

**Troubling essentialised constructions of cultures:
An analysis of a critical discourse analysis approach to teaching
and learning language and culture**

Thesis submitted by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the ways in which a group of international students respond to a critical discourse analysis approach to teaching language and culture. It reports a qualitative case study of the implementation of two five-week programs in two existing classes in an ELICOS (English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students) centre.

In the field of foreign/second language teaching there are persuasive arguments for the introduction of an explicit focus on culture through language in ways that raise students' awareness of cultural diversity and trouble the stereotypical, normative assumptions that underpin many cultural representations. Working from this perspective, I used critical discourse analysis as the basis of a program designed to contribute to the development of a critical awareness of culture with the aim of encouraging students to engage with new, hybrid and transcultural forms of representation, identity and social participation.

The data, consisting of recorded classroom interactions, interviews and reflective student journals, have been analysed drawing on postcolonial theory. In particular, I focus on the discourses that constitute students' responses to the pedagogical intervention and explore the subject positions they appear to take up. The research seeks to add to a growing body of work that explores the links between the deconstruction of cultural essentialism in texts and reconstructed understandings of difference and diversity. The present study showed that the use of the analytical tools of CDA in conjunction with ethnographic methods was effective in encouraging students to problematise the circulation of hierarchical categorisations in various text types and to recognise cultural hybridity and complexity. Some students demonstrated that a deconstruction of textual realities and the conceptualisation of alternatives led to the disruption of self/other margins and facilitated students' negotiations of difference in the fluid, hybrid spaces in-between familiar and foreign, local and global discourses, relations and identities. Responses from a number of students suggest that some elements of the program constituted particularly effective components of a critical discourse analysis approach to teaching and learning culture and the thesis explores ways in which these elements could be developed in future programs.

The thesis also incorporates a self-reflexive analysis of the research where I question my own role in introducing a particular way of approaching texts and viewing the world. In particular,

some students perceived this pedagogical intervention as an imposition of my own ideals of appropriate methods of questioning and ways of defining and identifying discriminatory views and practices. This highlights the complexity involved in using the authority of teaching to make available to students a particular worldview with which they can resist authoritative worldviews. The data suggest that a critical discourse analysis approach and its attendant strategies for problematising and questioning the legitimacy of assumptions and claims in a text might have created, at least for some students, the conceptual space to turn a critical gaze on the pedagogy to which they were exposed.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

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(signature)

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(date)

CHAPTER 1

TEACHING LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN NEW TIMES

The phrase “New Times” (S. Hall, 1996d, p. 223) attempts to capture the social, economic, political and cultural changes taking place in societies, such as the fragmentation and growing pluralism of societies, the problematisation of normative, stable meanings and the emergence of new identities. Hall’s use of the term New Times signals not only changing life conditions but also the changing individual. The globalisation of social and economic processes, increasing migration and revolutions in communications technologies have linked distinct localities in such ways that individuals are confronted with a proliferation of difference in their everyday lives. The simultaneity and interpenetration of the local and global, in other words, the “glocalization” (Robertson, 1995, p. 25) of life conditions requires that individuals take up new skills and practices and new ways of thinking to be able to successfully engage with diversity and difference.

International students are at the centre of such glocal conditions as their knowledge, capital and bodies “flow” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 46) across national and cultural boundaries. These students face the complexities of negotiating difference in new cultural spaces, in spaces in-between familiar and foreign meanings, identities and relations (Bhabha, 1994). Their exposure to ‘otherness’ via texts that are often underpinned by assumptions of a homogenous, stereotypical ‘self’ and ‘other’ requires that these students develop a repertoire for interrogating such monolithic realities and recognising more complex and diverse alternatives (Carr, 1999; Kramsch, Cain, & Murphy- Ljeune, 1996). The assumption here is that an awareness of cultural complexity and diversity can facilitate effective participation in a multilingual, transcultural world.

