010) study above, this study well exemplifies the ways in which observational data can enrich findings from other sources of data, resulting in a more nuanced analysis of identity construction processes (cf. Izadinia, 2012). It also includes a compelling form of purposeful sampling (Mertens, 1998; Patton, 2002), as opposed to Antonek et al.'s (1997) study; according to the Vélez-Rendón, Marco's "case was of special interest because it forcefully exemplified how multiple social identities shape the perceptions people have of themselves and affect their growth as teachers" (p. 639).

The literature as it speaks specifically to this study's research sub-questions. In the present section, I mine the language teacher identity literature for its contributions to this study's research sub-questions. I attend to each of these questions in turn below.

***Sub-question number 1: Role identity positions*.** For the purposes of this study, I conceive of role identity positions as statements like those used by Sfard and Prusak (2005) in characterizing actual identities: "'I am a good driver,' 'I have an average IQ,' and 'I am an army officer'" (p. 18). One might also characterize an identity position using the phrase "As an (ESL teacher), I see myself as a (advocate)."[15] I consider role identities to be the amalgam of all the statements/positions (i.e., meanings) of this sort that one associates to a particular role one fills in society, e.g., teacher. When thinking about student teachers and their identity development, I hold that knowing these specific positions provides teacher educators with more to work with than studies that chronicle student teachers who begin by feeling weak as teachers and end up with stronger teacher identities at the end of their preparation (e.g., Antonek et al., 1997; Liu & Fisher, 2006; Kanno & Stuart, 2011).[16] It would help teacher educators in designing more successful preparation programs if they could better know the specific identity positions that student teachers grapple with as well as those that form veteran teachers' identities.[17]

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[15] Statements of this sort do not imply that identities are static. On the contrary, post-structural views of identity have shown that it is dynamic and constantly shifting (Clarke, 2009; Varghese et al., 2005). One should therefore interpret these statements as in-the-moment characterizations of one's identity that are subject to change.

[16] I would identify these studies as ones that paint a rather "rosy" picture of student teaching (Izadinia, 2012).

[17] Note that an inquiry into the identity positions of veteran foreign language teachers lies outside of the purview of the present study.

The language teacher identity literature abounds with expressions of identity positions associated with the multiple roles it encompasses (e.g., immersion teacher, ESL teacher, foreign language teacher). Some of these identity positions are explicitly stated by researchers in their writing, while others are left to be inferred; some are expressed in reference to student teachers, while others are expressed in reference to practicing teachers. Examples of explicitly stated positions include:

- Being a bilingual educator involves being a role model and an advocate (Varghese, 2001)
- Being an immersion teacher involves being a teacher of both language and content (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012)
- Being an ESL teacher involves being a role model (Green, Tran, & Young, 2005, in Ajayi, 2010)

Examples of implicitly derived positions include:

- Being a foreign language teacher involves being a standards-based practitioner and a provider of a critical amount of target language input (Luebbers, 2010)
- As a native speaker, I am a capable Spanish teacher (Vélez-Rendón, 2010)
- As a non-native speaker of English, I am less capable of teaching English (Park, 2012)
- As a foreign language teacher, I am responsible for knowing and teaching a culture that is not necessarily my own, which makes me feel uncomfortable (Fitchner & Chapman, 2011)

What is important to note here is that the identity positions listed above may or may not be internalized by the participants of the studies in which they are expressed. For example, the way Varghese (2001) writes about the bilingual teachers in her study indicates internalized positions ("Many of the teachers felt strongly that they were role models or expressed that one of the major reasons they had entered this particular profession is to help Latino children" [p. 224]), while the positions inferred from Luebbers' (2010) study represent positions that were suggested by the participants' preparation program (i.e., designated identities) but that were ultimately not acquired by the participants. What is significant is the highlighting of a range of identity positions associated with the various roles of second language teacher. As alluded to above, I hold that we need to know much more about the specific identity positions associated with foreign language teaching so that we can better orient identity work in foreign language teacher preparation programs.

***Sub-question number 2: Significant others*.** As expressed in section two of this chapter, the present study focuses on the influences that various significant others exert on student teachers' identity construction. Significant others commonly associated with teachers and student teachers' include (but are not limited to) teacher educators, colleagues at school, classmates, students, parents, and administrators (Staton & Hunt, 1992).

The language teacher identity literature contains myriad stories of teachers' and student teachers' identity work as it unfolds in interaction with others, which is vividly exemplified by the numerous "critical incidents" that pepper this literature (Liu & Xu,

2011a, 2011b; Park, 2012; Yi, 2009). For example, the focal participant in Park's (2012) study, a native Chinese-speaking teacher of English in a TESOL program in the United States, received a blow to her confidence when a classmate questioned her ability to teach English on the first day of her student teaching by laughing at her and exclaiming '"You were only here for one and a half years and you are going to teach English [to kids who don't speak English]?'" (p. 138). This incident stirred the participant's insecurities about her non-native speaker status, in essence challenging her suitability and identity as a burgeoning English teacher. Critical incidents such as this one well exemplify the looking-glass self (Blumer, 1969; Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; Cooley, 1902); from this perspective, the participant put herself in her classmate's shoes, looked back at herself, and judged herself as not prepared to be or legitimate as an English teacher.

In certain studies, researchers have claimed in a general fashion that some significant others have more bearing on a student teachers' identity construction than others. For instance, Brzosko-Barratt (2006), citing the work of Vélez-Rendón (2000), claims that cooperating teachers exhibit the most influence on student teachers. This does not always pan out as such in the language teacher identity literature, however; in Antonek et al.'s (1997) study, the researchers identify the mentor teacher as the most influential significant other for one of the focal participants, while for the other focal participant it consists of the students in the classroom. I therefore consider futile to pronounce a definitive, mostly influential significant other, for too much depends on the specific context in which a student teacher forges her identity. In one case, a cooperating teacher may exert a strong influence, while in another, it may be a classmate.

Sub-question number 3: Internalization. In the present study, I juxtapose role, an external construct, with identity, an internal construct (Dolch, 2003; Vyran et al., 2003). The two are linked in that meanings/expectations associated with roles may become identity positions once they have undergone a process of internalization. Although they are related, it is highly important to distinguish these two constructs, for a clearer view of the differences helps us to more subtly theorize identity construction within learning-to-teach experiences. According to symbolic interactionism, it seems fair to hypothesize that student teachers spend more time processing external role expectations (e.g., suggested by a teacher preparation program) rather than internalizing identity positions.

This being said, I would argue that the language teacher identity literature needs to do a better job of distinguishing identity positions from role expectations, especially in studies that focus on student teachers. An example will be illustrative. In their multiple case study of two Taiwanese students in a MA TESOL program in the United States, Golombek and Jordan (2005) describe a participant who, thanks to a course on pronunciation pedagogy, "saw a role that more critical approaches, like Cook's (1992, 1999) notion of multicompetence, could play in the classroom" (p. 523). They support this description with the following snippet from an interview:

> I would, I would, I would tell them [students] that they are multi-competent. I mean, if they learn a language, they don't, they could try to express themselves and they don't have to care about the accent that much, they don't have to care their grammar that much. (p. 523)

The participant's use of the modal "would" here is telling, for it indicates what Sfard and Prusak (2005) call a designated identity, as compared to an actual identity. In other words, the participant is explaining the type of teacher she could potentially see herself being—in line with her preparation program—rather than the type of teacher she sees herself as currently. One could therefore consider "instiller of multicompetence" as a role expectation with which the participant experimented during her preparation program rather than an actual identity position.

In moving forward, language teacher education scholars might heed studies from the general teacher identity literature that make the distinction between external role and internal identity clearer, such as Gaudelli and Ousley's (2009) and Sexton's (2008).

Sub-question number 4: Identity and behavior. The link between identity and behavior is pertinent to this study in the ways that student teachers' actions not only reflect, but also shape their identities (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). How do student teachers' actions correspond with identity positions that they may have internalized and/or are trying on?[18] Again, it is important to note that there is not necessarily a causal connection between identities and actions (cf. Menard-Warwick, 2008); reality and contexts are too varied for this to be the case. For example, Mingfang, the participant in Tsui's (2007) study, felt deep down that his students needed a healthy dose of explicit grammatical instruction, yet toed his administration's party line as communicative language teacher.

The data presented in Luebbers' (2011) study can be interpreted with an eye toward the interaction between foreign language student teachers' classroom practice and

[18] I consider trying on an identity position to be equivalent to flirting with a role expectation, or in other words, a designated identity (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

identity development. The participants in her study were instructed in their preparation programs to use communicative and standards-based teaching practices, yet were paired with mentor teachers who used traditional (i.e., grammar-based) teaching methods. All but one of the participants left student teaching thinking that the innovative methods espoused by their preparation program "may be theoretically ideal for FL teaching and learning," but are "not practical in the current state of FL education in the U.S." (p. 146). One can thus assume that the carrying out of practices associated with traditional foreign language teaching (i.e., teaching grammar) shaped their identities as foreign language teachers. What is missing from this study, however, are reactions from students to innovative methods that the student teachers may have attempted to try in their classrooms; this would paint a fuller picture of the mutual shaping of practice and identity.

Chapter 3: Methodology and methods

In the paragraphs that follow, I lay out the methodology and methods that weave together to form the design of the present study. I begin by defining qualitative case study and by highlighting some of the limitations associated with this methodology. Then, I describe the data collection methods I used, followed by rationales for their use. Finally, I outline the data analysis procedures I employed, including triangulation procedures and reflections on positionality.

Qualitative Case Study Methodology

Defining characteristics of qualitative case study. According to Gall, Gall, and Borg (2003), case study is the "most widely used approach to qualitative research in education" (p. 433). Case study's popularity and utility are indeed reflected in the number of scholarly publications that seek not only to define it, but also to explain how to conduct case study research (e.g., Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2005, 2006; Yin, 2009). In the present section, I draw upon the foundational work of Merriam, Stake, Yin, and others in order to unpack case study's principal characteristics in qualitative applications.

Before proceeding, however, it bears mentioning that case study is not a uniquely qualitative methodology.[19] According to Duff (2008), case study methodologists sit on a continuum reflecting their philosophical orientations that ranges from "relatively conservative positivists and postpositivists" such as Yin (2009) on one end to critical

[19] It is also up for debate as to whether case study is a methodology, a method, or something else, such as an approach (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). Although Stake and Yin treat it as a method, I consider case study to be elevated to the level of methodology when used qualitatively (i.e., qualitative case study research), as exemplified by Merriam's (2009) work.

scholars such as Pennycook (2001) on the other, with "interpretative or constructivist scholars (e.g., Merriam, 1998 [2009]) somewhere in the middle" (p. 33). Indeed, Yin's (2009) volume on case study methods leaves room for both qualitative and quantitative (e.g., survey research) applications, while Merriam's (2009) sits squarely within the qualitative paradigm. The present study uses case study as it is conceptualized by Merriam (2009), that is in a qualitative, interpretive iteration.

In order to define case study, I defer to Duff (2008), who writes that "the key recurring principles [of case study] are: boundedness or singularity, in-depth study, multiple perspectives or triangulation, particularity, contextualization, and interpretation" (p. 23). Although many of these attributes characterize other forms of qualitative research as well, this list provides us with a helpful point of departure for enumerating case study's primary features.

By far, case study's most salient feature is its intense focus on a case or particular cases. Merriam (2009) states "I have concluded…that the single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in delimiting the object of study, the case" (p. 40). The delimitation of a case requires "boundedness or singularity" (Duff, 2008, p. 23), or individuality; indeed, these notions are encapsulated in all major case study methodologists' definitions of case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2009), including Creswell (2007). For example, Creswell writes that "case study research involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e. a setting, a context)" (p. 73). The question of how to define a case—how to

decide whether it has clear boundaries and thus "counts" as a case—is therefore very important for researchers using case study methodology to consider.

According to Merriam (2009), a bounded system or unit is "a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries. I can 'fence in' what I am going to study" (p. 40). This bounded unit is the case. Determining whether one's locus of interest has clear boundaries, however, is not always easy (Creswell, 2007). Stake (2006) provides us with a helpful bit of advice in this endeavor: "a case is a noun, a thing, an entity; it is seldom a verb, a participle, a functioning" (p. 1). For example, a teacher would be an appropriate case, but her teaching would not (Stake, 1995, p. 2). Yin (2009) states that case "should be some real-life phenomenon, not an abstraction such as a topic, an argument, or even a hypothesis" (p. 32).

Once defined, the case becomes the unit of analysis of the study (Merriam, 2009). A case study may have only one case, or it may have multiple cases, which is referred to as a multiple or multisite case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2006; Yin, 2009). In multiple case studies, "each individual case study consists of a 'whole' study'" (Yin, 2009, p. 56) and analysis tends to take place on the level of individual cases before moving across cases, i.e., within-case occurs before cross-case analysis (Creswell, 2007, p. 74; see also Stake, 2006). Yin (2009) details how to design multiple case studies so that they may dialogue with theory via a process called "replication logic" (p. 54) (see below for more on replication logic). I hold that theory might also be pushed and/or refined via single case studies.

Case study is in-depth form of empirical inquiry. According to Yin (2009), "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon *in depth* and within its real-life context" (p. 18, emphasis added). As such, case study researchers tend to collect a significant amount of data (Creswell, 2007, p. 95) and case study reports tend to include "highly rich, 'thick' description[s] of the phenomenon under study" (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). It is thus important for case study researchers to know how to "identify the best [data] and set the rest aside" (Stake, 1995, p. 84)—a process that Wolcott (2009) refers to as "winnowing." The in-depth nature of case study becomes a concern in multiple case studies, for the more cases one has, the less one can go in-depth into each individual case: for Creswell (2007), "the study of more than one case dilutes the overall analysis; the more cases and individual studies, the less the depth in any single case" (p. 76). Tension thus exists between depth and breath in doing multiple case studies. To this end, Creswell notes that case study researchers using multisite designs tend to limit themselves to four or five cases.

Closely linked to the in-depth nature of case study is the concept of particularity. According to Merriam (2009), "particularistic means that case studies focus on a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon" (p. 43). As such, Merriam considers case study to be an effective methodology for studying practical problems: "for questions, situations, or puzzling occurrences arising from everyday practice" (p. 43). Not all social scientists, however, are as keen on case study's utility as Merriam; for some, such an intense focus on a specific entity or phenomenon weakens case study in that it is problematic to generalize from a single case (Stake, 2000). To Stake,

understanding the case is paramount, not generalizability. Generalizability can even be counterproductive: "damage occurs when the commitment to generalize or to theorize runs so strong that the researcher's attention is drawn away from features important for understanding the case itself" (p. 439).

Also linked to the in-depth nature of case study is the capital role of context. Yin (2009) squarely situates context into his definition of case study: "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and *within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*" (p. 18, emphasis added). To Stake (2000), a case has "its own unique history" and "is a complex entity operating within a number of contexts—physical, economic, ethical, aesthetic, and so on (pp. 439–440). Cases are therefore unidentifiable outside of their contexts (Stake 2000), and the knowledge generated from case studies is rooted in context (Merriam, 2009)—another reason for which generalizability is problematic. Merriam further characterizes the knowledge generated by case studies as "distinguishable from the abstract, formal knowledge derived from other research designs" (p. 45).

Triangulation is an important and common feature of case study (Stake, 1995). Based in redundancy, triangulation is a process that involves the use of "multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (Stake, 2000, p. 443). The phrase "multiple sources of data" figures in Yin's (2009) definition of case study, evoking the idea of "convergence." Triangulation, however, is not specific to case study; it is a strategy used by qualitative researchers in

general to enhance the internal validity, or credibility, of their work (Merriam, 2009). There are also other forms of triangulation in addition to using multiple sources of data, consisting of multiple methods, multiple investigators, and the use of multiple theories (Denzin, 1978, cited in Merriam, 2009; cf. Stake, 1995). Case study researchers might want to use multiple forms of triangulation rather than limiting themselves to the one listed in Yin's (2009) definition.

Finally, interpretation is a feature of case study, although this, like triangulation, is not specific to case study research. Interpretation is a hallmark of qualitative research in general; indeed, qualitative researchers of many persuasions (e.g., ethnography, narrative research, phenomenology) assign personally-filtered meanings to the data they collect (cf. Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995). In the context of case study, Stake (1995) distinguishes direct interpretation and categorical aggregation; the former involves drawing conclusions (assigning meanings) about a case based on one instance of a thing, while the latter involves doing so based on a collection of instances. Focusing too much on categorical aggregation can detract a researcher's attention from understanding a case's context-bound complexity (p. 77). Also, as mentioned above, Yin (2009) offers a design feature in multiple case study called "replication logic" that allows researchers to draw conclusions that dialogue with theory. This process includes selecting some cases that the researcher thinks will produce certain results and others that will produce contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons. If all turns out as predicted, the propositions with which the researcher entered into the study are supported.

In sum, Duff's (2008) list of attributes contains features that single out case study as a unique approach to qualitative research in addition to ones that situate it alongside other interpretive research methodologies. Its most defining feature, by far, is its focus on a well-defined case, or bounded unit (Merriam, 2009). It is this feature that should drive educational researchers working in the qualitative paradigm to elect case study over other qualitative methodologies, such ethnography, narrative research, or phenomenology.

Problems/limitations associated with case study. Like any research methodology or method, case study has limitations. As Merriam (2009) points out, choosing how to conduct research involves a process of matching a methodology to one's research problem/questions and determining whether the strengths of the chosen methodology outweigh its weaknesses. In the following paragraphs, I outline some of the problems and limitations associated with case study as they are reported in the literature.

Many consider case study's greatest limitation to be its weak or non-existent predictive value; that is, its lack of generalizability (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1998, 2000). Case study researchers, however, hold that much can be learned from deeply understanding an individual case and as such recognize that generalization is not a focus of case study (Stake, 2000). It may be the case that focusing on the particular sheds more light than one thinks on the incidence of phenomena across individuals and contexts. In her endeavor to dispel several misunderstandings about case study, for example, Flyvberg (2006) identifies cases as "black swans" (p. 224), stating that:

> One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement

> or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the force of example" is underestimated. (p. 228)

Rather than claiming that case study has nothing to offer us in the way of generalizability, it seems more productive to recognize that generalizability occurs in a different way for case study—indeed, for qualitative research generally—than it does for experimental research (i.e., via statistical tests). In this spirit, Guba and Lincoln (1981, cited in Patton, 2002) suggest that we think instead of transferability, which involves assessing the "fittingness" between the context in which findings are generated and another to which one wishes to apply them. For case study specifically, Stake (2000) offers the term naturalistic generalization, in which the reader lives vicariously through what he or she reads about a case. He writes, "When the researcher's narrative provides opportunity for vicarious experience, readers extend their memories for happenings. […] The reader comes to know some things told, as if he or she had experienced it." (p. 442). Thus, with case study, "it is the reader, not the researcher, who determines what can apply to his or her context" (Merriam, 2009, p. 51). Criticisms of case studies with low Ns therefore hold less weight given this alternative conceptualization of generalizability.

Another potential limitation to case study is reflected in the tension between depth versus breadth explained above. To review, Creswell (2007) states that the more cases one examines, the less in-depth one can go with each individual case. This tension is directly linked to the availability of resources, given that the thick description and extensive data collection involved in case studies is usually timely and costly (Merriam,

2009). Therefore, researchers interested in using case study may have to sacrifice looking at a variety of cases in order to do each individual case justice. Depending on a researcher's situation, limiting cases in this way might make procedures like Yin's (2009) replication logic difficult to realize.

A final, important limitation to highlight in case study research deals with the "sensitivity and integrity of the investigator" (Merriam, 2009, p. 52). This is a concern that pertains to qualitative research in a general sense; it is not limited to case study. In all of qualitative research, the research is the "primary instrument for data collection and analysis" (p. 15) and carries biases that may impact the research process at a variety of points, ranging from choosing which literature to review in framing the study to how to analyze data. Although some see this as a drawback, others see it as a boon; Peshkin (1988, cited in Merriam), for instance, lauds researcher subjectivity for the "distinctive contribution" (p. 18) it gives to interpreting events. The potential pitfalls of researcher bias in qualitative research are not to be lightly tossed off, however; as positive a contribution as one's subjectivities can make, they can also lead to ethical, possibly harmful problems, including misinterpretation. Qualitative researchers use triangulation (explained above) as a way of tempering this concern, in additions to statements of researcher bias/positionality (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

Another side of Merriam's position speaks to the level of rigor the researcher brings to the case study process. According to Yin (2009), case study research is often seen as "sloppy," which may be due to the fact that few manuals exist that outline systematic methods for conducting case study research. Thankfully, his volume—maybe

more so than any other's (e.g., Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009)—helps to fill this void by providing a wealth of practical advice for conducting rigorous case studies.

Research Procedure

Description of the site, part one: The teacher preparation program. The identity construction processes documented in this study unfolded in multiple contexts. In the present section, I describe the first of these contexts: the teacher preparation program.

This study was conducted at State University, a large, research-oriented institution located in the upper Midwest region of the United States. Each year, State prepares approximately 400 student teachers in initial licensure programs (ILPs) over a range of subject matters, including second language (ESL and foreign language) education. Following a post-baccalaureate model (Holmes Group, 1986), ILP students take graduate-level classes for 15 months; during two consecutive summers, they take most of their educational foundations courses (e.g., school in society), which flanks an academic year, during which they take their subject-specific seminar courses and complete student teaching placements. At the end of this calendar year, students exit the program one course short of a Master's in Education (M.Ed.) degree and are counseled to complete this remaining course after one year of professional teaching. The ILPs follow a cohort model (i.e., the students move through the same set of courses as a group), which generally cultivates a strong sense of group cohesion.

At the time of this study, the ILP at State was undergoing a redesign initiative, mirroring national trends in teacher education and licensure. Salient features of this redesign include the incorporation of the Teacher Performance Assessment into the

curriculum (SCALE, 2012), although scores on this assessment did not count toward licensure during this pilot year, and a push toward a co-teaching model of student teacher mentorship (Bacharach, Heck, & Dahlberg, 2010a, 2010b). There was also a push toward a school partnership model, which aimed at placing students in a small set of schools closely connected to the university.