This thesis involves an investigation of the responses of two groups of international students to a pedagogical intervention aimed at contributing to the development of

such a repertoire. I describe and analyse the implementation of a pedagogical intervention based on a model of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989) aimed at raising a critical cultural awareness in students by creating spaces for them to trouble stereotypical, normative constructions of cultural groups that underpin texts and by encouraging an exploration of the complexity and multiplicity of cultural practices. Many argue (see chapter 4) that the development of a critical cultural awareness in international students is significant in that it can make available to them the discourses and literate practices to successfully negotiate the proliferation of different meanings, identities and relations they experience on a daily basis. In the thesis I examine the assumption that critical discourse analysis (CDA) can open up spaces for students to engage with the diversity and hybridity of the embodiment and practice of cultural repertoires and that this can facilitate their navigation between differing local and global life-worlds and relations.

The study I describe in the thesis offers novel insights into the teaching of language and culture: First, it puts theory into practice, investigating the implementation of a CDA-based teaching program in two existing classrooms in an ELICOS (English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students) centre. Second, it examines the teaching of the CDA-based program from student perspectives. I document the meanings students make of the texts and tasks of the program and explore their perspectives of working with the tools of CDA to interrogate the complexity and hybridity of ‘self’ and ‘other’ cultural practices.

LINGUISTIC AND STYLISTIC CHOICES

In the thesis I have made particular lexical and stylistic choices. Throughout the thesis I use single quotation marks with the words self, other, us and them, with the intention of disrupting the natural flow of the reading and to suggest a questioning of what these terms signify. This style of punctuation allows me to problematise the boundaries that enclose these discursive categories and to trouble their taken for grantedness. The quotation marks suggest that the term is under reconceptualisation but that an alternative terminology to replace the term is not yet available.

I recognise that the word culture in its singular form fails to capture the complexity and hybridity of social practices that I want to convey with this concept. Nevertheless, in the thesis I use the term in its singular form as alternative, more complex terminology is not available. I also use the word English in its singular form with recognition of the diversity of world Englishes.

The students who participated in the present research were from diverse linguistic, cultural and national backgrounds. Although the learning environment in Australia is usually referred to as English as a Second Language (ESL) (see Appendix A for a list of acronyms used in the thesis), I have labelled these students learners of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) on the grounds that they had learned English as a foreign language in their home countries and were only temporarily residing in Australia for academic or personal reasons.

AN OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 of the thesis outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the research. I present a postcolonial perspective on power, reality, discourse and identity and discuss how these understandings provide me with ways of conceptualising the pedagogy of and research into language and culture.

In chapter 3 I review various conceptualisations of the concept of culture. I discuss the various ways these conceptualisations were relevant in anthropology, sociology and education in history and the ways they are taken up in present day understandings of the concept. The definition of culture I espouse in this chapter is one of plural and hybrid social practices.

As various conceptions of culture have been taken up in the social sciences and education, in the language classroom 'other' cultural practices have been taught using various approaches. In chapter 4 I discuss the strengths and limitations of these approaches and argue for the need for a critical discourse analysis focus.

Chapter 5 is a description and discussion of a qualitative case study methodology I carried out in an English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students

(ELICOS) centre to investigate the ways students worked through a critical discourse analysis approach to teaching and learning culture. I discuss the various techniques of data collection I employed and outline my research aims and the questions I ask of the data.

In chapter 6 I provide a discussion of critical discourse analysis as a possible pedagogical framework. I focus in particular on the theoretical perspectives underpinning Norman Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis and some of its pedagogical applications, and discuss and critique the strengths and weaknesses of these applications as possible pedagogical toolkits. I then describe my design of a critical discourse analysis based teaching program aimed at raising critical cultural awareness.

I analyse the ways one group of international students worked through and made sense of the first module of the CDA-based teaching program in chapter 7. I explore the ways the students responded to the tasks set and the texts chosen for analysis. I discuss elements of the program that students appeared to perceive as effective and significant in negotiating cultural differences and I examine elements of the program that I recognised as creating spaces for the development of a critical awareness of culture.

In chapter 8 I analyse the meanings a second group of students made of module 2 of the CDA-based teaching program. The second module was based on the same aims and objectives as module 1 but included different texts and tasks. I examine the meaning-making spaces module 2 opened to students and ways students negotiated difference in these spaces. In this chapter I examine the potential for raising critical cultural awareness of a combination of critical discourse analysis and ethnographic methods. Here I also investigate students' creation of hybrid spaces in their negotiations of difference. In both chapter 7 and chapter 8 I undertake a self-reflexive analysis, examining my role as teacher/researcher in making available to students particular literate practices.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis with my reflections on the implications of the present research for future implementations of critical discourse analysis in language teaching. I suggest possible future applications of the program and discuss possible modifications.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explicate the theory that constitutes my perspectives on social reality, research and pedagogy. It is with the discourses and tools this theory has made available to me that I make particular assumptions and analyses and put forward particular arguments. In this thesis I do not claim to present an objective set of facts or to offer a detached, neutral analysis of research because I take up the poststructuralist argument that knowledge is socially constructed and is partial and subjective (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Haraway, 1988; Sarup, 1993). That is, I believe I make sense of the world, of text, talk and events, by drawing on assumptions and understandings that are discursively available to me. My analyses and interpretations, then, are implicated in the particular discursive realities I recognise, with which I perceive certain meanings to be more or less relevant or significant than others.

In this thesis I work with postcolonial theory, which investigates the history of colonial politics and practices and seeks to explicate their perpetuation in present times (Quayson, 2000). As Spivak (1990) describes it, postcolonialism is a deconstructive philosophical position which critiques any hegemonic practice. Postcolonial theory analyses the postcolonial condition through a poststructuralist lens, arguing for the need to make visible, to trouble and reconceptualise discursive practices that anchor and stabilise identities, worldviews, and practices, and to mobilise alternative ones. Many of the assumptions underlying poststructuralist theory are taken up with an interest in analysing the ways racial, cultural and ethnic differences are recognised and negotiated, and, more recently, the various ways globalisation has become a colonising force.

Shohat (1992) draws attention to the ambiguity of the prefix post- in the term postcolonial. She argues that it implies a completeness and transcendence in the process of colonialism, as if acts of oppression and opposition are of the past. In this sense, the term risks ignoring the many forms in which hegemony and inequity exist today (Bhabha, 1994). My conception and use of the prefix post- is with an awareness that the term is contextualised within neocolonial conditions, times and spaces, with a focus on new modes and forms of old colonial practices.

I found postcolonial theory the most helpful in articulating my stance in the world and the most relevant to the present research for two main reasons. First, the students who took part in the present research – EFL students from a range of national, cultural and social backgrounds – constitute a neocolonial context. In the past, colonial empires had gone to natives' lands with the belief that they were bringing good and prosperity to them. Today, in times of increasing global contacts and local diversification, with English having acquired dominant global status, EFL students, physically and/or virtually, “flow” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 46) to foreign English-speaking lands. My conversations with the students who took part in this research suggested that most expected a tertiary level degree attained in an English speaking country or the improvement of their English linguistic capabilities can bring them prestige, status and prosperity when they return home. In this sense, the students with whom I worked in the present research produced and were the products of globalisation and its neocolonial practices. Here, postcolonial theory provided me with ways of making sense of the contexts these students inhabited.