Several characteristics render the second language ILP at State unique. First, the program prepares foreign language and ESL teachers together; in other words, teachers obtaining foreign language and ESL licensure take the same courses, including methods work. This approach to preparing second language teachers (i.e., putting everyone into the same "pot") has been described by scholars such as Bigelow and Tedick (2005), Martel (2012), and Tedick and Walker (1995), yet empirical data speaking to its effects/effectiveness have yet to be provided. During the year of data collection close to half of the students in this program sought ESL licensure alone, and almost all of the students seeking foreign language licensure also sought ESL licenses. No students sought single foreign language licenses.

Given that foreign language and ESL licensure in this program's state are conferred at the K–12 level, students seeking single licensure are required to complete two student teaching placements (one at the elementary level and one at the secondary level), while students seeking dual licensure are required to complete four placements. The placements generally occur in the following order: elementary ESL in the late fall, secondary foreign language or ESL in the winter, secondary ESL in the spring, and

elementary foreign language during a special three-week-long May term.[20] The first three placements last for seven weeks, with an alternation between mostly half and some full days. The May placement, however, consists entirely full days given its short duration.

Related to this half/full day alternation, State's second language ILP is also unique due to its coursework/student teaching balance: unlike students in many programs, students teachers at State take courses at the university at the same time as they complete their student teaching placements. In general, a seven-week placement involves three to four weeks of half-day placements with courses at the university in the afternoon (called the "half-time placement"), followed by two to three weeks of full-day placements with courses at the university suspended (called the "full-time placement"), capped by a week-long return to half-time placements. The May-term elementary foreign language placement is the only one to break this mold, consisting of three weeks of full days and no concurrent coursework at the university. It would seem that the back-and-forth movement between the university and student teaching placements renders the "two-worlds pitfall" (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985) more salient for student teachers in this program than if the student teaching placements came at the end of the program and did not run concurrently to coursework at the university. In other words, the student teachers toggled in and out of contexts that generally held different expectations for the role of foreign language and ESL teacher.

A final defining characteristic of State's second language ILP consists in its touting of a particular educational innovation: CBI. This increasingly discussed[21]

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[20] Most of the elementary foreign language placements are in immersion programs given the dearth of FLES programs in the metropolitan area.

approach to second language teaching (defined above in Chapter 2) not only appears in seminar course syllabi in the form of class readings and unit development expectations (e.g., Bigelow, Ranney, & Hebble, 2005; Tedick, 2003), but also figured in the program's general discourse as a curricular goal to be achieved in any second language context (i.e., foreign language and ESL alike). This tends to cause a considerable amount of tension amongst student teachers, for they feel that it is easier to implement CBI in certain contexts (e.g., ESL, immersion) more so than in others (e.g., foreign language).

Participation selection. Participant selection for this study occurred in two phases. The first phase involved an open call to State's 2011–2012 second language ILP cohort, while the second phase consisted of determining which volunteer(s) to study in-depth.

Phase one. After receiving IRB approval in November 2011 (see Appendix A), I contacted the coordinating professors of State's second language ILP to obtain approval to invite members of the cohort to participate in my study. Once permission was obtained, I sent an email to all of the student teachers who were obtaining foreign language licensure, including those obtaining dual ESL/foreign language licensure. In this email, I explained the study, attached a sample consent form, and informed potential participants of my intention to provide them with a $100 gift card for participating. Five student teachers responded to this call. While communicating with these volunteers over email, it surfaced that one of them was concerned about the time required to participate;

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[21] I consider CBI to be "increasingly discussed" in light of the growing numbers of immersion schools (which employ CBI) and CBI's inclusion in ACTFL/NCATE's program standards for teacher preparation (ACTFL, 2002).

given that four other student teachers had volunteered, we decided that she would not participate in the study.

Once the four volunteers were confirmed, I sought approval to collect data in the specific schools to which each of the volunteers were assigned for their winter secondary foreign language student teaching placements by seeking IRB approval (as needed) in corresponding districts. For three of these participants, I was successful, but for one, I was not. My volunteer core therefore settled at three student teachers: one in Spanish, one in French, and one in German. With this core in place, I obtained official informed consent from each participant using the consent form.

This sample constituted both a criterion and a convenience sample (Merriam, 2009; Mertens, 1998; Patton, 2002). Criterion sampling occurs when the researcher "set[s] up a criterion and then identif[ies] cases that meet that criterion" (Mertens, 1998, p. 263); convenience sampling, on the other hand, "means that the persons participating in the study were chosen because they were readily available" (p. 265). My sample of three was a criterion sample in that I intended to study the identity construction of student teachers in State's second language ILP thanks to its unique focus on CBI, and it was a convenience sample in that it was composed only of those student teachers who volunteered to participate. Furthermore, Mertens (1998) defines convenience sampling as "the least desirable sampling strategy" (p. 265), and Merriam (2009) notes that a "selection made on this basis alone is not very credible and is likely to produce

'information-poor' rather than information rich cases" (p. 79).[22] In light of these claims, I decided to engage in a second phase of sampling that was more purposeful in nature (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002).

Phase two. After obtaining informed consent from the three participants identified above, I followed each participant for a period of six months, collecting various forms of data (see below). As I collected these data, and as various themes began to emerge in them, I engaged in a second phase of purposeful sampling: critical case sampling (Mertens, 1998; Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002),

> Critical cases are those that can make a point quite dramatically or are, for some reason, particularly important in the scheme of things. […] Another clue to the existence of a critical case is a key information observation to the effect that 'if that group is having problems, then we can be sure all the groups are having problems.' (p. 236)

Anna the Spanish participant, stood out as a critical case for the following reasons:

- She frequently and vividly critiqued the program's agendas (e.g., implementing CBI) and their applicability to her student teaching placements throughout the duration of the program. In other words, she strikingly exemplified the theory-practice divide, or the "two-worlds pitfall" (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985).
- She was paired with a very traditional mentor teacher during her secondary foreign language student placement; one whose teaching was almost

[22] Mertens (1998) adds that convenience sampling is "probably the most commonly used" type of sampling (p. 265).

antithetical to the ILP's theses. Interestingly, this mentor teacher had gone through the same ILP and was aware of the ILP's preferred approaches/methods.

- She was frequently billed by the ILP's coordinating professors as well as by others (e.g., a summer course instructor) as the program "star." This led me to wonder, following Patton's (2002) words above, the following: If the program star cannot "break through" the student teaching placement and implement the ILP's innovations, who can? This compelling question sits at the heart of this study.

As a result of this second phase of sampling, the present study is an intrinsic case study (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009), for I took a special interest in Anna's case and decided to focus squarely on it.

Introducing Anna. Like many candidates who attend State's post-baccalaureate second language ILP, Anna's path to Spanish licensure was not linear. In other words, she did not attend an undergraduate foreign language licensure program directly out of high school. Rather, she accumulated a varied set of experiences that rendered her unique as a person and ultimately as a teacher, which is common among student teachers who attend post-baccalaureate licensure programs.

Anna is a white, middle class female who was 27 years old when she began her Spanish and ESL preparation program at State. As is the case for most American students, she began studying Spanish in high school in a traditional program (Watzke, 2003, cited in Watzke, 2007). She identified Spanish as one of the classes she liked and

stuck with it because it was challenging for her. She characterized her first teacher as grammar-oriented, favoring memorization; her second teacher as conversationally-oriented, incorporating several "turn to your partner" activities; and her third teacher as laid-back, bringing authentic songs into his class.

Anna did her undergraduate at State, where she pursued a B.S. in Marketing, in addition to taking Spanish coursework and studying abroad. She described her Spanish courses at State as having an enhanced audio focus alongside traditional-style work with grammar. While abroad in Salamanca, Spain, she took courses at the local university in Spanish language, business, and economics. She enjoyed studying abroad so much that she did a second sojourn abroad in Chile directly after completing her B.S., during which she completed an internship related to export and brand management for a small company.

Upon returning to the U.S., Anna took up a position as a strategy and operations consultant for three-and-a-half years in the city in which State is located. After this, she took nine months to travel, passing first through Chile and Argentina, and then through Guatemala, where she took one-one-one Spanish courses and taught English. Following this stint abroad, she sought a teacher's aide position in an elementary school in the state in which she grew up, in preparation for entering State's second language ILP, which required 100 hours of classroom observation prior to entry.

As these experiences demonstrate, Anna was passionate about travel. Her resume included an entry entitled "Independent World Traveler, 21 Countries on 5 Continents,"

under which she listed the following qualifications: “Developed cultural awareness and honed problem-solving, communication, negotiation, and planning skills.”

Description of the site, part two: The foreign language student teaching placements. Anna completed her foreign language student teaching placements in two different schools, which I describe in turn in the sections that follow.

The first foreign language placement: secondary level. Anna completed her secondary foreign language student teaching placement at Marshview High School during the winter of 2011. Marshview was located in a suburb and had a student population of approximately 1,500, ranging from grades 9 to 12. The World Languages Department at Marshview employed eight teachers and offered courses in Spanish, German, Latin, Japanese, and French. Anna was paired with Jackie, a Spanish teacher, who attended State’s second language ILP during the 2000–2001 academic year.

During her seven weeks at Marshview, Anna gradually took over teaching Jackie’s level three and level one Spanish classes. The level three classes (three sections) met consecutively during the morning periods, so Anna attended them from the beginning of her placement. She did not consistently attend the level one classes (two sections) until the full-time placement, for these classes took place in the afternoon. The level three classes were made up of predominately juniors, while the level one classes, mostly freshmen. Each class counted around 20 to 25 students, most of whom were of White, middle-class origin and for whom Spanish was a foreign (i.e., not heritage or first) language.

Both the level one and level three curricula were traditional[23] and textbook-based. With her level one students, Jackie used the textbook *¡Avancemos!, Level 1* (Gahala, Carlin, Heining-Boynton, Otheguy, & Rupert, 2010) and with her level three students, she predominately used *¡Avancemos!, Level 2* (Gahala, Carlin, Heining-Boynton, Otheguy, & Rupert, 2007).

During this placement, Anna's teaching was observed two times: once by Heidi and another by Kat, both of whom were graduate student university supervisors employed by the second language ILP at State. After Heidi's observation, Anna, Jackie, and Heidi sat down together for a post-observation conference. After Kat's observation, Anna and Kat debriefed over the phone.

The second foreign language placement: elementary level. Anna completed her elementary foreign language student teaching placement at Vista Dual Immersion School (a two-way immersion school), also located in a suburb. The school had a student population of approximately 350, ranging from grades K to 4. For this placement, Anna was paired with a kindergarten teacher named Alana, a native of Chile. Since this placement took place during May term, Anna was present for the full school day for three consecutive weeks.

As a dual (two-way) immersion school, Vista's student body comprised both native English speakers and native Spanish speakers (Christian, 2011). Out of the 23 students in Alana's class, Anna identified 11 as native English speakers, 8 as native Spanish speakers, and 4 as bilingual. Along with Alana, Anna spent almost the entire

[23] By traditional, I mean organized around a grammatical syllabus (cf. Martel, 2013) and language as object-focused (Tedick & Walker, 1994).

school day with the same group of children, teaching subjects such as basic literacy, numeracy, and elementary science. During the placement, Anna helped administer a school-based reading proficiency test to students and joined them in watching baby chickens hatch and grow in an incubator in the front of the classroom.

During this placement, Anna was assigned to Jennifer, another graduate student university supervisor employed by the second language ILP at State. Jennifer came to observe Anna formally two times, and conferenced with her briefly after both observations without Alana.

Data collection methods. Data were collected for this study between January 2012 and May 2012. As Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate, they were collected in a variety of ways. Each of these methods, including my rationale for using it, is described in detail in the sections below.

Table 1: Data collection methods and collection times during the secondary foreign language student teaching placement

Data collection method	**Number collected**	**Time of collection**
Interviews	3 (before, during, and after placement)	January to March, 2012
Observations of teaching	6	January to February, 2012
Documents	Numerous	Throughout the placement
Digital journal entries	19	January to March, 2012
Post-observation conference recordings	2	February, 2012

Table 2: Data collection methods and collection times during the elementary immersion student teaching placement

Data collection method	**Number collected**	**Time of collection**
Interviews	1 (after placement)	May, 2012
Observations of teaching	5	May, 2012
Documents	Numerous	Throughout the placement
Digital journal entries (*note that some entries were recorded before the placement actually started)	6	April to May, 2012
Post-observation conference recordings	None collected	Throughout the placement

Interviews. I conducted a total of four semi-structured interviews with Anna. Semi-structured interviews are ones in which

> …specific information is desired from all the respondents, in which case there is a more structured section to the interview. But the largest part of the interview is guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, and neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time. This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic. (Merriam, 2009, p. 90)

In other words, I entered into interviews with a pre-determined list of questions, yet felt free to alter their wording where necessary and to supplement them with additional questions that probed deeper into the participant's responses.

The four interviews were planned around the participant's student teaching placements. The first interview took place before her secondary foreign language placement; the second three weeks into this placement; the third right after this placement; and the fourth right after her elementary placement. Each interview had a slightly different focus, as follows:

- First interview: language learning experiences, thoughts about program so far, thoughts about CBI, initial perceptions of upcoming secondary student teaching placement
- Second interview: progress in the secondary foreign language placement, thoughts about identity construction in Spanish teacher role, relationships (e.g., with mentor, students, university supervisor)
- Third interview: wrap up of the secondary foreign language placement, further thoughts about identity construction in Spanish teacher role, thoughts about CBI
- Fourth interview: comparison of elementary and secondary foreign language placements, further thoughts on Spanish teacher role identity, further thoughts on CBI, looking ahead into career

Interviews took place either in a private classroom at State or in a local coffee shop. They ranged in duration from 46 minutes to one hour and 45 minutes, and were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Per IRB stipulations, I informed the participant at the

beginning of each interview that we could shut off the recorder at any time if she grew uncomfortable. Lists of interview questions can be found in Appendix B.

Observations. Izadinia (2012) points out an important gap in the research literature on student teacher identity development:

> Only a few studies drew upon observations of ST's classroom behavior and practices. In-depth studies of STs' teaching practices provide the chance for exploring how changes in their identity are translated into their teaching behavior and practices. More tangible results from the process of identity formation in STs will be obtained if researchers utilize observation as a data collection tool. (p. 17)

Although this seems not to be the case in the second language teacher identity literature specifically (Martel & Wang, under review), it highlights the importance that observations play in studying and theorizing teacher identity construction. This is especially the case when symbolic interactionism is employed as a theoretical framework, which seeks to explain the relationship between one's interpretations and actions. Furthermore, Merriam (2009) points out that observations complement interviews by allowing researchers to observe a phenomenon first-hand, whereas interviews provide second-hand accounts.

As Tables 1 and 2 indicate above, I conducted six observations of Anna's practice during her secondary foreign language student teaching placement and five during her elementary student teaching placement. In the secondary placement, observations lasted between two and three class periods (i.e., between two and three hours), and in the

elementary placement, between one-and-a-half and two hours. Observations took place predominately in mentor teachers' assigned classrooms. In line with this study's theoretical framework, which theorizes identity development as it unfolds in interaction with others, I focused on two principle features during interviews: the nature of interactions between the participant and other actors, such as her students and her mentor teachers, and the relationship between the participant's teaching practices and the identity positions she expressed (both directly and indirectly) during interviews and in her digital journal entries.

Documents. Following Merriam (2009), I also collected documents: "a ready-made source of data easily accessible to the imaginative and resourceful investigator" (p. 139). Documents differ from the forms of data described above in that they are not created expressly for research purposes (Merriam, 2009). Most of the documents I collected consisted of hand-outs distributed in class observations and teaching materials from these observations, such as PowerPoint presentations. I did at times collect other sorts of documents, however, such as emails and syllabi from courses that Anna took during her teacher preparation program.

Digital reflective journals. In her review of the student teacher identity literature, Izadinia (2012) found that "reflective practices such as reflection cycles/meetings, autobiographies, narratives and reflective portfolios were mainly used by researchers as data collection tools to document the development of STs' identity" (p. 13). She further states that these practices are "highly effective tools to study identity formation in STs and can clearly illustrate the process of identity formation in STs" (p. 13). Like the

studies included in Izadinia's review, the present study uses a reflective practice, and a unique one at that: digital reflective journals.

In order to capture changes in Anna's identity development over the course of her student teaching placements, I asked her to keep a journal of her experiences. This journal was unique in two ways. First, instead of keeping a written journal, I supplied her with a digital voice recorder and asked her to speak her reflections into the recorder. I figured that she would be more likely to do the journal orally, with the idea that it would be less work for her than having to write (an impression she confirmed later during interviews). Second, I gave Anna a set of prompts to guide her reflections that were developed in concert with the study's symbolic interactionist and teacher socialization frameworks. These prompts asked Anna to put herself into others' shoes by in order to reflect on her teaching, related to Cooley's (1902) and Mead's (1934) concepts of looking-glass self and role-taking, respectively; to reflect on what it meant to her to be a Spanish teacher, aiming to elicit her thoughts on Spanish teacher role expectations (Dolch, 2003) and her burgeoning role identity as a Spanish teacher (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stets, 2006; Vyran et al., 2003); and finally, to reflect on various influences on her Spanish teaching (e.g., her mentor teacher, the textbook). The exact prompts given to Anna can be found in Appendix C.

I asked Anna to record entries as they emerged organically in response to the prompts during her student teaching placements. I also asked her to aim for two to three entries per week if possible. In order to ensure proper capturing of these data files, I caught Anna once a week at the beginning of one of her classes at State, borrowed her

recorder, downloaded the files on to my computer, cleared the recorder of files, and returned it to her.

Post-observation conferences. A unique form of data collected for this study consisted of recordings of post-observation conferences. In State's ILP program, as with many other teacher preparation programs, it was the intention for the student teacher, mentor teacher, and university supervisor to sit down together after the university supervisors' official observations to discuss the lesson. Oftentimes, mentor teachers are not able to participate in this conference due to teaching responsibilities, but when they are, and all three parties are present, these conferences generally represent complicated, delicate discourse events fraught with issues of power (i.e., who should direct the conference, who possesses the "right" answer). The intricate nature of these conferences is well captured in the work of Slick (1997, 1998a, 1998b), who, citing the work of Yee (1969), characterizes groups of three as unstable.

As I did not want to insert my presence into an already complicated relational event, I asked Anna to digitally record the post-observation conferences in which she participated using the recorder I provided her with for her digital journal. As with interviews, I informed her that she could shut off the recorder at any time if she or anyone else grew uncomfortable.

Data management. As Tables 1 and 2 and the sections above demonstrate, a copious amount of data was collected for this study. I therefore decided that it would be best to organize the data using a web-based data management system called Dedoose. As all of the data listed in Tables 1 and 2 were transcribed, I uploaded them into Dedoose

and named/categorized them by type (interview, observation notes, etc.). Dedoose then allowed me to perform several operations that facilitated my data analysis, such as assigning codes and generating lists of excerpts associated with individual codes. It is important to note that I was the one who completed the data analysis, not the program; the program simply helped the analytical process proceed more smoothly and efficiently.

Data Analysis

According to Cresswell (2007), in qualitative research, "data collection, data analysis, and report writing are not distinct steps in the process—they are interrelated and often go on simultaneously in a research project" (p. 150). I therefore began data analysis as soon as collecting my first pieces of data, and it is arguable that it is still in process, even beyond the final, published version of this dissertation. Despite the dynamic nature of this analysis (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002), it is possible to outline three principal phases of analysis: memoing during data collection, initial read through, and contemplating. In the paragraphs that follow, I explain these phases in turn.

Phase one: memoing during data collection. As outlined in Tables 1 and 2 above, I collected multiple forms of data over the course of six months. As I collected these data, I wrote memos, which I stored in Dedoose. Cresswell (2007) defines memos as "short phrases, ideas, or key concepts that occur to the reader" (p. 151), and Saldaña (2009) considers them to be "somewhat comparable to research journal entries or blogs – a place to 'dump your brain' about the participants, phenomenon, or process under investigation by thinking and thus writing and thus thinking even more about them" (p. 32). In my case, memos took the form of short journal entries on specific topics,

containing reflections and questions for further pondering. I generally limited memos to one topic apiece, resulting in multiple memos on certain days. In short, these memos constituted a primary phase of data analysis in that included my first attempts at making sense of the ways in which the data spoke to my research questions.

Phase two: initial read-through of data. Once the data were collected in their entirety, I spent several weeks reading them, engaging in a process that Merriam (2009) calls "open coding." I assigned codes—that is, "notations next to bits of data that strike [the researcher] as potentially relevant for answering [her] research questions" (p. 178)—next to bits of meaning in my data (e.g., an assertion, an action) that I thought might be relevant to my research questions. Following Merriam, I was liberal in my coding, for fear of missing anything of importance. In hindsight, however, I feel that coding so liberally overwhelmed me, and in the future, I will code more "leanly" (Cresswell, 2007, p. 152), starting with a shorter list of codes and then expanding where necessary. Names for codes came from a variety of places, ranging from concepts in the literature, e.g., studentship (Graber, 1991), to participants' own words, known as "in-vivo" codes (Saldaña, 2009).

Through coding the data and reflecting on the ways in which codes related to each other, I was able to identify emerging themes. According to Merriam (2009), themes are the answers to one's research questions, and "the fewer the categories [i.e., themes], the greater the level of abstraction" (p. 187). It is important to note that my codes and emergent themes changed continually throughout this initial read-through as I thought more deeply about the data. During this period, I continued to read further into the

research literature related to my study, which provided me with additional concepts to use as analytical lenses. I also continued to memo, using these reflective entries as places for refining my thinking about codes and emerging themes.