Second, postcolonial theory is relevant to the purpose of my research. The aim of the teaching program I designed was to encourage students to question and critique the ways particular bodies and practices are marginalised in texts and in society, and to focus on cultural diversity and complexity. I sought to open up spaces for students to disrupt the hegemonic presence of monolithic, homogenous assumptions of cultural groups and practices in texts of everyday life. I argue that a critical awareness of cultural heterogeneity and complexity is required for EFL students' effective participation in New Times (S. Hall, 1996d), in their negotiation of and

navigation between differences. When designing the program, I drew on various postcolonial theorists' work on problematising racial and ethnic inequities and oppression in times of increasing global/local diversity and hybridity (Mohanty, 1996; Spivak, 1990). I supplemented these theoretical arguments with the text analysis techniques of CDA with the intention that CDA can provide students with the practical tools to disrupt assumptions of cultural and national homogeneity. In this sense, I have extended the postcolonial concern with disrupting global normativity to classroom practice.

I have organised this chapter into a discussion of a series of concepts, which I see as central to conceptualising, implementing and analysing the present research. I perceive a postcolonial reading of the concepts power, reality and truth, discourse, binary logic, identity and pedagogy as important because they underpin the theoretical, pedagogical and analytical framework I adopted in the research. To exemplify, postcolonial theory works with a view of social reality and identity as discursive constructions operating within networks of power. The concern here is not necessarily with the raw materiality of power as much as the workings of power in representation and language. Fairclough's (1989) version of critical discourse analysis shares a similar interest in the link between language and power. Fairclough argues that language creates particular realities, and in doing so positions readers or listeners to take up some of these realities as more desirable and normal than others. Moreover, I use CDA in the teaching program to open up to discussion the East/West binary divide underpinning many texts.

The concepts I list above are also central to my analysis of data. In the present research, I seek to make sense of students' meanings and readings of texts and of the program. In my analyses of students' talk, I work with the assumption that individuals create and live out, or resist and reconstitute, multiple realities and personhoods, and do so within multiple discourses. Therefore, in my analyses I investigate the discourses the students appear to be drawing on and the identities they seem to be taking up or resisting. This process, I believe, gives me insights into the meanings students make.

I now turn to a discussion of each of the concepts I listed above. In my analysis, I question the authority and normalcy of each concept. I do not dismiss or displace them but seek to open up other possible readings.

POWER RELATIONS

Power is a much contested term. It is complex and difficult to conceptualise. Understandings of power are often entrapped within juridical or economic associations, where power is identified at a macro-level, as a superimposing force of oppression. This view of power is grounded in economics or law, as the constraints and control imposed by the state or a class, made possible by specific forms of economic production. Power in this sense is a strength possessed by particular groups or individuals to the disadvantage of others. The exercise of power is seen as linear, with one side of the relation holding onto and exercising the power and the other side succumbing to it. In this view, power is conceived as a visible, negative, repressive force.

This view of power is inadequate in capturing the complexity with which power operates. A conception of power as repression fails to account for the workings of power outside institutional, hereditary or class structures. That is, it fails to encapsulate “the new methods of power whose operation is not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalisation, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus” (Foucault, 1978, p. 89). A law- or economics- based view of power ignores changes in techniques and mechanisms of modern power. It assumes that power relations are definite and stable, emanating from a particular source, and in this way presents a static view of power.

Foucault’s (1978) conception of power is different to juridical or economics-based views. He describes a strategic view of power and argues that power is not a right, a commodity or a privilege handed down to others, nor is it the maintenance and reproduction of economic relations. That is, it is neither a structure nor an institution. Rather Foucault asserts power is a complex strategical situation; it is “a

multiple and mobile field of force relations” (Foucault, 1978, p. 102). He argues that power is not localised in particular groups or people but circulates in a chain-like manner, being employed and operated in a multitude of directions. In this view, then, individuals cannot own power nor can they escape power; it is not something that operates over individuals but manifests itself in their everyday lives (Foucault, 1980b). Foucault (1980d) contends:

It is never localised here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never is appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application. (p. 98)

For Foucault power is less visible than it is generally thought to be; it is dispersed and indeterminate. Therefore Foucault’s argument is that rather than search for where power is located, the search should focus on how power is exercised. Power does not exist as an entity, he claims, but is present only when it is put into action: Power is action upon action. It is a structuring of the possible field of actions of others, including the way it inhibits as well as increases the possibility of other actions. Hoy (1986) observes that “Foucault tends to think of the network [of power relations] as being like a grammar, which conditions what can be uttered in a language, but does not determine which actual utterances emerge (and when)” (p. 142).

Foucault asserts that power relations achieve particular effects not by the powerful deploying and imposing of constraints or prohibitions on the powerless and these constraints being taken up by the powerless but through “manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings” (Smart, 1985, p. 77). Foucault’s argument is that a focus on analysing how mechanisms and strategies can inhibit or make possible particular actions is a way of moving away from the notion of power as a grand, all-encompassing and reifying term.

Fanon's (1965) observation of colonial processes and practices exemplifies this conception of power. He claims that imperial colonialists legitimated their presence in foreign lands through employing techniques of order and control, by presenting themselves as agents of regulation and stability. Fanon adds that the exercise of power here was to a certain extent through violence, but more effectively by "driv[ing] into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they [the natives] would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality" (p. 170). A focus on the micro-mechanisms of power operating between the natives and the settlers and within these groups can help one grasp how power circulates at an everyday level, extending into and constituting individuals' social, cultural and political lives. It is only subsequently that power is taken up by the larger structures of classes, institutions and states.

In a Foucauldian view of power, individuals are not agents of power but are its effects and its articulation. The individual is not seen as a "nucleus ... on to which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues and crushes" (Foucault, 1980d, p. 98). Rather, power constitutes individuals' bodies and identities, invests the individual and is transmitted by and through them. With this conception of power as constitutive of individuals and society, Foucault introduces the idea that power is not necessarily only negative or repressive, constraining and prohibiting, but that it is also positive and productive. "It [power] traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body" (Foucault, 1980c, p. 119). The idea that power relations are asymmetrical often invokes ideas of constraint and repression. However, networks of power relations enable certain bodies, gestures, discourses, and desires to be lived out, contested, replaced and reconceptualised.

Resistance and struggle are always intertwined with power (Foucault, 1978; Said, 1993). In Foucault's view, resistance is not a unifying, totalising concept; rather there is a multiplicity of points of resistance just as there is a multiplicity of relations of power. Moreover, in the same way that power operates at the level of

local, seemingly insignificant activities, so does resistance. In any social relation the individual is recognised as one who acts, to whom a whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible inventions can open up (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Conceptions of resistance tied to large-scale class or state struggles, upheavals or revolutions are based on the assumption that the individual is born free of power relations and struggles and that resistance is a totalising attempt to overthrow power and to establish freedom. However, Foucault's view is that individuals are born into networks of power relations. Resistance, then, is not liberation. Rather, it is what escapes from relations of power. "What escapes from the reach of power – and something always does escape – does not escape from the reach of power to a place outside power, but represents the limit of power; its reversal or rebound" (Halperin, 1995, cited in St. Pierre, 2000, p. 492). Resistance then is taking up alternative ways of being and doing to which we are already defined, categorised and classified.

What is significant about Foucault's conception of power is that he claims he is "nominalistic" (1978, p. 93) in his approach. That is, he takes power to be a name for a complex grid or strategical situation, rather than a substance or a property (Hoy, 1986). Foucault captures how power permeates and constitutes social relationships by considering power as a network of changing, relational strategies or technologies of acting and by analysing how these strategies are dispersed in and through the minute details of everyday life in multiple forms.

A Foucauldian conception of power is central to the present research in investigating how patterns of classroom interaction are constituted, and how students' worldviews and identities are constructed within these patterns. It is a useful way of thinking about how the networks of power relations traditionally associated with classrooms enable or constrain students and teachers to take up particular ways of being a student and teacher, and how students and teachers (de)construct particular versions of reality and truth within these relations.