Phase three: contemplating. The third phase of data analysis consisted of contemplating—that is, rereading and further reflecting on my data, codes, and emerging themes. Lasting for several months, this process led me to frequently rethink codes and reorganize emerging themes; as a result, the themes included in the final version of this dissertation look quite different from the ones that emerged early on in the project, as I collected my first pieces of data. It is this final phase of data analysis that most fully reflects Creswell's (2007) characterization of qualitative data analysis as a "spiraling" process that unfolds not monolithically, but in conjunction with other steps in the research endeavor. As with the first two phases of analysis, I continued to memo during this third phase.

Triangulation. To ensure the credibility of the claims I made as a result of the analyses described above, I incorporated triangulation into my study (Mathison, 1988; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995, 2000; Yin, 2009). Specifically, I employed data triangulation, which "refers simply to using several data sources" (Mathison, 1988, p. 14). I therefore collected data in a variety of forms, as outlined above, capitalizing on the fact that each method portrayed Anna's identity development in a slightly different, yet complementary fashion, e.g., interviews as second-hand accounts and observations as first-hand accounts (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, as I codified my emerging themes,

primarily in the third phase of analysis, I strove where possible to include data from as many data sources as possible under each theme.

Reflexivity/positionality. According to Merriam (2009, citing Maxwell, 2005), researchers ought to state biases and assumptions they hold related to their research—this in an effort to expose ways in which these biases and assumptions shape how their research is conceptualized, carried out, and interpreted. In the spirit of openness, I do just so in the present section, so that readers of this research might scrutinize the conclusions I draw in this study with a critical eye.

My varied experiences as a French teacher and teacher educator have led me to become an advocate of content and language integration (CLI), which encompasses CBI (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Lyster, 2007, 2011; Martel, 2013; Met, 1991, 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Snow, 1998; Stryker & Leaver, 1997; Tedick & Cammarata, 2010). As a secondary French teacher, I craved thought-provoking content as a way of making my classes more intellectual, in line with other courses that students take in school such as world history or literature.[24] I wanted my students think as deeply in my French classes as in their other subjects, while using the target language as a vehicle for expressing their thoughts rather than viewing it as an object of study (Tedick & Walker, 1994). By connecting with writings by the scholars listed just above during my doctoral studies, I acquired a vocabulary in which to ground and with which to express these thoughts. As a university supervisor and teacher educator, I have

[24] I fully realize that it is easy to idealize the thought-value of these other courses just because they contain academic content. In reality, it seems that much of the intellectual heft of any course depends on teachers' practices and/or the nature of the curriculum more so than on the actual content.

consistently sung CLI's praises to pre- and inservice teachers, not solely because it aligns with my beliefs, but also because it represents the "party line" in the department in which I work. In other words, I have frequently encouraged aspiring and practicing teachers to develop curriculum and teaching practices that reflect the principles of CLI. It would be thus fair to say that I have grown biased towards CLI and that I assume that CLI is a more effective form of language teaching than decontextualized grammar teaching (Martel, 2013; Richards & Rodgers, 2001).

It is also important to mention in this section that I knew Anna before inviting her to be a research participant, for as Talmy (2010) notes, relationships between researchers and participants influence the nature of interview data. I served as one of the four university supervisors in State's second language ILP for Anna's first semester and, as such, I interacted with her on a weekly basis during "base group" meetings (three-hour-long sessions designed to provide a space in which student teachers could freely talk about challenges related to their student teaching). Our personal interactions were relatively infrequent, however; I recall only one face-to-face conversation between us during that time. I was not assigned to observe her teaching and did not participate in assigning her a grade for base group. By the time data collection for this study began, I had concluded my work as a university supervisor and ceased interactions with her during base group.

It is thus quite possible that my biases and assumptions surrounding CLI swayed me to interpret my data in line with CLI and that my previous relationship with Anna led

to her telling me during the study what she thought I wanted to hear as a program representative. In order to counterbalance these effects, I took the following measures:

- I constantly reminded myself while asking probing questions during interviews and observations and while analyzing data that it is easy (and unreasonable) for me to think of CLI as a panacea in foreign language teaching.
- I frequently reminded the participant that I occupied the role of researcher and not the role of university supervisor, assuring her that there was no specific answer I wanted to hear.
- I collected data from a large variety of sources in order to triangulate my interpretations (Mathison, 1988; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995, 2000; Yin, 2009).

Although the biases, assumptions, and relationships described above pose challenges for this study, it is worth noting that they also have positive effects (Peshkin, 1988, cited in Merriam, 2009). My teaching experience and the hundreds of foreign language classroom observations I conducted as a university supervisor have given me insights into what it means to teach foreign languages in traditional settings and into the tension that teachers/student teachers feel when trying to implement CLI in those settings. These insights have lead to a richer study in that they helped me to connect with the participant, to develop astute questions to ask her during interviews, and to decide where to direct my attention during observations.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

In the present chapter, I outline the findings generated from my analysis of Anna's Spanish teacher role identity construction processes. There are two main sections, representing two overarching themes. In the first section, I discuss Anna's interpretations of two designated identity positions that are suggested by both her teacher preparation program and her secondary student teaching placement (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). I have labeled these positions (a) provider of target language input and (b) enactor of a particular approach to foreign language teaching. I also discuss Anna's synthesis of these identity positions (Schempp & Graber, 1992); that is, the ways in which she took on, modified, or rejected them. In the second section, I outline several factors associated with the weakening of her role identity as a Spanish teacher, including her discomfort with her language proficiency, her lack of connection with students, the limited stock she seemed to place in classroom-based Spanish learning, and her inability to validate her role identity as a Spanish teacher during her student teaching experiences.

Processing Designated Identities

Over the course of her preparation program, Anna interacted with a variety of significant others, including (but not limited to) mentor teachers, university supervisors, students, and classmates. Within the context of these interactions, both fleeting and prolonged, she did identity work while engaged in the process of role taking (Blumer, 1969; Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 1980). In other words, she negotiated role expectations and ultimately identity positions by putting herself in others' shoes and judging herself from those vantage points.

In order to further theorize these experiences, I evoke Sfard and Prusak's (2005) concept of designated identities. To reiterate, designated identities consist of "narratives presenting a state of affairs which, for one reason or another, is *expected* to be the case, if not now then in the future (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 18, emphasis in original). In the sections that follow, I outline the principal designated identities that Anna processed during her preparation program and during her student teaching placements: (a) provider of target language input and (b) enactor of a particular approach to foreign language teaching. I also outline the ways in which Anna demonstrated agency in her identity negotiation, evaluating the messages she received and deciding what to take into her own self-concept. To do this, I call upon the concept of synthesis from the Hegelian dialectic (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

Provider of target language input. One of the many expectations of a foreign language teacher is to provide students with target language input, given that input (in Anna's case, Spanish) is a necessary, yet insufficient condition for language learning (Gass & Mackey, 2007; Krashen, 1982; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Van Patten, 2002). Throughout her program, Anna received conflicting messages concerning the amount of Spanish she should use in her teaching.[25] I consider these messages to represent designated identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005): that is, visions of what it means to be a Spanish teacher suggested to Anna by the various significant others with whom she interacted during her teacher preparation experience. I organize these messages by the contexts from which they emanated, namely Anna's preparation

[25] Note that Spanish was the second language and English the native language for the majority of her students in her secondary Spanish placement.

program and her secondary Spanish student teaching placement. I conclude with her personal synthesis of these designated identity positions (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

The program: 90% target language user. Anna's perception of the amount of Spanish her program wanted her to use surfaced during one of our interviews:

> So that was a big change to me to kind of realize that my perception of what this job would be was kind of turned on its head. I think that that perception started to change this summer. The only Spanish teachers I had ever worked with prior to starting this program, and in fact even still, speak a lot of English in their classes.
>
> I guess I didn't realize, I mean, I think in the back of my mind I knew, if you're going to be a Spanish teacher, you should expect to be speaking some Spanish in your classes. I didn't really think that I would be speaking nothing but Spanish and I think that the expectation set for language teachers is that you speak predominantly in the foreign language. So that was a big realization to come to this summer like, oh, I'm not going to be up there just speaking 30% in the language and the rest in English. It has to be more like 90% the language. So that was something, I don't know, maybe that changed. So I guess, for me, that was a big change that happened before I even started this placement. [INT #4, 5/8/12][26]

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[26] Interview codes are as follows: INT #1, 1/16/12 for the interview before secondary Spanish placement; INT #2, 2/12/12 for the interview during secondary Spanish placement; INT #3, 3/5/12 for the interview after secondary Spanish placement; and INT #4, 5/8/12 for the interview after immersion placement. Digital journal codes represent time of collection, which roughly corresponds with the weeks of the secondary Spanish placement. Therefore, DJ #1 includes journal entries from the first week of the

In this excerpt, Anna expressed a change in her thinking about target language use related to starting her preparation program. Before she began the program, she observed teachers who used a high percentage of English in their teaching, and thanks to the program, she came to believe in the importance of using a higher percentage of Spanish. She also acknowledged space for some native language use in saying that she did not see herself using Spanish 100% of the time. Significantly, she identified 90% Spanish use as a pedagogical aspiration.

Anna was most likely exposed to the 90% position during her second language acquisition course at the beginning of her preparation program. It is important to note, however, that this position does not *belong* to her program; rather, it forms part of the professional discourse surrounding first and second language use, supported by organizations/initiatives like ACTFL (2010), SCALE (2012), the TELL Project (n.d.). This is evident in her positioning of a high percentage of target language use as an expert opinion while describing how she would justify her language choices to her students:

> I understand these [expectations] may not completely align with what you've been used to experiencing here in your Spanish class, but I would ask you to just go along with it and here's why. *This is the research behind it and this is why my program is asking that we do this*. [INT #4, 5/8/12, emphasis added.]

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placement, DJ #2 for the second week of the placement, etc.. DJ #7, however, refers to all digital journal entries collected in between the secondary and immersion placements and during the immersion placements. Field note codes are simply accompanied by the date they were taken.

Here, she evoked research and her preparation program's position in order to legitimize her preference for a high percentage of Spanish use in the eyes of her students.

The placement: Limited target language user. Anna's secondary Spanish placement asked a very different identity of her as a target language user than her preparation program. This is perhaps best summed up by data from a survey she gave to her students (n = 75) at the end of her secondary placement:

> Do you have any general recommendations on how I can improve my teaching?
>
> - Use more English (50)
> - Say "bueno" less often (6)

These data demonstrate that Anna's students generally wanted her to use much less than the 90% supported by professional opinion and that she herself wanted to use. This expectation echoes the experiences of Jason, a student teacher in Bateman's (2008) study, who "found it hard to speak 100% of the time because of so many complaints from the students" (p. 25). It also lies in contrast with Lindsay's (another participant) experience, who "felt that speaking Spanish to her students increased her credibility as a teacher" (p. 16).

Anna observed a limited amount of Spanish from her mentor teacher, Jackie, estimating somewhere between 25 and 40%. These percentages give a sense of the linguistic landscape into which Anna entered as a student teacher, reflecting not only her mentor teacher's habitual practice, but also her students' expectations of their teachers.

These expectations were well exemplified by the shock Anna noticed on the faces of her Spanish 3 students when she used 95% Spanish at the very beginning of the placement.

Similar to these findings, Bateman (2008) observed that seven of the 10 student teachers he studied had difficulty using the target language because their mentor teachers used so much English. In contrast, he also found that mentor teacher English did not fully impede high target language use. Ashley, one of his participants, used English very infrequently even though her mentor teacher used it predominately in his teaching. Burke (2006) also found that the communicatively-inclined student teachers in her study used "immersion" even when their mentor teachers did not, yet she fails to explicitly explain what she means by immersion.

Before the placement officially began, Anna observed a few of Jackie's lessons and hypothesized the following about her limited use of Spanish:

> I think Jackie is probably more proficient in Spanish than I am […], so it must be kind of a decision on her part that she doesn't feel like they're ready to be hearing that much Spanish rather than a concern that she's not capable of delivering the Spanish. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna associates Jackie's credibility as a language teacher with her language proficiency, highlighting her professional judgment. In terms of a socializing force, I would consider this to be a powerful one, for Anna sees Jackie's language use as an intentional practice rather than one that is haphazard, lazy, or related to difficulties with the language.

Synthesis: 80% target language user. Anna exhibited agency in that she did not take on the designated identities suggested by her program (90% target language user) or by her placement (limited target language user) exactly as they were communicated. In other words, she was not fully socialized into the culture that characterized either context. Rather, she actively processed how she wanted to see herself as a target language user. In Hegelian terms, this was her synthesis (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

Like all 10 of the participants in Bateman's (2008) study, who "expressed the belief that it is both desirable and necessary for teachers to maximize their use of the target language input in order to provide optimal input for language learning" (p. 16), it was clear that Anna wanted to use a high percentage of Spanish in her teaching. Before starting her secondary Spanish placement, she stated, "I don't want to be the Spanish teacher that only talks in English" [INT #1, 1/16/12]. During the immersion placement, she was inspired by the Spanish-only environment, and stated, "…I think I am more convinced than ever that its possible to teach in the target language" [DJ #7]. She thus seemed to assign positive value to having a high percentage of TL in the classroom and saw this as a feasible goal.

Anna's synthesis in regards to using Spanish manifested itself in her arrival at 80% as a goal for Spanish use, which surfaced both in the middle of her placement and at the end of the program. In the middle of the placement, she said:

> Well, I mean, the first message that I got was kind of, and this is going to sound really negative, in my first four or five classes that I observed, Spanish was probably only spoken 30% or 40% of the time. So I guess, I

> don't know, that kind of says that you don't have to speak Spanish to be a Spanish teacher, necessarily, or you don't have to provide a lot of input to your students. That is one thing, I think, I have taken from State that I plan to stick with. I'm still trying to figure out, I take over the Spanish 1 [classes] the first time next week, and they are so unaccustomed to hearing any Spanish. I don't know how much Spanish I can use with them. But with the Level 3s, I kind of went in and decided they're at a point where they need to be hearing it more and that's something, I think, as a Spanish teacher, I want to do. I want to try and provide them with at least 80–90% Spanish in the classroom. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

Here, Anna recognized that she was contending with a culture that favored a limited amount of target language use and that this was incongruous with her vision of Spanish teaching. Similar to the participants in Bateman (2008), she also noted that the amount of Spanish use may vary by level; five of Bateman's participants "pointed out that it was more difficult for them to use the target language with beginning students than with more advanced students" (p. 21). She finished by pronouncing 80–90% as an acceptable range for her Spanish 3 students. I see this range as indicative of her active processing of what is possible.

At the end of her program, Anna stated the following, referencing the survey she gave to her students:

> I think what I said, the biggest feedback that I got was that I used too much Spanish, that I needed to have used more English. So I think that's

> another expectation that I would set. "Listen, this class is going to be taught like 80% in Spanish and you're going to need to let me know if there are things that you don't understand and I will slow it down and I will find ways of adding more gestures and I will find ways of adding more pictures and I will help you comprehend in Spanish, but the expectation is that you need to be learning in Spanish. That's how you're going to learn the language." [INT #4, 5/8/12]

It is significant that Anna identified 80%[27] in this excerpt, rather than giving a range of 80–90%. Where in the previous excerpt, she was still processing what type of percentage she would want to target, here she seems more firmly set on 80%—a high percentage of Spanish, to be sure, but not the 90% recommended by the professional community (see above). This seems to be her original take on what she feels is possible in Spanish classrooms, which corresponds with the profession's call for a high amount of Spanish use as well as with her desire to be "less of a stickler for speaking Spanish in the future" [INT #3, 3/5/12].

Anna's expression of 80% target language use was complemented by goals for rendering her Spanish comprehensible to students (this, in contrast to Bateman's [2008] participants, who seemed to lack convincing strategies for doing so). She did not intend to use a high percentage of Spanish and simply hope her students would follow; instead, she knew she needed to provide them with certain scaffolds. First, Anna expressed a desire to justify her language choices to her students:

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[27] One of Bateman's (2008) participants, Samuel, also identified 80% as a goal for target language use in a postquestionnaire. Other participants' post-questionnaire goals ranged between 50 and 90%.

> …but I think I'm also going to do a better job of explaining to students why it is that I'm speaking Spanish in a Spanish class. I kind of came in and set in the tone for them to speak a lot of Spanish without explaining that I'm doing this for your own benefit, to help you learn Spanish, because research has shown that language is acquired through input and providing you with the input that you need to be able to acquire the language. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

This desire aligns with Bateman (2008), who calls upon teacher educators to "discuss with their students their rationale for conducting class in the target language and the benefits in terms of language learning" (p. 26).

> Second, she would aim to make her Spanish more comprehensible:
> So maybe that was another lesson learned that if I'm going to try and speak in more Spanish, I need to do more to make it comprehensible. I think, earlier on, I was more conscious of using body language and making sure I had pictures to scaffold a lot of what I was talking about and I think some of those supports kind of fell away towards the latter end of the placement. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

As the excerpt shows, Anna employed strategies to make her Spanish more accessible toward the beginning of the placement, yet with less frequency as the placement went on. She stated that she used less Spanish in general over the course of the placement (as did participants in Bateman [2008] and Luebbers [2010]), so it is quite possible that her reduced strategy use corresponded with her increased English use.

Finally, Anna made it clear that her students would also be responsible for letting her know when they did not understand her Spanish. This is expressed in the extract above: "Listen, this class is going to be taught like 80% in Spanish and you're going to need to let me know if there are things that you don't understand…" [INT #4, 5/8/12].

Enactor of a particular approach to foreign language teaching. Another facet of a foreign language teacher's role consists of deciding on an approach or pedagogical style to enact in the classroom. Over the past century, foreign language teaching has been characterized by a potpourri of approaches and methods that have gone in and out of fashion, including grammar-translation, the direct approach, and communicative language teaching, to name a few (Bateman, 2008; Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Currently, many foreign language teachers teach closely to their textbooks, claiming to subscribe to the communicative approach while remaining heavily focused on grammar (ACTFL, 2011; Burke, 2006, 2011; Cammarata, 2009; Martel, 2013).

Throughout her program, Anna received a multitude of messages concerning the approaches/pedagogies she should enact in the Spanish classroom. Again, I organize these messages by the contexts from which they emanated, each representing a designated identity or set of designated identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005), and conclude with her own personal synthesis of these messages/suggested identity positions.

The program: CBI practitioner, constructivist practitioner, and authentic texts user. Anna's program suggested many designated identity positions to her. I organize them into individual sections below.

CBI practitioner. As expressed in Chapters 1 and 3, Anna's preparation program was unique in that it emphasized CBI. Not surprisingly, she recognized this expectation: in response to a lesson she designed for an official observation from one of her university supervisors, Heidi, she remarked, "I think it was the style of teaching that she [Heidi] likes to see, so even though maybe it wasn't executed perfectly I think she was excited by the promise of it and the content that I brought in" [INT #2, 2/12/12].

Anna reported push-back about CBI in the program from students. Despite this, she noted that Heidi remained an advocate:

> We've had a lot of push-back in our program about content-based instruction and whether or not it's valuable, and I think she's someone that always goes to that and says, 'We should really have those expectations for our students. They shouldn't just be learning grammar. We should be finding a way to make language a way in which they can learn other content that's interesting, that's maybe more motivating.' She's always kind of like, 'At least get them to try. At least test it out.' [INT #2, 2/12/12]

In this excerpt, Anna characterized Heidi as someone who asked her charges to persevere with CBI despite push-back in student teaching placements, highlighting its motivational value. Push-back from the students of the sort mentioned above is not surprising, however, for CBI is generally incongruous with the pedagogies one tends to see in traditional foreign language programs. This is highlighted in Cammarata's (2009, 2010) studies of traditional foreign language teachers planning CBI units, in which teachers

expressed fear of losing control of their students (from a classroom-management perspective) and of losing face with their colleagues if they were to implement CBI. Suffice it to say, CBI is generally not practiced in traditional foreign language spheres.

When probed about if/how she enacted CBI in her secondary Spanish placement, Anna came to the realization that what she though was CBI was probably contextualized language instruction and not truly CBI:

> I don't know and this is where, like I said, I struggled in my secondary language context to figure out on a regular basis what my content objectives are. I think it was more contextualized language instruction than true content-based instruction and so, like with the environmental piece, I had students read, well like we read through as a class a list of, I don't know, six environmental problems or something like that and then students had to go choose what they thought was the biggest problem and then they were basically, in groups of four, working on that. Within their group, they had to come up with a persuasive argument as to why they thought that was the worst problem and what they thought were some potential solutions to the problem and then we kind of presented those in class and what else did we do? That was where I had the song where students had to listen to the song and kind of interpret the song and answer some questions related to the song. We had, oh, the song was called 'El Fin del Mundo,' 'The End of the World.'

So after that, I had the students kind of write their own predictions about if the world would end and how that would happen using the future tense, trying to practice some of the grammatical structures and use more vocab terms, but again, I didn't really feel like I was teaching content so much as just providing a better context for the language learning within the theme of environment. I didn't feel like I was teaching them, 'Oh, these are the recycling rules' and you know, like it didn't, yeah, I just didn't feel like there was that teaching going on, like 'Today you should be able to explain that these are ten ways that plastic damages the environment.' Then the other big unit that I did was a careers unit and so with that, I kind of thought it would be more engaging if we had the students kind of look at it from their own perspective as soon to be workers in the career world. So I had them all kind of, I don't know, that one didn't work out quite as well as I wanted. It was a little more scattered than I had hoped. We started out by watching some, or no, excuse me, I had a quote from a guy who runs a labor market website similar to like Monster.com in Latin America who had said like the three most important things upon selecting a career are your interests, your abilities, and the opportunities in the labor market basically.