TRUTH AND REALITY

The teaching and learning of language and culture involves analysing the ways language helps to create a particular version of the world and the ways some worldviews attain a normative status. Both teachers and learners of language and culture shift between foreign and familiar values, beliefs and lifestyles, building on and enriching their existing cultural and linguistic repertoires or questioning and challenging what they already know. Conceptions of truth and reality are hence relevant to a discussion of the pedagogy of language and culture to provide a framework for making sense of individuals' differing and/or competing norms and values.

St Pierre (2000) argues that western scholarship has been preoccupied since the Enlightenment era with the pursuit of truth. She identifies three philosophies that have been influential in this: Descartes' mind/body dualism and the rational human self, Hegel's philosophy of absolute truths, and Comte's argument for the discovery of the essence of phenomena. Though the strategies they advocated for the discovery of truth and reality varied, the underlying assumption in all three philosophies is the idea that there is an already existing reality waiting to be discovered, and that this reality can be discovered through reason, through detachment from and objectivity about phenomena.

From this perspective reality and truth are seen as singular and stable, assumed to be universal and taken to be natural and normal. St Pierre goes on to assert that these philosophies have exerted a powerful hold on science in the West, equating truth with science and reason. The production of truth is centred on the hierarchisation of knowledge, with those forms produced in particular scientific and political apparatuses granted the status of normative and universal truth, and other forms being disregarded as emotional and irrational. In this way, particular knowledges become canonised as truth, as constituting an existing reality.

This is a view of truth and reality embedded in ethnocentric assumptions, with the expectation that one worldview, one reality will be the norm for all humankind.

There is no questioning of which knowledges become canonized as truth or whose claims to reality and truth are privileged over others. It is deemed irrelevant that particular understandings of reality and their truth value are significant for particular social contexts, histories and people. As Said (1978) argues, it is assumptions such as these that have helped to create the East as backward and barbaric.

These assumptions of a stable, already existing social reality are being questioned in attempts to disrupt its taken for grantedness and to reconceptualise it. Foucault (Rabinow, 1984), for instance, describes the world as a profusion of tangled events which cannot be simplified to bring out their essential truths, final meanings or intrinsic values. Rather than seeking to locate individuals in what he identifies as false certainties, he argues for an openness to the instability and uncertainty of human life. One way of displacing the search for truth, according to Derrida (1981), is to conceptualise meanings as always linked in chains of references, which exist by way of their references to other meanings. In this line of thinking, there is no essential meaning in things; rather all meanings are historic and contextualised. All knowledge is, hence, assumed to be partial and subjective, produced by particular groups of people for particular purposes within particular contexts.

Truth according to Foucault (1980c) is the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power are attached to the true. Every society has its own assembly of truths, its “regime of truth” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 131), which includes the types of knowledge and practices which a particular group accepts and makes function as true and the mechanisms and instances which enable them to distinguish between true and false statements. Foucault argues that his concern is not with discovering truth itself, but about “the specific effects of power attached to the true ... about the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays” (p. 133). What counts to be true in a society is an effect of particular relations of power. For Foucault (1980d) power can only be exercised through a certain economy of truths, which operate through and on the basis of this association.

For Foucault knowledge and power are interrelated. He argues “it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power” (Foucault, 1980b, p. 52). The exercise of power creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information. Conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power. Said (1978; 1993) and Bhabha (1994) draw on Foucault’s power/knowledge nexus in describing how a body of knowledge of the colonised and marginalised was constituted by way of an ensemble of colonial practices and scientific disciplines. A reality of the colonised was construed on the basis of racial degeneracy which, in turn, served to justify colonial occupation. Hence, putting a postcolonial spin on Foucault’s words, it can be said that “it was on the basis of power over ... [the colonised] that a physiological, organic knowledge of it became possible” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 59).