So I had them break into groups again and to assess to what extent they agreed with that quote and then decide what they thought were the three most important things to consider when selecting a career and then

again, we kind of went around and talked about that. Then we watched a couple short videos about the labor market situations in a couple different Latin American countries, so they could kind of get a feel for the fact that labor markets aren't created equally in the world over. There are different opportunities in different places, depending on kind of what the local economy is like. Then we read an article that talked about some potential future professions like 20, 30 years into the future, these might be actual professions that people could have and kind of talked about how appealing might some of these be for you? Would you consider working in any of these?

Then they had to each write about how they envision their future profession. Would they have to go to school? For how much time? What would they study? Who would they work with? How much would they make? Again, that was using the future tense, which probably isn't as perfect as the conditional. [Laugh] Then they went into the language lab and they had to kind of interview each other without having their paper present. So they had to know what they had written about and be able to speak on it, but not have that as the handicap or, excuse me, as a crutch, whatever. [Laugh] They were handicapped. [Laugh] So again, I think it was providing context. I don't think, okay, so yeah, maybe they learned that these are 15 possible careers of the future. Maybe they learned, oh, in Ecuador, these three jobs or careers are in high demand whereas those

> three careers in Chile are on their way out, but it didn't really feel like content-based instruction in the same way that I feel like I'm experiencing now or that I experienced in my ESL placements. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

In this extended excerpt, Anna described several activities that she ultimately considered to be more contentextualized than content-based. I agree with this characterization, since her descriptions foreground grammatical forms (e.g., the future tense) and do not demonstrate evidence of accountability for content learning. In fact, Anna positions any content learning as incidental: "*maybe* they learned that these are 15 possible careers of the future" [emphasis added]. As such, I would place Anna's lesson on the "language-driven" end of Met's (1998, 1999a, 1999b) continuum of CBI programs. According to Met, language-driven programs contain "language classes with frequent use of content for language practice" (p. 41). Although some may consider this type of teaching to be CBI, I agree with Anna that it was not, for the true focus of her lesson was on learning language forms.[28]

Constructivist practitioner. Another program expectation that Anna perceived involved constructivist teaching. She cited her technology course, and more emphatically, Heidi, as sources of this message. Anna had not had Heidi as a supervisor prior to her secondary Spanish placement, and "word on the street" was that she wanted to see constructivist lessons: "Today I'm going to be observed for the first time by Heidi and in

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[28] Tedick (personal communication) argues that the language driven end of Met's (1998, 1999a, 1999b) continuum does indeed constitute CBI. Furthermore, she considers "such types of entries into CBI important because they give teachers practice with taking on CBI – so much so that they may end up liking it well enough to venture into doing something more robust."

talking with some girls from the cohort last night, I was told that she really expects this to have constructivist lesson plans, student-centered learning…" [DJ #3].

This message launched Anna into somewhat of a tizzy; she stayed up all night before her observation changing her lesson to make it more constructivist. She explained the what she came up with like so:

> I am having my students read an authentic Spanish song. They'll also be listening to it and initially my intent was just to have them find some vocab words that they recognize, because it covers a lot of environmental vocab, which we've been touching on in class, and to find future tense verb forms, because that's a grammatical feature that we've been working on. I just kind of realized last night that that's maybe not the big picture of the text, but it's a long text. It's beyond most of my kid's reading abilities, certainly their listening comprehension abilities, if they weren't to have the lyrics in front of them, and so I really struggled with figuring out how I could make this into any sort of a constructivist comprehension task.
>
> So I'm going in today with six questions in English that I expect, or hope, the different groups will be able to answer. In order to try to scaffold them to help them be able to answer those questions, I have highlighted the parts of the text that relate to the question. So the students can be, at least, more focused in terms of where they're looking to find their answers. But I still don't know if that's enough. I still don't know how much they're going to be able to recognize the cognates, skip over the

> words that they don't know, but that aren't necessarily critical to meaning, or figure out which ones they do need to take the time to look up in a dictionary.
>
> The fact that I'm trying to do this in sort of a jigsaw manner means that I'm not necessarily going to be able to be helping all of them throughout every stretch of the way. So this, I don't know, constructivist style, I'll figure out how well this works for me today. I guess I'm a little apprehensive about it, especially because it is going to require my kids to use English to talk about this. Up until now, I've really been trying to stick to mostly a Spanish classroom. I don't know. [DJ #3]

In order to render this lesson constructivist, Anna avoided asking students to identify discrete vocabulary words and grammatical points and instead asked them to work in groups to answer questions based on the song's message. She incorporated scaffolds to help the students manage this task, which she expected would be difficult for them. Ultimately, when she gave the lesson, Heidi was very pleased, but Anna felt that it fell flat with the students.

This episode elicited two principal reactions from Anna. First, the sheer amount of time she spent planning the lesson compelled her to call constructivism into question: "I guess I do kind of question the constructivist technique if it takes hours upon hours to plan a single lesson for one group of students" [DJ #3].

Second, Anna admitted to teaching in a way that satisfied an expectation but that did not necessarily reflect the type of teaching she saw herself doing in the future. While reflecting on this lesson, she said:

> I feel like sometimes there's an expectation to be, I don't know, I feel like sometimes in this program, I'm being a different teacher than I know I'm going to be when I graduate the program, because I have to be. To pull the good grades, I have to show that I can demonstrate what we're learning in class, even if, like Heidi loved the lesson, but my kids didn't. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

Here, Anna described a situation referred to in the teacher socialization literature as "studentship" (Graber, 1991). Studentship involves complying with a socializing force in a way that outwardly reflects socialization but that does not have an inward effect. In putting together the constructivist lesson above, Anna complied with her preparation program's demands; this compliance, however, did not lead to a change in her belief system pertaining to what she considers to be effective, resulting in a lack of socialization into the culture of teaching projected by State.

Related to the program's constructivist expectation was Anna's perception of an expectation for implicit grammar teaching (Burke, 2006). According to Anna:

> Anna: I feel like there's kind of this big thing against explicit grammar instruction at the moment.
>
> Jason: Where's that message coming from, when you say that thing against explicit grammar?

> Anna: I think we're getting that in our grammar classes and we're getting that in seminar, that it's like learning should be more interactive, more constructivist, more communication-focused, more I guess going into Long's Interaction Hypothesis; there's supposed to be more output, it's not just supposed to be input. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna attributed the "explicit grammar teaching is bad" message not only to classes she took at State, but also to the research literature she read in those classes. By explicit grammar teaching, she meant teaching in a metalinguistic, rule-based fashion, and by implicit teaching, she meant creating activities that require students to piece rules together themselves in an inductive, constructivist fashion. Burke (2006) found a similar distinction in her study: communicative teachers taught grammar implicitly, while grammar-translation and hybrid (i.e., some features of communicative and some of grammar-translation) taught grammar in an explicit fashion.

Anna struggled with the balance between implicit and explicit grammar teaching throughout her secondary Spanish placement. When doing an implicit activity related to the future tense using newspaper headlines, she found that although there were some students who understood the rule she was targeting, there was also a group of students who remained completely lost. This led her to remain unconvinced that implicit grammar teaching was more effective than explicit teaching. Above all, she yearned for examples of best practice:

> Again, we had to do this reading for our upcoming technology class and it was all about constructivist teaching, but you go through the examples and

> all the examples are for science and math and social studies. It's like, there are never any language examples, so how am I supposed to understand? How do you apply this to language? I haven't lived it, so I can't conceptualize it through that. I need these examples and they always seem to be lacking. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, Anna lamented the absence of examples that would have possibly helped her better enact constructivist activities in her student teaching placement.

Authentic texts user. A further message Anna received from her program involved the use of authentic texts (Gilmore, 2007). In Burke's (2006) study, communicative teachers used authentic texts in order to teach students about different cultures and to promote communication in the target language. Anna's reflections on authentic text use were frequently accompanied by the phrase "modify the task, not the text" [DJ #5], which she attributed to one of her course textbooks. In general, Anna found it difficult to use authentic texts because they were too far beyond her students' proficiency levels. She expressed her frustrations with authentic texts like so:

> So the problem that I'm confronting and that I think I confront all the time when I try to incorporate authentic resources, our book tells us to modify the task, not the text, but I don't know how to effectively do that. I am working with texts that are so far beyond the level of my students that I don't know how to make them comprehensible. I don't know how to give them meaningful tasks that don't just involve 'find this verb tense,' 'find these vocab words,' 'find instances of articles that are demonstrative.' I

> don't know how to make meaning out of these authentic texts for my students because they are not at the level where they need to be to be able to understand them and I don't know how to effectively provide that scaffolding. [DJ #5]

In this excerpt, Anna acknowledged that her difficulty using authentic texts may lie with her lack of knowledge about how to make them accessible to her students. Later in this journal entry, she said that she did not feel like the program had taught her effective strategies for doing so. The techniques she mentioned knowing, such as 'find this verb tense,' reflect activities that are characteristic of authentic text consumption in traditional foreign language spheres, which are different from the ways State wanted her to use authentic texts with her students.

Anna's use of authentic texts in her TPA lesson can be seen as another example of studentship (Graber, 1991), for she included them "thinking that this is what they want" [DJ #5]. She reflected on giving the lesson in class like so:

> It was, without a doubt, the biggest failure of a lesson that I've ever taught. I guess I think, if I'm putting myself in the shoes of my instructors at State, I guess I don't know really what they would think about it, because I felt like it was designed with the principles that we've been taught at State in mind, but where I really missed the boat was the fact that it was way beyond my students' level. [DJ #5]

Here, Anna highlighted the difference between what her lesson looked like on paper and how it actually panned out in practice. In terms of socializations, it is significant that she

received an A on the TPA, yet the lesson flopped. I would argue that the visceral flopping experience would be a stronger socialization experience related to Anna's identity construction as a Spanish teacher than the grade she received on the assignment.

The placement: grammar teacher, vocabulary teacher, games user, and easy teacher. Like her program, Anna's placement suggested many designated identity positions to her. When reflecting on the approach to Spanish teaching to which she was exposed in her secondary placement, she frequently referred to grammar, vocabulary, and games:

> Well, I find that the traditional setting was very much how I learned a language. It's very grammar-focused. It's very much vocabulary-focused. It was a lot of games. It's like Spanish is the fun class that people want to take because it's generally kind of easy as long as you can memorize things well. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

This underlying structure was apparent in her characterization of the textbook:

> Okay, so with my secondary Spanish placement, we had to follow the textbook from the standpoint that we had to cover off on the vocabulary that was included in each of the units and we had to cover off on each of the grammatical structures that were included in each of the units. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

It is common in traditional foreign language spheres for the textbook to serve as the *de facto* curriculum (Ariew, 1982; Martel, 2013; Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). Anna acknowledged this: "I haven't really seen a Spanish curriculum that didn't sort of follow

a textbook series, x, y, z grammar features to tick the box on" [INT #4, 5/8/12]. Although the textbook served as the curricular organizer in her placement, she did have the liberty to deviate: "I did not have to follow all the activities in the textbook [INT #4, 5/8/12]. This was evidenced by the lessons described above in which she incorporated principles she learned at State, such as constructivist learning theory.

In the sections that follow, I attend to each of the designated identity categories Anna mentioned above in turn, in addition to one that was not mentioned: ease.

Grammar teacher. In terms of grammar, Anna felt that the focus on decontextualized grammar came at the expense of actually being able to communicate in Spanish. This was exemplified by her reflections on Jackie's approach to grading a fairy tale that a student had composed for a course project:

> [Jackie] told me one of these stories was super creative. The student wrote about how a beaver became a porcupine. She's like, 'Yeah, but I had to give him a B- because he had so many grammatical mistakes.' There again, it's like, what are we teaching students that's important? Not making mistakes in grammar or conveying interesting ideas with the language? So I don't know, I feel like the messages are more like, all you have to do to know Spanish is to know these grammar rules and be able to apply them and really de-contextualize grammatical drills and be able to go through when you're doing all your writing and make sure you go back and check that you've applied all these rules. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

In this excerpt, Anna lamented the fact that the student's grammatical competence took precedence over conveying an authentic and creative message in Spanish. Frustrated by messages of this sort, she went as far to say that she was "inclined to believe that [Jackie was] kind of gipping [the students] out of a real language learning experience" [INT #2, 2/12/12].[29] She also noted that decontextualized grammar is what the students seemed to expect from Jackie.

Despite this position, I witnessed Anna complete several grammar-based activities commonly associated with foreign language teaching. These included topics such as:

- Possessive adjectives [FN 2/21/12]
- The differences between "going to" and "will" [FN 1/30/12]
- Past tense aspects: preterit and imperfect usage [DJ #1]

I also observed both her and Jackie using ways of explaining grammar points that reflected instances of pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987) typically associated with traditional foreign language teaching. Here, I conceive of pedagogical content knowledge as teachers' ways of explaining grammar usage to students. For example:

- Anna: "Do you have your yellow sheet? So tener is very irregular." [FN 1/18/12]
- [Anna] asks in Spanish what type of verb "responder" is – "ar, ir, o er." [FN 1/30/12]

[29] It is worth noting that at one point Anna characterized a grammar, vocabulary, and textbook-focused curriculum as "appealing" due to the fact that it was less time consuming than the approaches advocated for by State.

- When she flips the homework page to the back, Jackie makes mention of "existing conditions with interruptions" and "simultaneous actions." At one point she says, "If you're liking a book or a movie, it's mostly the preterit." [FN 1/18/12]

It is unlikely that Anna freshly adopted this grammatically-bent discourse in her secondary placement; instead, given the traditional pedagogies to which she was exposed as a student, she more than likely formed the idea early on that Spanish teaching consisted of grammar-based teaching and explanations, representing her apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975). In a way, in taking on these grammatical topics and ways of teaching them, Anna "clicked" into the dominant American discourse surrounding foreign language teaching, reflected by the students' expectations for decontextualized grammar. Indeed, Burke (2011) identifies grammar practice as part of the "deep structure" of foreign language teaching; that is, the beliefs and rituals that have long characterized foreign language teaching in this country and that are highly resistant to change.

Another discursive feature associated with grammar that surfaced with both Anna and Jackie is the concept of "knowing." They spoke of grammar forms that students either knew or did not yet know:

- Jackie discusses online translating and how it will result in a zero. She says she can pick it out by "words that you use and grammatical forms you use." Then, "You know everything you need to know to do this project. Stick to what you know." [FN 2/21/12]

- "You're going to use the future tense. You guys already know how to use ir + infinitive…" She [Anna] then offers the same explanation to the whole class, putting the two sentences on the board "Voy a ir de compras" and "Iré de compras." Referring to the first sentence and crossing out "voy a ir," she says, "You guys already know this form, today, we're going to use the future." [FN 1/30/12]
- She [Anna] reiterates that they don't have to do the comparison sentence yet because they don't know how to do it. [FN 2/21/12]

These statements reflect a common stance in traditional foreign language teaching: that once grammar forms have been taught to students, they should be able to deploy them flawlessly (Burke, 2011). Copious amounts of second language acquisition research has shown that this is indeed not the case; rather, learners have their own internal syllabi, which may or may not correspond with the grammatical syllabus encoded in traditional foreign language textbooks (Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Martel, 2013). Anna would have been exposed to this position during her summer SLA course and during her teaching methods seminars. Again, it seems that her use of the traditional discourse surrounding grammar was somewhat instinctive, motivated by her apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975), and akin to putting on a familiar, old, comfortable sweatshirt.

Vocabulary teacher. Anna taught vocabulary in ways commonly seen in traditional foreign language classes. For example, she taught a lesson in Spanish 1 that was organized principally around the vocabulary list (i.e., names of family members) and that included multiple opportunities to practice the words on the list in contextualized

situations (e.g., using photographs of celebrity families to elicit statements of relationship). In some cases, however, Anna felt that inappropriate vocabulary fields were targeted. She stated:

> So I just feel like sometimes the focus is on the wrong vocabulary. Like it's like, the textbook says 'Oh, we can group all these words together in a nice simple category and it will make sense for students to learn that because it'll connect with their synapses that already have all that information connected.' Sometimes I think the focus needs to be on vocabulary that's actually useful in everyday life. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna highlighted the fact that the vocabulary lists presented in textbooks did not always contain items what would be useful to students during conversations they would have outside of the classroom.

Anna's desire to teach vocabulary that she deemed useful for students surfaced in her reflection on a unit on children's playthings that she observed Jackie teach before starting the placement:

> …these weren't necessarily words that students should be learning in a Spanish 3 course. You're not going to go to Spain and say, 'Puedo jugar con su oso de peluche?' Can I play with your teddy bear? When do these come up? [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, Anna identified vocabulary items that were not only irrelevant to experiences that students would have in the target language, but also that arguably differed from their interests as adolescents.

Games user. Anna observed Jackie use several games, considering her both successful and creative in her game use. Anna also used games in her teaching, which generally went over well with her students. However, she questioned the efficacy of teaching grammar via decontextualized games and struggled with making games fair:

> …some of the games I have brought to class have gone over just as poorly as some of the other activities, just because I apparently haven't thought through carefully enough how to make the games fair, so that there can be a fair winner, so that students aren't feeling like their responses aren't being validated in the game. Because, of course, the point of having games in school is to have a winner, not to actually learn the content. [DJ #6]

In this cynical comment from the end of the placement, Anna positions her students as less motivated by the actual subject matter of Spanish and more motivated by the competitive aspects of game playing. Anna's perception of her students as unmotivated will be elaborated further below.

Easy teacher. A final message related to the Spanish curriculum that Anna received during her secondary placement consisted of its thought value. Anna felt that many students expected Spanish class to be light and easy:

> I also think there's an expectation that language learning doesn't need to be taken seriously. A lot of my kids would remark like, 'Why can't you just make this an easy class? Why are we doing all this work in here?' [INT #4, 5/8/12]

This perception was reinforced by the students' response when she tried to incorporate more challenging activities into the class: "I found that a lot, it's like anytime I wanted them to do activities that required critical thinking, there was a push-back." [INT #3, 3/5/12]

Anna wondered whether her students' expectation for ease was a mindset: "that either students don't want to think critically or they've kind of been schooled into believing they can't, like that there's always just a right or wrong answer" [INT #3, 3/5/12]. This perception surfaced in response to a Spanish lesson that she observed at Marshview, given by one of Jackie's colleagues. Reflecting on the lesson, she said:

> Today I sat in and observed a Spanish lesson taught by a different Spanish teacher, someone other than my cooperating teacher. The first activity that she had the students do involved categorizing 20 events that are related to preparing for and going on a trip. These events were things like go to the travel agent, pack your suitcase, go through customs, catch a taxi from the airport to your hotel, and they had to categorize them as activities that you do to prepare for the trip, activities you do while you're in the airport, activities you do while you're on the plane, or activities you do after you arrive at your destination.
>
> That part, I thought was fairly straightforward. After that, students had to put these activities in order, number them one through 20 and I thought that activity was, I mean, on the pro side, this was not graded. It was more just to kind of assess their ability, I guess, to figure out what

everything said, but I felt like that activity was, number one, a bit overwhelming. Having to figure out the order of 20 events is a bit challenging and it was incredibly subjective. I mean, I could choose to check in online before I go to the airport. There's no longer a set order to how you do a lot of these things. I can choose to go see a travel agent before I decide which places I want to visit in Spain. The purpose of my trip to the travel agency can be to find out more information about what places there are worth visiting in Spain.

She was giving them the answers as if there was only one possible correct order. I just thought there's something wrong with this picture here because none of these students were doing anything to challenge the order that she gave them. No one once said, 'Well, that's not what I do when I get ready for a trip. I do this first' or 'Well, couldn't you do this first?' I feel like maybe that's the problem with school is that students get used to there being discrete answers to everything and they don't really develop the ability to think. So I could have debated about half of the things that she put in order there and no one within the class was debating anything. They were talking about how they got so many wrong. [DJ #6]

In this episode, Anna links the students' mindsets with the pedagogies to which they have been exposed and arguably to the structure of American schooling itself. She attributes the students' inability to question their teacher's questionable activity to a general focus in schooling on discrete bits of information, devoid of critical thinking. Sizer (2004) takes

up this topic in his foundational work, *Horace's Compromise*, in which he describes a pact made between students and teachers: if teachers agree not to make life too difficult for their students, the latter will put up with the mind-numbing and even dehumanizing systems that schooling imposes on students. Anna's students' resistance to her attempts at critical thinking may therefore be viewed as times during which she attempted to disrupt this compromise. They may also be considered as examples of occasions during which she grated up against the conservative deep structure of foreign language teaching (Burke, 2011).

Furthermore, Anna felt that foreign languages were not taken as seriously as other school subjects, such as math or sciences. This was salient in an episode during which Anna discussed future careers with her students:

> Anna: So I remember I had the students write about what their future career would be and this could've been truthful or they could have completely made up a career and just written about it, but a huge number of students basically said they wanted to work in healthcare and so after I read over their papers, I kind of sat down and got on my pedestal for a little bit and said, 'You know, if you guys legitimately want to work in healthcare, learning Spanish is going to be a huge asset to you.' I said, 'I do get the sense a lot of times that you think this is a goof-off class and you're just meeting the requirements that you need to get into college and whatnot, but it may turn out that Spanish can help you more in your career

than a lot of the other classes here.' Actually I don't think I quite said that [Laugh].

Jason: Screw geography, right? Yeah.

Anna: I think I just said that Spanish could really help you in your career. We have a burgeoning Spanish population here and they need healthcare services. I gave them some statistic that I had found. Oh, it was that we have more native Spanish speakers here in the U.S. than there are in Spain. You can imagine, a bunch of them just kind of sat there with their tongues hanging out like, 'Are you kidding me? What are you talking about?' But I mean, we have such a huge population here that it makes sense that, you know, even though it's not the majority language, we still have a minority population that is larger than the population of Spain. So I think I kind of hope that I hit a couple of them, like 'You maybe need to start taking languages seriously. This might be something that could really help you in your future career.' So I guess, yeah, there's this societal belief that language learning is fun and I'm not saying that it shouldn't be, but I also think there's an expectation that it be easy, that it be one of these classes where you can just pull off an A because it doesn't take a lot of work and you can just study the night before the test and do fine and you don't really have to learn the language well enough to communicate in it. You just have to kind of be able to do a multiple-choice test and do some verb conjugations and things like that. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

During this episode, Anna shocked some of her students by pointing out the potential relevance that Spanish could have in their future careers. She used her statistic, that there are more Spanish speakers in the U.S. than there are in Spain, in an effort to convince the students that there is indeed value in studying Spanish and that they should take the class more seriously. She framed her point within a characterization of Spanish class as requiring little effort or deep thinking.