What these arguments suggest is that truth is not universal and beyond dispute. Rather, it is multiple, contextualised and historicized. Haraway (1988) argues for “politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims” (p. 589). She advocates abandoning claims of speaking on behalf of the universe and of seeking to attain a “view from above, from nowhere” (p. 589). Instead, she argues for acknowledging the situatedness of knowledge. The emergence of knowledge is not necessarily based on scientific verification or rationality, or cause and effect, but is constructed and embodied by particular groups of people within the play of power relations circulating in their social practices (Spivak, 1974). Nietzsche (cited in Sarup, 1993) captures the mythical nature of truth by describing it as illusions which people have forgotten about.

Within a view of truth and reality as multiple and as socially situated constructions, truth and reality cease to be already existing and obvious (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Individuals move in and out of multiple realities in their everyday lives, with each reality being self-evident and natural to them and to the social group they locate themselves in. What counts as reality and its truth status then will be different for different social groups and can vary between individuals within any social

group. The conceptual shift here from a totalising view of reality to a fragmented one is not rejection or disbelief, but is a shift from a focus on essences to an investigation of the processes of constitution of such so-called essences (Søndergaard, 1999). As Butler (1993) claims, reality does indeed exist, but it only exists within discourse, within socially accepted assumptions and understandings of the world. It is to this concept of discourse that I now turn.

DISCOURSE

A discussion of the concept of discourse is essential to the present research for two reasons: First, it provides a framework for theorising the concept of culture, for understanding how language and other sign systems operate in the production of a social reality within particular relations of power. The view of culture I espouse in this thesis is one of meaning-making practices, a view which rests on understandings of discourse (see chapter 3). Second, an understanding of the term discourse is crucial in providing me with an analytical framework with which I make sense of students' meanings and readings of the texts and tasks of the teaching program I designed (see chapters 6, 7 and 8).

The conception of discourse referred to in postcolonial studies is attributed to Foucault. Foucault describes discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (1969/1972, p. 49); they are the very acts of speaking, writing or articulating words. Scott (1988) elaborates, “discourse is not a language or a text but a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs” (p. 35). Davies and Harré (2000) also see discourse as “an institutionalised use of language and language-like sign systems”, where institutionalisation “can occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural, and the small group level” (p. 88). The concept of discourse as described here encapsulates how language and other sign systems are organised and regulated according to socially constructed rules and regularities that allow certain meanings to be made while delimiting others.

Weedon (1987) describes discourses as constituting much more than the production and articulation of knowledge. She refers to discourses as

ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and the relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects which they seek to govern. Neither the body nor thoughts and feelings have meaning outside their discursive articulation, but the ways in which discourse constitutes the minds and bodies of individuals is always part of a wider network of power relations, often with institutional bases. (p. 108)

Discourses, then, are the regulated and regulating complex social processes through which realities and truths are constructed and identities formed, legitimated and taken for granted in particular social, political and institutional groups. The human subject is constituted and reconstituted through multiple discourses. That is to say, the discourses available to any person provide a conceptual and enacted repertoire through which the individual sees the world from a particular point and in terms of images, metaphors, concepts and storylines made available within the discourse. These images, metaphors, concepts and storylines make available particular subject positions, in which the individual performs, or refuses to perform, a particular reality. In this sense, all realities and truths, understandings and assumptions of oneself and others are discursively produced.

While discourses are regular and systematic and delimit what can be said or done, they are not stable or deterministic of the individual. Discourses constitute what is normal, natural and right through historically passed down assumptions, agreements and truths, but these truths and assumptions can be contested, refashioned, reconceptualised and revised (Davies, 1994). The storylines, metaphors and images available within a discourse, then, are at the same time the resources through which individuals negotiate new worldviews, realities and subjectivities. This is possible by making visible these truths and their effects, or by taking up other, alternative, discourses. In this sense, discourse can be said to be constitutive of, and at the same time, constituted by individuals.