Anna also noticed that other teachers in her school struggled with the perception of foreign language classes as easy. She stated:

> I mean, I also kind of get the sense from other teachers in the language department that languages are kind of a fuzzy area, that they're not as critical as math and science and English language arts. They're more on par with the performance arts and fine arts. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

It thus seems that at Marshview, many foreign language teachers contended with a culture that positioned their subject matter as irrelevant and extraneous. Tedick (personal communication) notes that "this is perpetuated in the state given that foreign language is not a part of the core standards."

Synthesis: Decentering and appropriations. Again, Anna exhibited agency in that she did not take on the designated identities suggested by her program or by her placement exactly as they were communicated. In other words, she was only partially socialized into the contexts in which she learned to teach (Young, 2008). During her preparation program, she actively processed how she wanted to see herself as an enactor

of a particular foreign language pedagogy, which, in Hegelian terms, was her synthesis (Schempp & Graber, 1992).

Faced with a host of competing messages about what it means to be a Spanish teacher, Anna felt somewhat at a loss:

> I feel like everything I thought I knew about teaching has been completely turned on its head by this program. I don't know what I believe in and what I subscribe to. I am trying to start applying to some summer positions and one of the questions was a question that Sophia has told us many times we're going to come across, what teaching methodology do you believe is the most effective? When I sat down and really started thinking about, it's like well, we've been spoon-fed this answer that it's standards-based instruction, that it's content-based instruction, that it's constructivist learning, but do I believe in all of that? What have I felt to be the most effective? I don't know. I don't know.
>
> I guess it's good that the program has introduced me to different ways of thinking about teaching and reflecting on all this, but I kind of thought that the benefit coming to a university to get my license and not doing it through an alternative program is that I would feel, going into teaching, as though I know what I'm doing and I have an approach. I bought into something and I feel like I'm getting further[30] from that. So, yeah, I would say I think I have very open questions still in terms of

[30] Here, I interpret Anna to mean "farther."

> Spanish teaching. What's effective? What isn't? What is going to engage students? What won't? How terrible is it to use English in a Spanish context? How terrible is it to use a book? [INT #3, 3/5/12]

In this excerpt, Anna expressed a sense of disorientation in the face of the many educational innovations that were espoused by her preparation program (e.g., CBI). She had hoped that the program she chose would arm her with an approach, which did not pan out in her case; rather, she felt a sense of confusion as to what was effective in the Spanish classroom. She thus left her secondary placement feeling decentered and unprepared to teach, leading to a weaker identity as a Spanish teacher.

Despite feeling unprepared, Anna demonstrated enthusiasm for CBI ("[being in an immersion school] is showing me that you can do content-based instruction and kids can learn the language through content" [DJ #7]) and expressed ways in which she could mold the messages she received from both her placements and her preparation program concerning approaches to Spanish teaching. She rejected a purely decontextualized language-as-object (Tedick & Walker, 1994) approach to Spanish teaching:

> I think if someone were to come and talk to me and say, 'You know, my kid is in your class and he's not really learning a lot. He's not coming home with a vocab list and I don't see him spending a ton of time doing these verb conjugations. What's going on? What are you teaching him?' I think if I were to sit him down and say, 'Listen, my philosophy is that learning language is about communicating in that language and we're doing a lot in class to practice speaking and to practice listening, writing,

> and reading and it's not all about these grammar drills,' I would hope that I could win them over, that I could explain the philosophy behind it and the research behind it. They might be willing to take a second look and think, 'Oh, okay. I see where you're going here. I took German and I really can't speak German anymore, so maybe the fact that all I was doing was verb conjugations and vocabulary wasn't enough to make me a language learner.' That would be my hope, but you never know. Some people are very set in their ways and don't buy into the newfangled stuff regardless of how convincing it is. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

Here, Anna described the position she would take if she received complaints that her teaching did not incorporate enough of a grammatical and vocabulary focus. This position reflected her philosophy related to how she wanted to teach Spanish: that is, in a way that leads to actual communicative competence on the part of her students, or language as subject of meaningful communication (Tedick & Walker, 1994).

Anna intended to use games in her teaching, but in a different way than she used them in her placement with Jackie. She stated, "I'm obviously going to continue with the games. I don't think my classroom is going to be entirely structured around games, but I see the point in including them for review and other activities" [INT #3, 3/5/12].

She also expressed the desire to take an eclectic approach to teaching Spanish:

> For those, for whom it will benefit, by all means, we'll do some content-based instruction, but I think more than anything, I am realizing I just want an approach where I just introduce a little bit here and a little bit

> there and keep it super varied and hopefully, in doing that, everyone's needs will be met at some point or another. I see values in communicative language teaching. I see values in TPR [Total Physical Response]. I don't think I'm fully subscribed to either of those, but there are times and places where it makes sense to incorporate them, so same with CBI. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

In this extract, Anna revealed that she would not exclusively adopt any one approach or method to teaching Spanish. Instead, she would add the many methodological tools to which she was exposed at State as tools to add to her pedagogical kit, to be deployed when needed. She saw CBI as one of these approaches she could plug in, as did one of the participants in Cammarata's (2009) study, who talked about using a "'mix and match' approach" (p. 572).

By far, the majority of Anna's reflections on pedagogical appropriations dealt with CBI. First, she didn't see it as a daily affair, but rather in line with the eclectic position she expressed above:

> I think it has valuable applications. I don't see myself using content-based instruction daily. I can see trying to integrate it into every unit. I've seen myself working in schools that have textbook-based curriculum. That's how most schools work when it comes to foreign language. So I've seen myself getting stuck with a unit on food or whatever. So there are things that you have to cover according to the textbook curriculum, but I can see how you can also incorporate content into that and make it perhaps a little

> bit more challenging and require a little more critical thinking on the part of students. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

Here, although she did not consider CBI to be useful on a daily basis, she saw it as a tool she could use to enhance the thought value of her curriculum, which she felt lacking in her secondary placement.

Second, she saw content as something she could use to add variety to accomplishing language objectives. Reflecting on a formal observation during her immersion placement, she stated:

> Today is Friday, May 18th and Jennifer came to observe me today while I was giving a lesson on how to tell time to my kindergarten group and we were also, as part of their math worksheet packets, they were also doing some addition and subtraction where they had to roll the dice and add the two dice together or they were already given a number at least as big as six and then they had to roll a second dice and figure out how to subtract that second dice from the first number they were given. I thought it was interesting because Jennifer was actually suggesting that even in like a high school Spanish class, it would maybe be worthwhile to do things as simple as addition, just to get kids out of the normal routine of seeing their numbers from the order from one to 100, to really get them to think about all the different numbers in Spanish and know them really for the numbers they represent, not just in the memorized sequence.

> So I think that's not really something I'd thought about before. I know in my Level 1 classes with Jackie, sometimes they would do things like count by threes or count by fives or count by fours or something like that to try to practice numbers, but that's still in sequence. Doing something like math where you're adding or subtracting, even if the addition or subtraction is really easy, the fact of the matter is it does kind of mix things up a bit. So I guess that today was an influence on how I could maybe see myself as a Spanish teacher in the future, thinking about how to incorporate more of this content, even if it's not really for the sake of learning the content, but more for the sake of mixing up the language practice. [DJ #7]

Here, Anna positioned content as helpful for adding variety to a lesson, while the focus still remained on accomplishing the lesson's language objective.

Third, Anna felt that students still needed some explicit grammar and vocabulary instruction, even if it was not part of her perception of her preparation program's message:

> I get the impression, and again, this might be the expectations set by the schools, why do students feel that it has to be this way, but the feedback I got on that survey is they want more stuff where they get to practice the vocab and they get to practice the grammatical structures. So they believe that language learning is incorporating those grammatical aspects and vocabulary learning. I mean, I have to believe that, to some extent, that

> they're right. I don't know, maybe it's because that's my language learning experience, but I felt that I benefitted from explicit grammar instruction and explicit focus on vocabulary at times. I don't know that it's always in every student's best interest for that always to be embedded in content. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

What is interesting about this extract is that Anna positions CBI and explicit instruction as either/or pedagogies. Content-based scholars would argue that this is not the case, and that there is indeed space for explicit instruction within CBI (Lyster, 2007, 2011). The difference is that it is related to the content in question, not decontextualized.

Fourth, Anna expressed reservations about content choice in CBI. Reflecting on a lesson she observed in her secondary ESL placement before the placement began, she said:

> I guess in the grand scheme of things, I feel like that information is irrelevant to their daily lives. These are students that are 14, 15, 16 years old; they're expected to be out working in a matter of years and they still may not know how to ask for milk at the grocery store. So that's, I guess, something that I have found kind of frustrating about content-based instruction is I just don't know that we're focusing on the right things. I mean, these are students that the teacher had checked out library books from the Minneapolis Public Library and the students were underlining in pen in these books and he said in the past, he's had them cut things out of them.

> It's like they just don't know anything about our culture, anything about the traditions, the norms, just how things operate in the U.S. And here we're worried about teaching them about the state bird and the state flower? It just doesn't seem like mission-critical stuff sometimes. I don't know who dictates what is mission-critical necessarily, but that's been, for me, one of the really difficult points about content-based instruction. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna felt like the content of the ESL curriculum was focused on less-than-useful topics; rather than focusing on the state bird and state flower, she thought it should focus on topics of more immediate need for newcomers, such as appropriate library etiquette and culture in the country of arrival, which she terms "mission-critical stuff." Similar to explicit grammar teaching, it is interesting that she associated content choice so directly with the general approach of content-based instruction. In other words, instead of simply questioning the content choice, which could easily be modified, she extended her leeriness (overly quickly, I would argue) to the approach itself.

Anna felt similarly about content relevance in the foreign language context. She stated:

> I feel like I'm kind of restricted in terms of the units that we're teaching, because we have to follow this textbook curriculum. So sometimes I feel like maybe the CBI stuff and student-centered instruction would be more interesting if we could do it on topics that the kids are more interested in. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

Like in the ESL context, Anna associated content choice here with student interest and relevance.

Elaborating on this point, Anna gave examples of content that she would use, including Latin American history and politics. For example, she would ask students to read the book *The Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America* (Rosenberg, 1992) during the summer, which deals with dictatorships in Latin America. About this book, she stated:

> Even though it's in English, using that as kind of the stepping stone, providing them with the background information that they would need to talk about some of the things that have happened, to be able to have real discussions on *Los Desaparecidos* in Argentina and the Pinochet regime in Chile. But without having them read something in English, I don't feel like they would have the background knowledge to really be able to engage in that kind of discussion yet, because I just don't feel like any of that stuff is covered in the high school curriculum. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

In this extract, Anna acknowledged that bringing in content would present challenges. Significantly, she did not highlight language proficiency as the most present of these challenges in this extract; rather, she considered the thought value of the unit she had in mind to surpass in quality the topics to which students were exposed in their general high school curriculum, hence their need for acquiring some prior knowledge on the topic by reading the book. She considered this unit to be "real" CBI and different from what normally characterizes Spanish curricula:

> That would be like a truly content-based unit, I think, if we could really start delving into some actual social sciences related to Spanish in the Spanish language. I just feel like that's a very different focus from what most high school's, middle school's Spanish language programs are interested in, what their curriculums are built around. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

Finally, as evidenced by the Latin American theme described above, Anna noted that she would favor cultural topics when it came to choosing content for use in CBI. She stated:

> I think I see myself still trying to approach CBI from like a cultural standpoint, trying to incorporate some of the Spanish cultural things using CBI, but I don't know that I'm planning on teaching geography lessons in Spanish or teaching economics in Spanish or trying to really bite off a totally different content area and teach it in Spanish. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, stated that she would prefer to use culture as content (Bigelow & Tedick, 2005) rather than traditional school subject matter, which serves as content in immersion programs (Lyster, 2011; Met, 1998).

Anna's comments in the paragraph just above also highlighted an important challenge regarding enacting CBI: having the requisite content knowledge (Schulman, 1987). I have argued elsewhere that content knowledge cannot be faked; it must be deep and nuanced (Martel, 2013). Anna felt this pressure while teaching sound during her elementary ESL placement, pointing out differences between the nature of content in elementary versus secondary school:

> I found that was a lot of work for me, because I have received no instruction on how to teach sound. So I had to go out and do all kinds of primary research and secondary research myself to understand how to even teach this content to the students. So at a high school level, I think that becomes even more difficult because suddenly you're dealing with content that's that much more complex and then your students are operating at a level of thinking that's much more complex. So to be able to teach that content through a language, I think, becomes a lot more difficult for the teacher, especially if they're not versed in that content. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna reiterated the difficulty inherent in possessing the necessary content knowledge for enacting CBI when one is not trained as a content teacher. For traditional language teachers, knowledge of non-linguistic forms of content is not generally required, much like knowledge of language and language pedagogy is generally not seen as the province of content teachers (Tan, 2011; see also Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). As such, enacting CBI is not easy for traditionally trained language teachers, for it simply requires them to know more.

Experiencing a Weakening of Her Spanish Teacher Identity

In her review of the student teaching literature, Izadinia (2012) found that researchers have a proclivity for reporting positive outcomes in their studies. In Chapters 1 and 2, I argued that some studies in the language teacher identity literature (e.g., Antonek et al., 1997; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Liu & Fisher, 2006) do just so, painting an

overly rosy picture of learning to teach that includes a trajectory beginning with having a weaker identity as a teacher and ending with a stronger identity as a teacher. Given the "messy" nature of identity work (Gaudelli & Ousley, 2009), I argue that this is too rosy of a picture to be representative of all student teachers' identity development during student teaching, as Anna's case demonstrates. Therefore, like Liu and Xu (2011a, 2011b), who provide theoretical counterpoint by sharing the experiences of language teachers who shirk their identities as language teachers, exiting their communities of practice (rather than becoming more central members of them), I will demonstrate in the paragraphs that follow how Anna underwent a process of weakening her identity as a Spanish teacher over the course of her preparation program.

This weakening is highlighted in the different ways in which Anna spoke of her Spanish teacher identity at the beginning and at the end of her preparation program. She entered the program keen teach Spanish, yet happy to have the opportunity to pursue an ESL license at the same time:

> Yeah, so I guess it was kind of like, well Spanish sounds good and then there's this program where I can get an ESL licensure on top of that, so that kind of gives me some more avenues if I maybe want to spend my summers teaching English abroad or if this whole Spanish high school thing doesn't work out as well, maybe I do something with elementary ESL. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

She exited the program singing a different tune, however:

> Jason: How do you see yourself, is a simpler way maybe of saying it, as a Spanish teacher moving forward from this program?
>
> Anna: Well, the short answer is, I'm not sure I do anymore. I went into this program very much thinking that I wanted to be a Spanish teacher and that I was just going to get the ESL license as, you know, as an opportunity to get a second license, as an opportunity to maybe go abroad and teach English over the summers and things like that, and I actually found that I enjoyed the ESL teaching much more than the Spanish teaching and I feel more comfortable in the ESL teaching. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

In this extract, it is clear that Anna went from seeing herself primarily as a Spanish teacher before her secondary Spanish placement to not really seeing herself as a Spanish teacher after her immersion placement. Alongside this weakening of her Spanish teacher identity, she came to feel more comfortable teaching in the ESL setting.

In the sections that follow, I outline several factors associated with the diminished sense of self as a Spanish teacher that Anna felt over the course of her preparation program.

Discomfort with language proficiency. Anna's perceptions of her Spanish proficiency played a large part in the weakening of her Spanish teacher identity. She positioned advanced language proficiency as an important requisite to being a Spanish teacher ("…I think what it means to be a Spanish teacher is to really have a good command of the language" [DJ #7]) and expressed, despite a glimmer of positivity here

and there, a consistent discomfort with her Spanish proficiency throughout her secondary Spanish and immersion placements.

When choosing what field she desired to adopt as a teacher before entering her preparation program, Anna felt qualified enough to teach either business or Spanish, and ultimately chose Spanish. On the eve of her secondary foreign language placement, she expressed viewing Spanish as challenging, but saw this challenge positively:

> There's a reason I continued to study Spanish. I was really challenged by math too, but I kind of decided to let math fall by the wayside. So I think I also decided to stick with Spanish and to try and teach Spanish because it's still an area that I'm trying to learn and master and it's still something that I find challenging. Because of that, it's exciting. It's something that I think because I have to continue to work on building my skills, I'm hoping I will stay dynamic in Spanish and not get stale and that will help me be a better teacher for years and not just in the first five before I lose the language. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, Anna considered Spanish to be exciting due to its level of challenge. One would expect this type of attitude to be more motivating than inhibiting, for it seems to demonstrate a willingness on Anna's behalf to keep working on her Spanish and to be admissive of mistakes.

It follows from this attitude that Anna would consider learning Spanish to be a life-long endeavor, as expressed in her reflection on an activity she had the students do in one of her secondary Spanish classes:

> There were a few sentences on the worksheet which I was having trouble determining between the preterit and imperfect. So I think it's helpful for your students to be able to identify with you as a person, if you own up to the fact that this is challenging and that it's even challenging for you [the teacher] and it's something that takes a lot of time to work on and to really study in order to learn and be able to do accurately. [DJ #1]

This same view was expressed by the participants in Thompson and Fioramonte's (2012) study, all of whom saw making mistakes not only as human, and one of whom saw it as something that even native Spanish speakers do.

Anna's commentary would lead one to believe that she was comfortable with her ever-developing Spanish proficiency; however, these positive comments were consistently overshadowed by judgmental self-appraisals of her Spanish abilities, reflecting a view that she was not yet prepared to teach Spanish. She frequently said that she wanted to spend a period of time abroad before taking a Spanish position. During her preparation program, she applied for a Fulbright scholarship to do just so, but did not receive it.

Anna considered her Spanish to be "rusty" and felt weakest in her speaking abilities (in comparison to reading, writing, and listening). Her appraisal of her proficiency even revealed somewhat of an impostor complex:

> Well, I think going into this program, I was actually very nervous because like I said, I don't have the Spanish ability that I would like before I teach. I knew that there would be native Spanish speakers in my program and so,

kind of my initial thought was, 'Oh my god, they're going to think I'm totally incapable of teaching Spanish. When they listen to me speak Spanish, they're going to wonder what I'm doing here.' [INT #1, 1/16/12]

This excerpt clearly reflects the native-speaker bias that permeates the discourse surrounding second language teaching; that is, that one's credibility as a second language teacher lies within his or her ability to speak the language of instruction like a "native" speaker (Amin, 1997; Borg, 2006; Brown & Miller, 2006; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Mawhinney & Xu, 1997; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Miller, 2009; Motha, 2006; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2011; Thompson & Fioramonte, 2012; Tsui, 2011; Vélez-Rendón, 2010). This discourse seems to have permeated Anna's sense of self so strongly that it made her feel like she did not deserve to be a Spanish teacher, unlike Susan, a participant in Thompson & Fioramonte's (2012) study, who was able to maintain confidence as a Spanish teacher despite making mistakes. It is therefore not surprising that Anna relayed having a very strong corrections monitor (Krashen, 1982), in that she frequently reviewed the grammatical accuracy of her spoken utterances. Furthermore, she felt that her Spanish had fossilized (Selinker, 1972) during her experiences living in Chile, since she was able to reach a level of proficiency that was "good enough" to accomplish her communicative needs.

Anna's negative perceptions of her proficiency were exacerbated during her elementary immersion placement. On this experience, she stated:

Then the more I'm in immersion, the more I realize there's a whole lot I don't know how to say in Spanish that because I've only really worked

> and lived in kind of an informal living environment or like in a business professional environment, I haven't had a need to use a lot of these educational terms that you are required to use in schools. There is a whole lot of vocab.
>
> We're out on the playground and there's a ladybug and I'm like, oh my god, I don't even know the word for ladybug. There's just a lot that when you're with kindergarteners, they're interested in all these little things and then I feel like I can't necessarily connect with them because our prerogative is to speak Spanish all the time and I'm like, I don't know how to say ladybug in Spanish. Now I know. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

In this critical incident, akin to the participant in Park's (2012) incident with her classmate described in Chapter 2, Anna received a blow to her self confidence as a second language user and linked her inability to connect with her students with her limited Spanish proficiency. Her exclamation at the end of the excerpt, "Now I know," stands out; rather than seeing this episode as an example of growth that is natural for second language users, reflecting her positive characterization of Spanish learning above, she casts it as proof that her Spanish proficiency is just not where it should be if she is to teach Spanish.

As a foil to her own negative self-perceptions, one of Anna's friends in the program, a native Spanish speaker, frequently reassured her that her Spanish was up to par. This took her off guard, in accordance with her imposter complex: "So I think I've, I guess, been surprised by how supportive the Spanish speakers have been in terms of

accepting me as a Spanish teacher" [INT #1, 1/16/12]. The effect of this classmate's bolstering words seems to have been diminished, however, by the fact that she corrected Anna's Spanish:

> So Abril is a native speaker and I talk with [her] a lot and she tries to convince me that my language is fine just as I try and convince her that her English is phenomenal, but there are times when she'll correct me and I know, you know, that I'm not speaking the language perfectly. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

In this instance, it would appear that this classmate's actions spoke louder to Anna than her words.

Anna criticized her preparation program for its "expectation that we come in with all the knowledge that we need to have in our content area" [INT #1, 1/16/12]. State required that she demonstrate advanced-level language proficiency (a minimum score of Advanced Low on ACTFL's Oral Proficiency Interview) and completion of advanced-level grammar courses as a condition for entry. The nature of a post-baccalaureate model like this is such that language proficiency is seen as something to be achieved *before* entering the program rather than something to be worked on *during* the program. What threw Anna off in this regard was that during the program, she was required to take a course on English grammar, but not on Spanish grammar:

> When I looked at the course outline, I didn't see any classes that had anything to do with Spanish. It was kind of disappointing. We had to take a grammar class in English and I know for a fact that my English grammar

> is a lot better than my Spanish grammar. Well actually, to be honest, I probably know the Spanish grammar rules better than the English ones. Spanish does not come to me as automatically as English, so I need to think about those grammar rules more than I need to think about the English ones.
>
> But it was surprising to me that for a program where the majority of us are native speakers, we're required to take an English grammar class, but there's no such requirement for Spanish or French or any of the other foreign languages. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna expressed frustration with the fact that she had the opportunity to work on her English grammar knowledge during her preparation program, but not her Spanish grammar knowledge. She seemed stunned that she would not be required to continue to perfect a language that was not her own, reflecting the native speaker bias—that is, that by speaking a language natively, one is *de facto* qualified to teach it.

Ultimately, Anna felt she could leverage her Spanish proficiency better in ESL than in the Spanish classroom. She stated:

> I'm not comfortable necessarily with having to speak the amount of Spanish that I should be speaking to be an effective Spanish teacher in the classroom and I feel like I can leverage my Spanish skills very effectively in an ESL context where I'm working with native Spanish speakers, to help them master the English language, but there's not the same expectation that my language will be perfect. It needs to be good enough

> to be able to help them, but it doesn't, in my mind anyway, it doesn't necessarily have to be perfectly grammatical. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

Here, Anna identified her Spanish as more suitable in ESL teaching spheres rather than in Spanish teaching ones. She did not feel the crippling demands for perfection in her Spanish when she deployed it in ESL settings, like she did when she used it while teaching Spanish as a foreign language. In other words, ESL was a space in which it was ok for her Spanish to be imperfect, while traditional Spanish teaching was not. Interestingly, she made no mention of expectations for her English in ESL settings, which is most likely due to the fact that she is a native speaker of English.

In sum, it seems as if Anna's consistent and negative perceptions of her Spanish proficiency contributed to the tenuousness and ultimate weakening of her Spanish teacher role identity. Her discomfort seemed to be an underlying self-perception that was irritated again and again during her placements, exemplified in the ladybug incident. From a symbolic interactionism perspective, she put herself in her students' shoes during this incident and looked back at herself, considering herself unprepared to teach in Spanish. It is worth mentioning that Anna seemed to be incredibly difficult on herself, which exacerbated her embodiment of the native speaker bias and seemingly led to her inability to take up more positive perceptions of her abilities, such as the multicompetence view suggested by Pavlenko (2003) and Golombek and Jordan (2005). She mentioned in our first interview that her Spanish proficiency was on par with that of other Spanish teachers she had observed, indicating that her discomfort stemmed from an internal source more so than from external indicators. This reflects Rajagopalan's (2005, cited in Thompson &

Fioramonte, 2012) position that "a clear indication that what really counts when it comes to assessing a teacher's self-confidence is not necessarily their actual, publicly attestable knowledge of the language, but rather the way they perceive themselves and rate their own fluency" (p. 290).

Lack of connection with high school Spanish students. Over the course of her secondary Spanish placement, Anna had difficulty connecting with her secondary Spanish students in the way she wanted, which, I will argue below, aligned with the weakening of her Spanish teacher identity.

Anna summarized her frustrations with her secondary Spanish students in a particularly feisty journal entry, which she recorded toward the end of her placement:

> This is Anna and today is February 23rd and I guess I'm reflecting, again, on what it means to be a Spanish teacher. This could be a fairly long rant. What it means to be a Spanish teacher, I guess, is to repeat yourself three times and still have students who haven't heard you. What it means to be a Spanish teacher is to employ the disciplinary procedures in place at your school and have parents call you and say that you're a bad teacher because you have disciplined their child according to the disciplinary policies of the school. What it means to be a Spanish teacher is to spend hours putting together projects or in class lessons that students put down with a single phrase, 'This game is stupid' or 'You didn't figure out how this would be fair.'

What it means to be a Spanish teacher is to go the extra mile to ensure that you've done everything you can to prepare your students for something and then have someone show up with a cell phone and be cheating. I guess these are all the negative aspects of the job that I have to get used to. I think this experience has definitely jaded me somewhat. I no longer have the super warm fuzzy feeling about teaching, maybe, that I did going into this program. I think working with high schoolers has definitely shown me that there are some real drawbacks to being a teacher and I'm going to have to decide if these are drawbacks that I can deal with or if I am better off working at the elementary level, not that they don't exist there too.

This has been a tough week, a tough placement and really, in general, my kids have been pretty good, but they require constant stimulation, constant entertainment. Today I put together a quiz prep that pretty much looks exactly like their quiz will look tomorrow with some words changed and I didn't have it on a PowerPoint slide where I could just fill in the correct response by hitting the white board. I heard a number of students muttering, 'God, she takes so long to write,' because I was having to write in the six word sentence as I was going along. It's just constant; the negative comments are unending. I get, all the time, 'I don't know what we're supposed to be doing. This is stupid.' Well, I've explained it three times. In many cases, one of those times was in English,

so I'm not sure why you're not understanding what there was to be done and if there is some confusion, why don't you ask me?

So yeah, I think what it means to be a Spanish teacher is to be dealing with whiny complaining kids a lot and, unfortunately, you also have to deal with their whiny complaining parents, who will take the sides of their kids no matter what. We had a student just this week who was told that she would be failing Spanish class because she has now cheated twice on assessments. One was a take home assessment where she had to write a story. I think maybe I've mentioned this in my posts before. She used an online translator to write her story. The other was a quiz where she was caught using her phone. Well, her mother has been emailing back and forth between my cooperating teacher and has basically been throwing all kinds of character defamations at my cooperating teacher, despite the fact that she has completely followed all the disciplinary procedures set in place by the school.

She's conferred with the administrators before handing down this punishment and the parent is not going to believe anything that my teacher has to say because all she's going to do is believe her child. It's too bad because this is really a time for her daughter to learn a lesson, a really hard life lesson, that you can't get ahead by cheating in life. But the parent is unwilling to let her daughter learn that lesson. So I guess that's something else as a Spanish teacher that I'm going to deal with a lot. Jackie was

almost in tears yesterday because of some of the truly brutal things this mother has said about her personally. I guess that's something, I'm going to have to have a pretty hard shell to be a Spanish teacher because that's certainly going to happen to me too.

I had a student today who brought a cell phone into a speaking assessment, so he is going to receive a zero on the speaking assessment. Lucky for him that's not going to result in course failure. Yeah, sorry this isn't chipper. I have students who are not paying attention, are being disruptive in class, and then when you ask them to quiet down or to move, they throw you a look that says, 'Die bitch,' as if it's my problem that I'm the one that has called them out for being disruptive, that there was no problem with them being disruptive in the first place. So I don't know, I guess I haven't quite figured out how to relate to teenagers. That is, I guess, what it's going to take to be a successful Spanish teacher.

I don't yet know how to make my classes engaging enough for them to want to pay attention and yeah, I guess I don't know. I, myself, was a very good student who really didn't have many disciplinary problems in school, who took notes without having to be told to take notes, who listened to my teachers without having to be told to listen, and I see very few students who are like me. Even the good students have been very openly dissing some of the lessons that I have taught. So I guess I

need to figure out, to be a Spanish teacher, what I have to do to earn the respect of my students. I don't know.

I thought they would like games, but some of the games I have brought to class have gone over just as poorly as some of the other activities, just because I apparently haven't thought through carefully enough how to make the games fair, so that there can be a fair winner, so that students aren't feeling like their responses aren't being validated in the game. Because, of course, the point of having games in school is to have a winner, not to actually learn the content. So, again, I apologize for the rant. This week has gone over like a load of bricks. [DJ #6]

In this extended excerpt, Anna vented about many of her frustrations with her secondary Spanish teaching placement. Most of these centered on her students and their sour attitudes in class, leading her to believe that she had not yet figured out how to connect with these students. The hostility with which she characterized their reactions (e.g., "Die bitch") represents the emotional charge that characterized Anna's processing of these experiences.

Foreshadowed in the journal entry above, one of Anna's principal gripes with her high school Spanish students consisted of their lack of motivation. She found it difficult to connect with them partly due to her own personal motivation style and interest in exploring different countries and cultures. Her frustrations with her students' motivational levels were well exemplified in an episode that occurred with her Spanish 1 students toward the end of the placement. She gave the students a quiz, which resulted in

a class average of a D. This threw her off, pushing her to wonder what she may have done wrong in her teaching. In consultation with her mentor, she gave the students a chance to raise their grade by returning the quiz to them and letting them consult available resources in order to correct their mistakes. When she did this, very few students actually preformed better. She reflected about this experience:

> I was shocked at how many students didn't take the time to make any corrections or they only made the corrections which were easy to make or they made corrections but without referring to any other resource materials, so the corrections they made were still wrong. There were students who had the opportunity to earn back as many as like eight or nine points and the most points I awarded were four and a half. So that goes to show that there isn't a lot of motivation on the part of students, at least not this group of students, to learn and to engage in the learning process. So on the one hand, I guess that makes me feel a little better that maybe my teaching wasn't as disastrous as I thought it might have been, but on the other hand, this kind of suggests that the problem is not one that can be easily fixed. [DJ #6]

Where Anna may have at one point associated this failure completely with her teaching skills, the students' lack of uptake in this excerpt led her to think that the problem had less to do with her teaching style and more to do with the students' motivation.

Anna's perceptions of her students' motivation were further shaped by her experimentation with a reward system. Before entering into her teacher preparation

program, she observed a teacher using a highly effective reward system consisting of poker chips and prizes. Anna attempted to use a raffle ticket system during her placement, but did so sporadically. One day, however, she brought in candy, and the following occurred:

> Well, today, maybe I haven't been employing the raffle ticket system as systematically as I should be because today, when they saw the candy lined up and they saw all the prizes that they could win, and I was offering raffle tickets to students who were participating, you can't believe how many hands were up in the air. All along, I have felt like getting students to participate has been next to impossible and yet today it was like I could have picked 20 students each time I asked a question. So I guess maybe I should have been kind of demonstrating more upfront that they could get prizes or get rewards for participating in class, rather than leaving it all until the end where now I've spent a month feeling as though students were completely disengaged.
>
> Maybe they would have been more engaged if they felt there was something in it for them, aside from just knowledge, because apparently that's not enough to motivate students anymore. So I guess, going forward, if I'm going to have this kind of classroom management system where I do offer some kind of reward incentive, I think I will try to actually offer the reward more frequently rather than letting the tokens pile up, so to speak, before students are actually presented with any tangible

> rewards. I guess that's the lesson learned from today. So, on a positive note, this was my last full lesson to be taught during this student teaching placement and it went quite well because students were participating the whole time. So I guess I feel like I ended on a high note. [DJ #6]

Here, Anna employed a rewards system in order to stimulate student engagement, but came to realize that the engagement was due more to the prize itself rather than to an interest in learning Spanish. Instances like this one contributed to her feeling like an entertainer in her placement, like participants in Luebbers's (2010) study, who "begrudgingly saw their roles during ST evolving more into that of entertainers—trying to make FL learning fun while keeping the students on task" (p. 154); something she felt she did not require of her own teachers when she was a student.

In a later interview, Anna extended her thinking about this episode to differences between American and foreign students. She said:

> You know, I also thought it was interesting that the only student who got 100 on the test was the foreign exchange student. I couldn't help but think, "What does this say about our American education system?" Here, the foreign exchange student knows what it takes to be disciplined enough to study and practice. [INT #3, 3/5/12]

This was not the first time during her preparation program that Anna make a connection between low motivation and nationality, most likely stimulated by her experiences studying abroad and with students from other cultures.

A second gripe with Anna's high school Spanish students consisted of their lack of respect. Her vision of the student/teacher relationship was strongly influenced by a coach she had in high school:

> […] the most influential person for me when I was in high school was my cross country coach, and he was the kind of guy that you really did not want to disappoint him. Maybe I said this on the first interview, I don't know, but it was like you had to sign an athletic code saying that you wouldn't drink and I remember there were people that got caught drinking and he never once yelled. But you knew it was so much worse because he legitimately was so disappointed in you. It was like everyone who broke that code that had to deal with him, talked about how awful it was because they had completely disappointed him.
>
> Somehow he was that kind of person that you wanted to do anything for. You would bend over backwards to try and make him happy and if you failed in that, you just felt miserable because you had disappointed him. I would like to get there someday with my students, where it's like I don't have to be disappointed in them because they already know their own behaviors. They're going to be judging their own behaviors based on putting themselves in my shoes and taking my perspective. I don't know that it's easily done. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

The coach in this excerpt had a demonstrable influence on the type of teacher Anna wanted to be. She not only wanted to be the type of teacher who commanded respect

from her students; she also wanted to be the type of teacher who *inspired* her students to behave well. Note that this desire extends to the role of teacher in general and that Anna was not able to fulfill it in the specific role of Spanish teacher that she inhabited at Marshview.

Following this desire, Anna was not always treated in the manner she desired in her high school Spanish placement:

> On Fridays, we do this thing called Marshview Coffeehouse, where the students who are really special ed run a coffeehouse in school for the first two or three hours until they run out of food and coffee. So some of the teachers will dismiss the students to go to Marshview Coffeehouse and I had one student in my first hour class, I was in the middle of explaining this impersonal 'se,' and I asked the class, 'Does anyone have any questions? Would you like me to go over this again?' He raises his hand and he says, 'Yeah, are you going to let us go to Marshview Coffeehouse?' I'm just like, 'You little shit. That's not what I was getting at. That's not the kind of question I wanted you to be thinking about.' I don't know, at some point I want them to be able to realize that's rude. That's not what they should think about. Put yourself in my shoes. I'm trying to explain something that's quite difficult and I'm wanting to make sure that you guys are getting it and you're like, 'The only thing on my mind is Marshview Coffeehouse.' I don't know. Just to be able to get to

> the point where they're like respectful enough to not do that. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

During this episode, Anna felt disrespected by the student's off-topic remark. She indicated a desire for her students to empathize with her by putting themselves in her shoes and felt that they would be able to be more respectful to her if they learned how to do so. In addition to this example, Anna recorded a digital journal entry that described an episode during which she pulled a girl aside after class who rolled her eyes at the class's activities.

In terms of identity, these experiences correspond with the weakening of Anna's Spanish teacher identity in that they prevented her from inhabiting an identity position that was important to her: connecting with her students. Throughout the program, Anna frequently spoke of making connections as an important facet of her embodiment of the role of teacher, which can be seen in the ladybug incident above: "There's just a lot that when you're with kindergarteners, they're interested in all these little things and then I feel like I can't necessarily connect with them because our prerogative is to speak Spanish all the time" [INT #4, 5/8/12]. With her secondary Spanish participants, in particular, she was not able to make the connections she wanted to, largely due to their lack of motivation and demonstrations of disrespect. She was therefore not able to be the teacher she wanted to be in her Spanish teaching placement in this regard, which, as I will argue further in the Validation section below, aligned with her diminished sense of self as a Spanish teacher.

Incidentally, when Anna spoke of her ESL students, there were substantial differences among the ways in which she described their motivation and their demonstration of respect:

> Jason: Just to follow up on what you said a minute ago, you talked about enjoying the ESL a little bit more. Can you talk about that a little bit?
>
> Anna: I think that had a lot to do with my student population. I was working with predominantly newcomer ESL students when I was in my secondary ESL placement and I found them to be incredibly interested in learning and engaged and wanting to be at school for the most part and that was something that I struggled with when I was teaching my secondary Spanish students is they just, for the most part, they didn't seem to want to be there and I was bending over backwards to try and make my lessons engaging and I had the hardest time, you know, cracking a smile on any single one of their faces and I just felt like I could never really break the barrier and connect with them, whereas I felt within days that I had connected with my ESL students and that just made teaching, for me, so much more comfortable and enjoyable because I felt like I could relax a little bit and be more of myself. So I probably was a better teacher because I was better connected with my students and was less uptight most of the time. [INT #4, 5/8/12]

In short, Anna felt that she did not have to put on the same "dog and pony show" for her ESL students as she did for her Spanish students. Rather, she felt that she could be herself more and as a result was able to develop better connections with her ESL students.

Limited perceived value in classroom-based foreign language learning. Anna's experiences with learning Spanish and her reflections on these experiences indicated that she perceived a limited value related to classroom-based foreign language learning, which I would relate to her weakened view of herself as a Spanish teacher.

With few exceptions, most of Anna's Spanish teachers employed grammar-oriented pedagogies. About one of her teachers, she said:

> With her it was more knowing the rules, taking the test, proving that you can demonstrate your knowledge of the rules. I remember having to turn to our partner a lot in that second level class. I don't remember authentic assessments necessarily that required us to speak. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In general, the approaches she experienced as a learner were similar to those she experienced in her secondary Spanish placement, focusing on the language as an object (Tedick & Walker, 1994).

When she got to college, Anna studied abroad. This experience was influential, principally in how it differed from her language learning experience at home in a U.S. high school and college context:

> So I continued to take Spanish at State and I studied abroad in Salamanca, Spain during the summer of 2004 and came back from that experience feeling like the classes I had been taking at State weren't getting me

> anywhere near as far, in terms of learning Spanish, as my six week experience in Spain had done. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

In this excerpt, Anna positioned her study abroad experience as more meaningful in terms of language proficiency gains than her university-based language courses. The study abroad experience was so influential, in fact, that she graduated a semester early in order to study abroad again, completing a five-month internship in Chile.

During our first interview, Anna referenced her study abroad experiences as times during which she "really" learned Spanish:

> I feel like I kind of learned through the more traditional teacher-directed explicit grammar approach and yet at the same time, where I think I really learned was when I was just immersed in the culture and immersed in situations where I had to speak the language and was forced to respond to questions and people. So there wasn't really a teacher behind that. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Later on, she continued:

> Because like I said, I didn't necessarily learn Spanish the best by being in a classroom. I learned it by having to be exposed to it. If you go and listen to a tour given by someone who speaks Spanish natively, all of a sudden you're not exposed to that teacher talk anymore. You have to kind of figure out that natural cadence of speech that goes along with learning it in the true setting. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

As these examples demonstrate, Anna saw value in not only in the authentic need to speak Spanish, but also in the exposure to unmodified Spanish. She also identified in-country settings as "true," seemingly in juxtaposition with out-of-country, instructed settings.

One of Anna's more vivid memories of learning by doing involved watching a soap opera:

> I remember in Chile thinking that one of the ways I was really picking up on Spanish is that the office where I worked, every day we had an hour long lunch break and it was just a small office and it was run out of the owner's home. So for lunch we would just descend into her kitchen and all kind of sit around this tiny little TV that would be playing an Argentine soap opera.
>
> So for the first probably month, I was completely lost. I had no idea what was going on in this Argentine soap opera. But with nothing else to do and everyone else just sitting around watching this soap opera, I eventually started to kind of get into it. By the end, I totally knew what was happening in the soap opera. When I think about it, I think about the fact that that was like an hour a day when I was just getting pure input. [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, Anna's increased exposure to input by watching the soap opera helped her develop her listening skills in Spanish. Although it is likely that she could have made the same gains in the same way from her home in the U.S., she seemed to associate this learning

experience with the fact that she was in a Spanish-speaking country, possibly due to the interactions that occurred around watching the soap opera.

The enthusiasm with which Anna spoke about these experiences leads one to wonder how much stock she placed in classroom foreign language learning. Her characterization of her study abroad experiences as times during which she "really" learned to speak Spanish positioned her classroom-based experiences as weakly influential, even ineffective. It is therefore possible that, while deciding which type of job to pursue, she favored teaching ESL because she saw a greater inherent value in the work she would do in that space, leading her to see herself less as a Spanish teacher and more as an ESL teacher. Ultimately, Anna took a job at the completion of her program in the same school in which she did her secondary ESL placement. As an ESL teacher, she would have the opportunity to work with learners who were struggling presently with the linguistic demands of their environment, while with Spanish language learners, she would be working with students who most likely would not truly learn to speak Spanish unless they spent time abroad in a Spanish-speaking country.

Further factors contributing to a sense of unpreparedness as a Spanish teacher. Anna expressed a feeling of unpreparedness concerning Spanish teaching that extended beyond her perceptions of her language proficiency. These additional factors more than likely contributed to her weakened sense of self as a Spanish teacher.

Lack of attention to foreign language teaching at university. Anna observed a lack of attention to foreign language teaching in the university-based component of her

preparation program. Midway through the academic year, on the eve of her secondary Spanish placement, she stated:

> I think, in general, the program has been a bit of a disappointment because there really hasn't been any focus so far on foreign language. I really don't think it's done much to prepare me to be a foreign language teacher [INT #1, 1/16/12]

The syllabus from Anna's first semester seminar course (a combination of two classes) seems to align with her perception, given its principal emphasis on second language literacy and working with minority learners. From the program's vantage point, this focus corresponds with the elementary ESL student teaching placement that program participants complete during the fall semester; it is not until the spring semester that topics related to foreign language teaching surface with more regularity, aligning with secondary foreign language placements. Anna's comments here imply, however, that she would have preferred to study topics related to foreign language before entering into her secondary Spanish placement. Following the syllabus, she had some exposure to ESL topics before beginning her elementary ESL placement (which started in October), yet did not have much exposure to foreign language topics before beginning her secondary Spanish placement.

Furthermore, Anna reacted to a comment that one of her program instructors made in a way that positioned foreign language to her as a "throwaway" in the program. She stated:

> …when we got our student teaching placements, I remember talking to Janet and she kind of mentioned to me that, 'Oh yeah, a lot of times the foreign language teachers in general don't necessarily follow quite what we've been learning in this program. They tend to follow the more traditional teaching approach.' It's just kind of like that's accepted. That's just sort of in the field how it still works. So it's almost like 'Well, we're going to do the best to prepare you to be a good ESL teacher because when you go out to be foreign language teachers, you're going to disregard everything we taught you.' [INT #1, 1/16/12]

Here, Anna seemed to read Janet's comment pessimistically; rather than seeing it as a foreshadowing of the difficulties she might experience in her placement (i.e., incongruity between the program's message and traditional foreign language practices), she saw it as a bolstering of the ESL teaching curriculum and a diminishing of the foreign language teaching curriculum.

Kat, one of the program's university supervisors, seemed to share Anna's perception of foreign language as a less important than ESL in the program. In an unsolicited message to me at the end of the academic year, she stated:

> Thought of you during post-bac[calaureate] meeting today. Everyone had to say one thing they learned about themselves this year, and more people than I expected said, 'I came in 100% for the FL license, but I realized I prefer ESL'…and I wondered…how much of that is due to the instruction they're receiving? Like, if they worked with a faculty member that was as

> strong and connected in FL as Janet is in ESL, would these end-of-year results look any different? In a way, I feel like their FL preparation wasn't as robust as their ESL preparation. […] Like maybe the program design is unintentionally 'converting' students?

In this paragraph, Kat identified several students who experienced the same foreign-language-to-ESL trajectory that Anna did. She wonders whether this may be due to the fact that the program seemed to lack a strong foreign language advocate among its course instructors, which is a required element for ACTFL/NCATE recognition (Huhn, 2012). Significantly, she highlights the unintentional nature of this possible effect.

A wanting mentoring experience. Anna expressed wanting more direction from her secondary foreign language mentor teacher. First, she desired more feedback:

> So yeah, I mean, I think we definitely talk to one another a lot and have good conversations and stuff like that, but it's not necessarily focused on the classroom and what I need to be getting done to be a more effective teacher. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

In this excerpt, Anna stated that her conversations with her mentor teacher focused principally on topics that did not help her improve as a teacher.

In particular, Anna would have appreciated feedback from her mentor teacher about her sense of timing:

> I provide her with my lesson plans up front, usually at least a day in advance, sometimes two or three days in advance. I feel like there are opportunities for her to say, 'This activity is not going to take 15 minutes.

> You really need to plan 25 for that activity' or 'Let's rethink that. I don't really think this is going to take all of 20 minutes. Let's find another activity that we can fill in this space.' That kind of feedback doesn't come along very often. So sometimes I do feel like the timing of my lessons is off and that may have been something in particular that she could have helped me understand a little bit more. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

Here, Anna identified a particular perceived weakness in her teaching that she craved feedback on, which did not materialize during the placement.

Anna also expressed a desire to co-plan more with her mentor teacher. Co-teaching was a major focus of the redesign initiative underway in Anna's preparation program (Bacharach, Heck, & Dahlberg, 2010a, 2010b), so it is no surprise that it surfaced in her commentary. She stated:

> I kind of sometimes wish there was more cooperation on the teaching side of things. So I teach the first three lessons in the morning and then we have lunch and she has a prep period. During that prep period, I kind of hoped that all along we would be working together to maybe co-plan some lessons or at least throw around some ideas. I find that most days, she's spending that period planning for her afternoon lessons. So it's like, if I do need to talk to her about something, I kind of need to speed it up so that she has enough time to get her afternoon lessons planned. I kind of feel like there's a time pressure there, like don't take too much of Jackie's time right now because otherwise her afternoon lessons are going to suffer. So

> that has been one thing, I think, has maybe been a little bit lacking is maybe just that opportunity to really sit down and bounce ideas off of one another. [INT #2, 2/12/12]

As this excerpt demonstrates, Anna saw her mentoring experience as an opportunity to share ideas and learn from a more proficient other. Again, this did not pan out in practice. Rather, she felt reluctant to ask too much of her mentor for fear of interfering into her preparation time. In sum, these examples coalesce to characterize Anna's mentoring experience as having relatively little impact.

An irrelevant student teaching placement. Like many of her classmates, Anna was placed into a local immersion school for her elementary foreign language placement. From the program's point of view, this was due to the dearth of FLEX/FLES programs in the area in which State was located; it was really the only possible option, even if the license would not permit students to teach in this context.[31] An adverse effect of this placement for Anna is that she saw no relationship between her experiences in the immersion school and the work she would do as an elementary foreign language teacher in a traditional FLES/FLEX context. On this topic, she said:

> In some cases, I wish my license were just a 6–12 because then, I'm not sure that I ever really see myself teaching elementary Spanish and, I don't know, this isn't helping me decide, 'Oh yeah, elementary Spanish would be great,' because I think elementary foreign language would be so different than elementary immersion. [INT #4, 5/28/12]

[31] Some of the foreign language students who go through State's program do end up teaching in immersion, which requires seeking additional elementary content licensure.

Here, Anna characterized the immersion placement as tangential; as not applying to what would be required of her as an elementary Spanish teacher in a traditional FLES/FLEX context. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, it would seem that she was unable to engage in the process of role taking (Blumer, 1969; Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 1980) in this placement as it pertains to the role of foreign language teacher, for the simple fact that she was performing a different role. Instead, she expressed feeling like a "babysitter" more than anything else in her immersion placement, "one step up from daycare" [INT #4, 5/28/12]. Note that this characterization of her experience may have been different if she were placed in a higher grade level.

Validation. Alluded to in the discussion above about Anna's lack of connection with her secondary Spanish students, a final factor connected to the weakening of her Spanish teacher role identity lies in the fact that she was not particularly able to validate this role identity. By validate, I mean that she was not able to inhabit the role in a comfortable fashion that reinforced a positive sense of self. Rather, her experiences in this role left her mostly with a sense of frustration and a feeling of decentering, ultimately feeling "farther from an approach" to teaching Spanish.

According to Sfard and Prusak (2005), a gap between actual and designated identities "is likely to generate a sense of unhappiness" (p. 18). This is well demonstrated in a comment Anna made in our first interview: "I think that was something that Janet said, CBI doesn't really come into play so much in foreign language and honestly, I think I was kind of relieved to hear that" [INT #1, 1/16/12]. In this instance, she felt relief when the tension caused by the chasm between her actual identity and the program's

designated identity let up, in response to Janet's characterization of traditional foreign language. This tension returned, however, when Anna got into her student teaching placement, as she found herself caught between not only what she wanted and her program wanted, but also what she wanted and her placement(s) wanted. I thus argue that this growing tension, which did not seem to alleviate throughout the program, contributed to the weakening of her Spanish teacher role identity and ultimate acceptance of a job in ESL. In the end, she was not able to be the Spanish teacher her program wanted her to be, her placement(s) wanted her to be, or most importantly, *she* wanted to be.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this final chapter, I conclude my dissertation report in five sections. First, I restate the research questions that guided my study and provide a summative discussion of these findings, weaving in the concepts outlined in my theoretical framework. Second, I return to the broad frame of learning to teach and outline the ways in which role identity, symbolic interactionism, and teacher socialization have enhanced our understanding of this process. Third, because this dissertation is situated squarely within foreign language teacher education, I present recommendations for those who are invested in the design of programs that prepare future foreign language teachers. Fourth, I discuss methodological limitations of this study. Finally, I lay out an agenda for research that builds upon the findings generated from this study.

Restatement of Research Questions and Discussion of Findings

In this case study of a foreign language student teacher, I endeavored to answer the following research questions:

- How does the participant construct/negotiate her foreign language teacher role identity during her preparation program?
    - What role identity positions is she in the process of negotiating?
    - What significant others/socializing agents are involved in these negotiations, and how are they involved?
    - To what extent does the participant internalize suggested/imposed positions?

- What is the relationship between the identity positions she is in the process of negotiating and her behaviors/actions in the classroom?

These questions led to several important findings, which I organized into two over-arching themes in Chapter 4: processing designated identities and putting aside her identity as a Spanish teacher. In order to summarize these findings, I offer "answers" to my research sub-questions in the paragraphs that follow. Taken together, these answers shed light upon the principal research question, which serves as this study's foundation.

Sub-question #1: What role identity positions is she in the process of negotiating? Throughout her teacher preparation experience, Anna processed several role identity positions, not all of which were reported in this dissertation. I chose to focus on the two identity positions highlighted above (provider of target language input and enactor of a particular pedagogy) because of their their multi-faceted nature and because of the strong and often conflicting visions for these identity positions held by the principal contexts in which Anna operated (her preparation program and her secondary Spanish student teaching placement). These two identity positions represented a subset of the totality of meanings that Anna associted with her developing role identity as a Spanish teacher (Brinkerhoff et al., 2008; Burke & Stets, 2009; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stets, 2006; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Following Sfard and Prusak (2005), I conceived of the principal messages directed toward Anna from key players in the various contexts in which she learned to teach as designated identities, labeling them (a) provider of target language input and (b) enactor of a particular approach to foreign language teaching. Concerning her role as

provider of target language input, Anna perceived her program's message to be synonymous with the current professional position on target language use: 90% target language input in the classroom. Her perception of her placement's vision reflected a much lower percentage of target language use, somewhere around 30 or 40%. As for enactor of a particular pedagogy, she felt that her program wanted her to enact current innovations in language teaching and teaching in general, such as CBI and constructivist teaching. From her placement, however, she perceived a much different message: that her approach should be dominated by vocabulary and grammar teaching, that she should make frequent use of games, and that things should be easy for students.

Anna did not automatically take any of these identity positions into her self-concept; rather, she left her student teaching placement with her own manifestations of these identity positions, exhibiting agency, which I have called synthesis (Schempp & Graber, 1992). These manifestations will be addressed in the section below relating to research sub-question #3.

Sub-question #2: What significant others/socializing agents are involved in these negotiations, and how are they involved? Not surprisingly, Anna negotiated her Spanish teacher role identity in interaction with a wide variety of significant others, including (but not limited to) her university supervisors, her seminar professors, her classmates, her mentor teachers, other teachers in the schools in which she did her student teacher placements, her classmates, and the students she taught in her placements. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, she did identity work when she put herself in these significant others' shoes and looked back at herself, appraising herself as a budding

Spanish teacher. This is probably best exemplified in the ladybug incident; by putting herself in that student's shoes, she likely looked back at herself and asked, "What kind of Spanish teacher are you if you don't even know the word for ladybug?"

Taking Anna's reflections as a whole, I would argue that the students in her secondary Spanish teaching placement were the most influential shapers of her Spanish teacher role identity, as was the case in McMahon and MacPhail's (2007) study and with Ed, a participant in Antonek et al.'s (1997) study. In response to a particular lesson she taught that Heidi observed, Anna said:

> You know, I'm beginning to really question whether I want to adopt a lot of the things that State is advocating because I just can't seem to figure out how to make that exciting and interesting for my kids. So maybe I'm taking a step backwards in a lot of people's minds, but I was happy that my kids were engaged today and it felt like the first day that they were engaged and I felt like I went completely against every principle that I've been taught in terms of what it takes to be a good teacher and so, I don't know. I'm not convinced yet that what State is suggesting is good teaching is, because if my kids aren't engaged, then it's not good teaching. If they're not learning what I'm up there promoting, if they're not engaged in the tasks that are supposed to be student-centered, then what good are they? That's my reflection for the day. [DJ #4]

In this excerpt, Anna clearly identified the students in her placement as the principal designators of what works and what does not in the classroom. Although she did not fully

take on the designated identity positions the students projected to her, she certainly used these perspectives to funnel the identity positions concerning effective Spanish teaching that State projected to her.

Sub-question #3: To what extent does the participant internalize suggested/imposed positions? In socialization terms, the cultures characterizing the various contexts in which Anna learned to teach foisted certain designated identity positions (Sfard & Prusak, 2005) upon her, e.g., 90% target language user or game user. However, in Hegelian terms (Schempp & Graber, 1992), she exerted agency in her identity construction, meaning that she was not fully socialized into either of these contexts' visions of Spanish teacher. In other words, she did not full internalize the role identity positions suggested by these contexts and was socialized only partially into these contexts (Young, 2008). This lies in contrast with the participants in Luebbers's (2010) study, who seemed to more fully adopt the pedagogies of their mentor teachers throughout their student teaching experiences.

Rather, Anna ended her student teaching experience expressing role identity positions that reflected her own processing of the designated identities directed toward her. In terms of a provider of target language input, she identified 80% as a reasonable amount of Spanish input to use in the classroom, coupled with strategies for making that input comprehensible for her students. In terms of enactor of a particular pedagogy, she reaffirmed her subscription to communicative language teaching and saw her program's principal innovation, CBI, as a further tool in her pedagogical kit, to be deployed here

and there when necessary, notably to make her curricula more thought provoking, but not everyday.

However, Anna ultimately put aside her role identity as a Spanish teacher at the end of her preparation program, activating instead her identity as an ESL teacher. Although she expressed personalized conceptualizations (i.e., synthesis) of the various identity positions listed above, her role identity as a Spanish teacher on the whole was greatly weakened due to her experiences and ultimately put on hold as Anna sought a job in another field.

Sub-question #4: What is the relationship between the identity positions she is in the process of negotiating and her behaviors/actions in the classroom? Kanno and Stuart's (2011) study is helpful in demonstrating the mutually shaping relationship between Anna's budding Spanish teacher role identity and her actions in her placements. For example, Anna received push-back from her secondary students when she used a high percentage of Spanish in her teaching, which compelled her to use less Spanish over the course of the placement and likely led to her arrival at the identity position of 80% target language user. Conversely, her use of a high amount of Spanish in the beginning days of the placement reflected her beliefs associated with the identity position of target language user, namely that students need to hear a large amount of target language input in the classroom.

A further link between identity and action resides in Anna's inability to comfortably and effectively put into practice her visions of Spanish teaching, which contributed to the weakening of her Spanish teacher role identity. In other words, the

practices she enacted in her teaching that were in many cases out of sync with her conceptions of the role contributed to the weakening and ultimate shedding of her overall role identity as a Spanish teacher.

Role Identity and Learning to Teach

The findings summarized above position role identity as a central construct in understanding and theorizing foreign language student teachers' learning to teach experiences. This is demonstrated in the frequency and depth with which Anna engaged in identity work throughout her preparation program; in her active processing of the many messages about Spanish teaching she received from a wide variety of significant others and her exertion of agency in deciding which of these messages to incorporate into her self-concept. To date, scholars in the field of foreign language teacher education have paid too little attention to student teachers' identity development, leaving large gaps not only in substantive findings pertaining to foreign language student teachers' identity construction (e.g., the specific identity positions student teachers process, like enactor of a particular pedagogy), but also in theoretical conceptualizations of these processes. This study thus adds both substantially and theoretically to this important and fledgling conversation, which was started by scholars such as Antonek et al. (1997), Luebbers (2010), and Vélez-Rendón (2010).

In using symbolic interactionism as its principal lens, this study also foregrounds interactions between people as spaces in which role identity construction and therefore learning to teach occur. Symbolic interactionist concepts such as the looking glass self (Cooley, 1902) and role taking (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 2008) proved

fruitful for theorizing the ways in which Anna did identity work by putting herself in various significant others' shoes and looking back at herself, learning about the role of Spanish teacher by imagining the ways in which these significant others appraised her embodiment of that role. According to this theoretical conceptualization, it becomes clear that learning to teach consists of much more than student teachers studying methods books and teaching techniques; rather, it is an always shifting, complex process of coming into being as a teacher that involves an interplay between societal pressures, instantiated in significant others' messages, and personal desires for one's own self-concept (Burke & Stets, 2009).

Finally, the integration of teacher socialization as a secondary lens highlights the pressures put on student teachers like Anna as they learn to teach by significant others, in terms of the role identity positions that the latter want the former to incorporate into their self-concepts. Given that teacher socialization is seen as a selective process (Staton, 2008), it also leaves room for student teachers to demonstrate agency, which accounts for Anna's partial socialization into both the preparation program and student teaching placement contexts. This is well exemplified by the ways in which Anna discussed using CBI in her future teaching, e.g., as a way to boost the thought value of her curriculum. Sfard and Prusak's (2005) designated and actual identities bring a theoretical richness to the examination of Anna's socialization into the role of Spanish teacher, especially in their description of the tension that results from gaps between designated and actual identities. This conceptualization demonstrates that learning to teach for many student teachers is not a clean closing of the gap during which one fully and easily takes on

suggested identity positions, but rather a messy experience that is fraught with uncertainty and includes gaps between designated and actual identities that may remain largely open.

Implications for Foreign Language Teacher Education

> *The bottom line is that if language education is to be transformed, so must language teacher education. Change is never easy, and change within institutions of higher education is especially complex and elusive. However, change is what we need. (Tedick, 2009, p. 266)*
>
> *Knowing about STs' [student teachers'] identity…helps those involved in designing and conducting teacher education programmes with making decision [sic] about how to develop and implement programmes so as to help STs go through a productive process of constructing their professional identities. (Izadinia, 2012, pp. 2–3)*

The findings from this inquiry point to many discussion topics concerning the design of foreign language preparation programs. I organize these topics into two principal sections: those geared toward improving the *status quo* (i.e., post-baccalaureate models as they currently exist) and those geared towards imagining alternative structures of foreign language teacher education.

Recommendations geared towards post-baccalaureate models. In the following sections, I provide several recommendations geared toward improving the *status quo* of post-baccalaureate foreign language teacher preparation programs like State's.

Helicopter placements. During her preparation program, Anna completed four student teaching placements, in the following order: elementary ESL, secondary Spanish, secondary ESL, and elementary Spanish (immersion). To reiterate from Chapter 3, the first three placements consisted mostly of half days in schools, with student teachers released at approximately noon each day to return to campus for coursework. They lasted approximately seven weeks each during the regular academic year, with two weeks of each placement devoted to full days with no return to campus. The fourth took place over an intensive three-week May session (see Chapter 3 for a more extensive explanation). Anna was obliged to complete all four placements in this time period due to the K–12 nature of the licenses and to the fact that she pursued dual licensure (in ESL and Spanish).

In light of these factors, Anna started all of her placements at random moments in the trajectory of the classes that she took over. In other words, she "helicoptered" into her student teaching contexts, taking the reigns when expectations and classroom cultures/routines had already been set between students and mentor teachers. As such, she did not have the opportunity to start fresh with the students, setting her own expectations at a point—the very beginning—when they were most likely to take hold as part of the classroom culture. Anna expressed frustration with this after her secondary Spanish placement:

> I feel like one of the major stressors of this program was that you don't have complete control over any of your student teaching placements.

> You're always just thrown into the pre-existing situation and have to make the best of it… [INT #3, 3/15/12]

Like Anna, participants in Burke's (2006) study recognized the difficulty associated with dropping into a culture already created by mentor teachers and expressed the desire to do things differently once they had their own classrooms, such as having students speak the target language from day one.

Although not impossible, I would argue that it is more difficult for a student teacher to set the expectations she wants for teaching and thus be the type of teacher she wants to be when dropped into the middle of a class than if she were allowed to complete her placement from the beginning of a class, or at a major breaking point, like a new semester. If allowed to start from the beginning, a student teacher may be able to set firmer expectations that align with the practices and approaches she wants to enact, enhancing the likelihood that the identity positions associated with these practices/approaches take root in her self-concept. It goes without saying that much depends on how she approaches the beginning of the placement, which Anna recognized:

> I think the biggest problem that I had is that I didn't communicate enough upfront to my students, and I think maybe if I had come in and said, 'Listen, these are the expectations of my program. I understand these may not completely align with what you've been used to experiencing here in your Spanish class, but I would ask you to just go along with it and here's why. This is the research behind it and this is why my program is asking

that we do this,' I think they may have been more willing to go along from the get-go and may have been less reluctant learners. [INT #4, 5/28/12]

In this excerpt, she notes that things might have been different if she were clearer about her expectations from the outset. However, I hold that Anna would have had more of a "fighting chance" in using more Spanish and in engaging students in critical thinking activities, for example, had she started her secondary Spanish placement at the beginning of the students' school year. I do recognize that this poses a programmatic challenge for many programs, especially those that follow a post-baccalaureate model and that allow for dual licensure completion.

Mentor teacher choice. As expressed above, Anna was less than satisfied with her secondary Spanish mentor teacher, Jackie. She felt, due to time constraints, that Jackie was unable to provide her with the constructive criticism that she craved as a new teacher. Furthermore, Jackie modeled pedagogical practices that were conservative and arguably antithetical to the practices condoned by State. This put Anna in a position of discomfort, which, I have argued, contributed to her putting aside of her Spanish teacher role identity.

These factors lead one to wonder, At which point should preparation programs invested in stimulating educational innovations simply refuse mentoring situations that do not support the implementation of these innovations? Indeed, ACTFL/NCATE recognition calls for mentor teachers who are qualified foreign language educator who is knowledgeable about current instructional approaches and issues in the field of foreign language education (Huhn, 2012), which Jackie arguably was not. As the data in Chapter

4 show, Anna's student teaching experiences did more to push her away from Spanish teaching than to keep her in it. As a result, the foreign language teaching field lost a highly motivated and intelligent teacher due to a problematic student teaching situation, which, given the state of foreign language teaching and learning as outlined in Chapter 1, is a shame.

Answers to challenging situations like this are elusive. The program administrators at State struggled every year to find mentor teachers, often working down to the wire to place all of their students. In other words, the pickings for mentor teachers were slim. I would suggest two considerations, however. First, I would argue that teacher educators find some way to assess the extent to which potential mentor teachers are disposed to at least creating space for student teachers to attempt the implementation of educational innovations, like the mentor teacher in McMahon and MacPhail's (2007) study. This would not require the teachers to be proficient in these innovations themselves; at the very least, it should involve priming their students to be open to going along with student teachers' attempts.

Second, I would encourage preparation programs to find ways to professionally develop their cadre of mentor teachers in terms of the educational innovations they emphasize. The irony here is that Jackie was a graduate of State's second language ILP, yet she modeled a conservative approach to foreign language teaching. On one hand, this indicates the typical weakness of teacher education interventions and the strong effects of workplace socializations into traditional ways of foreign language teaching, or Burke's (2011) deep structure. On the other hand, less cynically, it highlights the importance of

sustained professional development in promoting change (Desimone, 2009; Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, Bransford, Berliner, Cochran-Smith, McDonald, & Zeichner, 2005). Such an investment, in the form of seminars or classroom visits conducted by teacher educators and/or university supervisors for mentor teachers, could not only lead to more successful student teaching experiences, but also spread the word about innovation directions in foreign language teaching in the community.

Training ESL and foreign language teachers together. Several scholars, myself included, have touted the benefits of training ESL and foreign language teachers together (Bigelow & Tedick, 2005; Martel, 2012; Tedick, 2009; Tedick & Walker, 1995). These benefits include, but are not limited to problematizing content and language use in the classroom, cultivating an openness to teaching a diverse body of students, and furthering teachers' understanding of multilingualism in various contexts. As I stated in Chapter 3, however, there is no empirical data to support such claims. In fact, I find my own claims to be suspect provided the data I presented, which spoke to the ways I did and did not look across contexts as a supervisor rather than to outcomes of training ESL and foreign language teachers together (Martel, 2012). In other words, I touted cross-contextual second language teacher education without providing data supporting the effectiveness of this approach.

The data in this study suggest that training ESL and foreign language teachers together may lead to less-than-desirable outcomes under certain conditions. One hand, outcomes like Anna's may be circumstantial and avoidable; for example, if she were placed with a more motivated group of students in her secondary Spanish placement, she

may have left the placement on a more positive note. On the other hand, they may be due to programmatic practices, like syllabus design or an unintentional positioning of one of the two contexts as less important than the other. The point here is not to cast a pall over State's program; rather, it is to highlight the need for ensuring that both contexts are equally valued in programs' discourse; for giving both contexts equal and appropriately-timed face time in the curriculum; and for providing quality student teaching experiences in both contexts.

Developing foreign language proficiency. Probably the most salient factor leading to Anna's putting aside of her Spanish teacher role identity was her discomfort with her language proficiency. Although requirements were in place to ensure that she had a threshold ability in Spanish in order to enter the program (e.g., a rating of Advanced Low on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview and the completion of advanced-level grammar courses), indicating an acceptable level of proficiency, Anna still felt uncomfortable and missed the opportunity to develop her Spanish during her program at State. It is at least worth considering, If Anna were able to do so, might she have been more likely to have ended the program with a stronger Spanish teacher role identity, potentially seeking employment as a Spanish teacher? Would she have seen herself as more credible as a Spanish teacher if she felt she was able to improve her Spanish during her program? Indeed, Tedick (2009) identifies the lack of opportunities for "the continued development of proficiency in languages other than English" (p. 265) as one of the lingering challenges in post-baccalaureate style foreign language licensure programs.

It is crucial to mention here that Anna was extremely hard on herself; she was her own toughest critic. If she had been less so, her identity trajectory may have panned out differently. However, it is worth noting that post-baccalaureate programs like State's, which are designed in a way that students are meant to master their subject matter before entering, run the risk of reinforcing a view of subject matter as static and sufficiently learnable by a certain point in time. I would therefore argue that post-baccalaureate foreign language licensure programs should somehow incorporate space for budding teachers to continue to develop their language proficiency. Again, I realize this is extremely challenging, given already packed schedules in highly intensive programs. Potential solutions to this challenge might include offering at least one language-geared elective class; offering content classes (e.g., foundations classes or methods classes) in target languages, provided there are enough students to do so, like the Language and Culture Initial Teacher Education Program described by Tedick (2009, citing Erben, 2005); or requiring supplemental language work, such as participation in foreign language conversation groups.

Doing identity work in foreign language teacher education preparation programs. Following current research in SLA and foreign language teacher education, State's preparation program provided a cutting-edge curriculum geared toward best practices in language teaching. In terms of identity, State wanted its student teachers to acquire role identity positions associated with the innovations they emphasized, such as content-based practitioner and 90% target language user. Ultimately, Anna's view of herself was more in alignment with State's vision of effective Spanish teaching than her

secondary placement's vision; that is, she voiced frustrations with using a limited amount of target language and with teaching language in a decontextualized, non-communicative fashion. One might conceive of this as progress; as pushing the foreign language teaching forward, beyond traditional, grammar-based pedagogies. The question thus remains, How can we as teacher educators support student teachers in constructing the identities they want to have for themselves as new foreign language teachers, all while encouraging them to acquire identity positions that improve the state of foreign language teaching?

The answer to this question will hopefully unfold as our field comes to better understanding what "doing identity work" means for teacher education. Elsewhere (Martel & Wang, under review), Wang and I have outlined ways in which some teacher educators do identity work in their preparation programs, via portfolios (Antonek et al., 1997) and seminars (Gaudelli & Ousley, 2009). We argue, however, that it is unclear whether/how an "identity approach" or an "identity agenda" underlies this work. In other words, how is identity work structured in order to facilitate student teacher identity construction, especially considering preparation programs' targeted designated identity positions (Sfard & Prusak, 2005), corresponding with their preferred innovations?

In an attempt to partially answer this question, it is helpful to return to the concept of validation, which I defined above as inhabiting the role of foreign language teacher in a comfortable fashion that reinforces a positive sense of self. Given Anna's experiences, I argue that it is vital for preparation programs to create spaces in which student teachers can confirm (i.e., begin to internalize) the identity positions they want to embody. For example, what could have been done in Anna's placement so that she could comfortably

speak Spanish 80% of the time? Could Jackie have primed the students for something different, asking them to go along with Anna's target language use, even though it was unlike her own? If something like this could have been done, it may have have provided the opportunity for Anna to live more comfortably in her vision of the role of Spanish teacher, all while advancing the state of the field past the limited target language use that generally characterizes it. In terms of actual and designated identities, there would have been a much smaller gap between Anna's actual identity (80% target language use) and State's designated identity (90% target language use) and thus less tension (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

Whatever the case, I do see merit in scaffolding identity work in a way that helps budding teachers to acquire identity positions related to curricular advancement in foreign language teaching. This is why we do teacher education. A tension remains, however, between foisting these identity positions onto students while at the same time preserving their agency (Martel & Wang, under review).

Recommendations geared toward alternative program design. In the following sections, I offer recommendations geared toward imagining innovative models of foreign language teacher preparation; that is, ones that depart form the *status quo* of post-baccalaureate models like State's.

Mentor teacher co-learning. I see value in designing preparation programs that integrate mentor teachers in the learning that student teachers do. For example, mentor teachers could attend select methods and/or foundations course sessions along with student teachers in order to refresh themselves in the latest scholarship pertaining to their

subject matter. To supplement this, teacher educators could develop parallel assignments to those given to student teachers that ask mentor teachers to reflect on and problematize their practice. An organization of this sort would serve as a form of professional development for mentor teachers, which would help keep them current in field, as called for in the ACTFL/NCATE standards (Huhn, 2012), as well as positioning them as stronger advocates for innovation with their students and in their school communities. A symbiotic learning experience like this seems feasible as more preparation programs move towards professional development school models, in which methods courses are held with greater frequency in schools rather than in universities.

Study abroad opportunities. Huhn (2012) notes that "a strong foreign language education program will incorporate a structured study abroad experience" (p. S172, citing ACTFL, 2002). In light of this criterion, post-baccalaureate models fall quite behind undergraduate preparation programs when it comes to study abroad offerings. I therefore argue that post-baccalaureate models be expanded time-wise (e.g., two years instead of one) in order to accommodate at least one semester of study abroad, for two primary reasons. First, studying abroad would allow students to continue to develop their proficiency in the target language, which would counteract the static view of subject matter knowledge (i.e., language proficiency) that risks characterizing post-baccalaureate programs that do not incorporate coursework in the target language. Second, students could take courses in second language pedagogy in addition to language- and/or literature-geared courses. This would provide students with the opportunity not only to

deepen their pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), but also to take note of and problematize cultural differences in approaches to teaching foreign languages.

Limitations

Like any empirical endeavor, this study has limitations, of which I see four. First, this study would have much benefitted from recording observations of Anna's practice, principally when it came to analyzing her Spanish and English use. Although I was able to capture several features of this balance in my fieldnotes (e.g., that she used English in her teaching, that she frequently gave directions in Spanish and then immediately after in English), I was not able to tell precisely how much English compared to Spanish she used in the lessons I observed. For example, Luebbers (2010) provided a fine-grained percentage of target language use in the classroom and compared this with participants' pre-placement intentions. In this study, I relied on Anna's reports that she used more and more English over time, to support my claims. It would have been enlightening to do a fine-grained analysis like Luebbers's to see how Anna's language use corresponded with her perceptions.

Second, I consider it problematic that I am the one who identified the ladybug incident as a critical incident, not Anna. In my analysis, I identified this incident as a crucial to her identity construction, yet she may have not experienced it with the same gravity that I accord to it. I would extend this criticism to the entire language teacher identity literature, for in many studies (e.g., Yi, 2009), it appears to be the researcher who identifies incidents as critical. It behooves us to find ways of identifying those moments that are the most influential *in the participants' eyes* when it comes to their identity

construction. Member checking could be helpful here, which I did not incorporate into this study's design.

Third, I found it difficult at certain points during my data analysis to know whether Anna was speaking about her perceptions of role expectations, an external construct, or about actual role identity positions, an internal construct (see also Britzman, 1994 and Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Based on the definitions of these constructs in Chapter 2, I see identity construction as a fluid and iterative process involving the selective internalization of suggested role expectations, which I have conceived of in this dissertation as designated identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). It proved to be difficult in my analysis, however, to determine where role expectation stopped and where role identity position began. As such, what I cast as synthesized designated identities above may actually be role expectations, not internalized role identity positions. Again, I would extend this limitation to the language teacher identity literature, for I have found that this distinction has not been earnestly taken up by researchers. I therefore invite readers to keep this distinction in mind as they interpret the findings I have laid out in this report and invite researchers to find ways of better understanding the interplay of these distinct, yet related constructs.

Fourth, and finally, I limited all of my interviewing in this study to the participant and chose not to interview significant others with whom she interacted, such as her university supervisors, mentor teachers, and seminar professors. I made this choice principally because I wanted the study to reflect Anna's perspectives, as I considered them to be more important to Anna's identity construction than what these significant

others felt and thought. Ultimately, however, it may have been interesting to juxtapose their perceptions of the messages they were communicating with Anna's perceptions.

Directions for Future Research

The inquiry described here leaves much room for further research. I organize my ideas about such research into two categories: those pertaining to foreign language (student) teacher identity construction, and those pertaining to identity work in foreign language teacher preparation programs.

Foreign language (student) teacher identity construction. In the study reported here, I targeted the burgeoning role identity construction of a foreign language student teacher. I consider this to be the start of a longer phase representing the minting of a new teacher, which also includes the induction years, or the first few years in the workplace (Ingersoll & Strong, 2011). This being said, it would build upon the present study to inquire into the role identity construction processes of foreign language teachers during their first few years on the job. This would allow us to further see the interaction between messages sent in preparation programs, messages sent in teaching contexts, and teachers' own agendas for their identities. It would also allow us to better understand which/how innovations taught in preparation programs are/are not "washed out" (Watzke, 2007; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981) in teaching contexts. Furthermore, it would fill a gap in the foreign language teacher identity literature, for four out of five studies (including mine) deal with student teachers, not practicing ones (Antonek et al., 1997; Luebbers, 2010; Vélez-Rendón, 2010).

Related to this gap, it behooves us to better understand the complexities of practicing foreign language teachers' role identities. In particular, we need to know more about identity positions that set foreign language teachers apart from other types of teachers, such as 90% target language user. It is these identity positions, as opposed to ones shared with other teacher roles (e.g., taskmaster [Kanno & Stuart, 2011]), that render the role of foreign language teacher unique. With a deeper understanding of this array of identity positions, foreign language teacher educators are better equipped to help student teachers develop strategies for being the types of teachers they want to be while contending with mentor teachers whose identities risk being conservative and solidified.

Finally, implicating teachers both neophyte and seasoned, it is of interest to further document role identity positions that teachers process throughout their careers (remember that role identity construction is a dynamic, iterative process). In the present study, I focused on what I termed provider of target language input and enactor of a particular pedagogy, but there are indeed more foreign language-specific (and even language-specific) role identity positions to be discussed. By better documenting the array of identity positions foreign language teachers negotiate, we will have a more varied picture of the complexity of the role and of teachers' role identities, which can in turn inform the curricula of teacher preparation programs.

Foreign language teacher preparation programs. Above, I argued that foreign language teacher education programs should have some sort of identity curriculum or agenda (Martel & Wang, under review). In order to determine what this approach should look like, it is worth seeking out and researching programs that frequently engage student

teachers in identity work in an intentional and scaffolded fashion. This may include reflective practices, such as journaling (Izadinia, 2012), or open seminars, like the one described in Gaudelli and Ousley (2009). By conducting research of this sort, foreign language teacher educators might arrive at a set of best practices pertaining to the fostering of strong foreign language teacher identities.

Furthermore, it is worth identifying and researching other programs that train both ESL and foreign language student teachers together to see how they might handle the relationship between these two roles/role identities. Questions of the following sort would be helpful to pursue: How common is it that students enter intending to pursue a foreign language teaching job and leave intending to pursue an ESL job, like Anna? How might studying ESL teaching enrich foreign language teaching? How do programs like these avoid positioning either role/role identity as less important?

Finally, it would be fascinating and enlightening to analyze the student teacher/university supervisor interactions in my data set using critical discourse analysis (e.g., Gee, 2010). As stated above, post-observation conferences led by supervisors are complicated relational events involving delicate balances of power (Slick, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). Anna's conferences with Heidi suggest power differentials in operation, and a critical discourse analysis of these events might indicate further reasons leading to Anna's putting aside of her Spanish teacher role identity.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have chronicled the identity construction processes of Anna, a foreign language student teacher in a unique teacher preparation program. I

demonstrated the ways she processed the various designated identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005) directed toward her, exerting her own synthesis in this process (Schempp & Graber, 1992). I also highlighted several factors that contributed to the weakening of her burgeoning identity as a Spanish teacher over the course of her preparation program.

In conclusion, these findings are of great importance to foreign language teacher educators invested in the advancement of educational innovations, such as 90% target language use, constructivist teaching, and CBI. It behooves us to use Anna's stories as springboards for tweaking programs in service of ensuring that best practices, supported by empirical research, might take stronger hold in the field of foreign language teaching. We need to work as hard as we can to make significant changes to the deep structure of foreign language teaching, described by Burke (2011), which has fettered foreign language teachers for far too long.

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Appendix A: IRB Approval Form

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

Human Research Protection Program
Office of the Vice President for Research

D528 Mayo Memorial Building
420 Delaware Street S.E.
MMC 820
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Office: 612-626-5654
Fax: 612-626-5601
E-mail: irb@umn.edu or ib@umn.edu
Website: http://research.umn.edu/subjects/

11/11/2011

Jason P Martel
Curriculum and Instructio
Room 125 PeikH
159 Pillsbury Dr SE
Minneapolis, MN 55455

RE: "Becoming a foreign language teacher: The socialization experiences of three student teachers "
IRB Code Number: **1111P06381**

Dear Mr. Martel:

The referenced study was reviewed by expedited review procedures and approved on <date>. If you have applied for a grant, this date is required for certification purposes as well as the Assurance of Compliance number which is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325, Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA 00004003). Approval for the study will expire one year from that date. A report form will be sent out two months before the expiration date.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval of this study includes the consent form for foreign language teachers and the consent form for foreign language students, both received November 2, 2011.

The IRB would like to stress that subjects who go through the consent process are considered enrolled participants and are counted toward the total number of subjects, even if they have no further participation in the study. Please keep this in mind when calculating the number of subjects you request. This study is currently approved for 75 subjects. If you desire an increase in the number of approved subjects, you will need to make a formal request to the IRB.

The code number above is assigned to your research. That number and the title of your study must be used in all communication with the IRB office.

As the Principal Investigator of this project, you are required by federal regulations to inform the IRB of any proposed changes in your research that will affect human subjects. Changes should not be initiated until written IRB approval is received. Unanticipated problems and adverse events should be reported to the IRB as they occur. Research projects are subject to continuing review and renewal. If you have any questions, call the IRB office at 612-626-5654.

On behalf of the IRB, I wish you success with your research.

Sincerely,

Christina Dobrovolny, CIP
Research Compliance Supervisor
CD/ks

CC: Diane Tedick

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview #1, 1/16/13

- How did you learn Spanish? What approaches/methods did your teachers use? What do you think of these approaches/methods?
- Who/what have been the biggest influences on how you want to see yourself as a Spanish teacher? Why?
- What messages about Spanish teaching has the program projected to you so far? What do you think about these messages? Where/who in particular are they coming from?
- How has your first placement influenced how you see yourself as a Spanish teacher/plan to teach in the upcoming placement? as a Spanish teacher?
- Have the students from last year's cohort influenced how you see yourself as a Spanish teacher/plan to teach in the upcoming placement? If so, how?
- How would you describe the quintessential Spanish teacher?
- What do you consider important to teach as a Spanish teacher? In other words, how would you describe the subject matter of Spanish?
- What does society/this program/your colleagues in the cohort expect of you as a Spanish teacher?
- Going into this placement, what kind of Spanish teacher do you want to be? Do you not want to be?
- Have you imagined any scenes of yourself teaching, either in general or in the upcoming placement? Can you describe them?

- What are your thoughts about CBI so far?
- Has CBI changed in any way what you think it means to be a Spanish teacher?
- Why did you decide to work towards licensure as a Spanish teacher?
- Why did you choose this teacher preparation program?
- Do you feel like the program is preparing you well for being a Spanish teacher?

Interview #2, 2/12/12

- How do you feel like are things going in your placement so far?
- So you're in your placement and you've been taking classes at State – can you talk about what it's been like to be in both places at the same time?
- What about what you're learning at State seems possible and what doesn't seem possible? Do you feel like you've been able to do anything in your school that reflects the approaches/methods you discuss at State?
- Can you talk about your relationship with your mentor? In particular, what messages are you getting from him/her about what's important when it comes to teaching Spanish/being a Spanish teacher?
- What kinds of things could you see yourself doing as a teacher in the future that you've learned from him/her? What things do you think you'd avoid that he/she does? In general, what do you think about his/her approach to Spanish teaching?
- Can you talk about your relationship with your university supervisor? Your students? Is there a relationship with anyone/anything else you'd like to talk about that's been important, e.g., another teacher at your school or your textbook? Again, what messages are you getting from these people about what's important?

- Are there any things you want do in your teaching but you don't feel like you can? Are there any instances where you felt pressure to avoid doing something but you did it anyway?
- What is it like having me in your classes?
- So far, do you feel like you getting to be the type of Spanish teacher you want to be in this placement? Is there anything you would you do differently if you could?

Interview #3, 3/15/12

- How did the end of your placement go?
- What are the principal messages you got about Spanish teaching from this placement? What do you think about these messages? Lessons learned?
- I've often asked you during this placement what it means to be a Spanish teacher. Where do you stand on this now that the placement is over? What open questions do you have?
- Looking forward, if you had to describe the perfect Spanish teaching job, what would it look like?
- Where do you currently stand on content-based instruction in Spanish teaching? (What about in your future teaching?)
- What was it like having me in your classes?
- What has it been it like doing the digital journal?

Interview #4, 5/8/12

- I am interested in learning how your experiences over the past year have influenced how you see yourself as a Spanish teacher in a traditional setting.

- For your first placement, you were in a traditional foreign language setting, and for your second placement, you were in an immersion setting. Can you compare/contrast these two settings for me?
- For your first placement, you were in an secondary environment, and for your second placement, you were in an elementary environment. Do you see secondary Spanish teacher and elementary Spanish teacher as two different roles? Why/why not? Is there any overlap between the two?
- When I say Spanish teacher in the following questions, unless otherwise specified, I'll be referring to Spanish teaching in traditional settings – the setting for which you are being licensed to teach. I'll also ask you to distinguish between secondary and elementary Spanish teaching where appropriate.
- Having just completed this school year, how do you see yourself being and acting as a Spanish teacher in a traditional setting? What I'm trying to get at here is your identity as a Spanish teacher.
- Has this changed over the course of the program?
- Are there ways that society wants you to see yourself as a Spanish teacher that you disagree with? Conversely, are there ways you see yourself as a Spanish teacher that don't correspond with what society wants?
- Are there things that you imagined about being a Spanish teacher that didn't pan out in your experiences?
- In the winter and in your journal, I frequently asked you what it means to be a Spanish teacher. Today, I'm asking you how you see yourself being and acting as

a Spanish teacher. Are these questions different to you? Or would you answer them the same?

- Why were you placed in an immersion school for your elementary placement?
- Can you talk about CBI within in the context of each of your placements (including ESL)? Did you get to do it? If so, what was it like doing it?
- In your opinion, are there aspects of immersion that could carry over into traditional foreign language? What about the other way around?
- What kinds of jobs are you looking for?
- Has program changed your general perception of Spanish teaching/your desire to seek a Spanish job?
- Why do you want to be a teacher? Why do you want to be a foreign language teacher? Why do you want to be a Spanish teacher?

Appendix C: Digital Journal Prompts

Digital journal prompts: Spanish

Say your name
Say the date

Prompts:

- Putting myself in other people's shoes

  If I put myself in_____'s shoes today, he/she would think _____ about my Spanish teaching because…

- What it means to be a Spanish teacher

  If I had to say what it means to be a Spanish teacher today, I would say_____because…

- Influences on how I teach Spanish/see myself as a Spanish teacher

  Today _____(e.g., my mentor teacher, supervisor, professor, the textbook) wants me to do/think/be_____as a Spanish teacher and I agree/disagree/am not sure because…

Please add any relevant details/stories to support your reflections