Discourses are multiple. The take up of a new discourse does not involve the adoption of a singular set of knowledges and practices; rather, each discourse comes as part of a chain of discourses, linked to other discourses. In this sense, discourses do not exist in isolation from one another but are mutually constitutive, with assemblies of assumptions and truths working with others. However, this does not guarantee that discourses are always compatible. One discourse that contradicts another does not necessarily undo another. Instead, old discourses exist among and with the new ones, each overlaying and informing the other. Davies (1989; 1996) argues that forms of knowledge and practices are not assembled and performed separately and distinct from each other; rather, they are “like the palimpsest of writings on old parchment, where the old was partially rubbed out and the new overlaid on the old, the old can still be seen and shapes, at least in part, how we see the new” (Davies, 1996, p. 17). Each discourse, then, can be seen to represent the shifting, fragmented and contradictory nature of individuals’ experiences and how they are positioned in multiple and often contradictory sets of power relations (Davies & Hunt, 1994).

Discourses incorporate a repertoire of appropriateness, of possible actions and expectations. In this way they make available and real to the individual choices to take up or resist particular worldviews and subject positions. These choices, however, are not free, rational choices, but what Davies calls “forced choices” (2000a, p. 60). They are forced in that the regimes of truth of the discourses that constitute the subject not only make possible chosen lines of action but also make them desirable. However, Davies does not see these forced choices as inevitable. She argues that individuals are agentic subjects in that they can resist, subvert and challenge the discourses and subjectivities that constitute them. Davies does not posit the humanist understanding of agency as freedom from discursive constitution. Rather, she describes agency as the capacity to recognise the discourses through which one is being constituted, and to have access to alternative ones.

Discourses operate as part of a network of power relations. Power structures social relations within and across discourses, and discourses distribute the effects of power. Weedon (1987) asserts that in order for a discourse to become common sense and natural, it needs to be taken up and circulated in established social institutions and practices. In this way, institutions expect conformity to particular discourses, meanings and identities. From this perspective some discourses can be thought to exert a hegemonic presence in individuals' lives. However, Foucault (1978) asserts that it is misleading to divide discourses into the categories of dominant and dominated. He argues that hegemonic practices are not fixed once and for all but are contested and reconstructed in the wider network of discourses and subject positions that become available to individuals. Discourses produce and transmit relations of power, but individuals can take up new strategies and techniques with alternative discourses and in this way can hinder and oppose strategies of power.

Said (1978) uses the concept of discourse to analyse how certain knowledges and truths about postcolonial subjects and contexts have been produced and maintained. He argues that "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively" (p. 3). He describes the West as having constructed a "political version of reality" (p. 43) which was effectively used for "dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Said seeks to make visible how discourses and operations of power have produced certain knowledges and regimes of truths about the Orient, which have become natural and taken for granted, and which serve to maintain asymmetrical power relations and the subjugation of marginalised groups. Making these discourses visible is the first step in problematising these normative constructions, opening them up to critique and producing alternative knowledges. In the present research one of the discourses I sought to open up to students' critique and reconceptualisation was that of binary logic, which I discuss below.

BINARY LOGIC

In structuralist linguistics language is thought of as a vehicle for simply naming and reflecting phenomena. Meaning, then, is attributed to a concept or phenomenon on the basis of its difference to other concepts or phenomena (Scott, 1988). However, because it is impossible for any language to label every single phenomenon as distinct and discrete, in a linguistic category of its own, meanings which seem to be similar, yet which may be significantly different, are grouped together in oppositional categories. In this way differences are “subsumed under the essence of a single category ... in an attempt to produce order and regularity” (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 480). The present research focuses on a particular approach to encourage students to recognise the simplicity of fixing cultural groups into such categorisations.

Davies (2000c) points out that the process of categorisation has become natural in western societies. Members of society learn that individuals can be located and fixed within particular boundaries based on their patterns of talk and their ways of being. They learn that these boundaries or categories include some and exclude others and that they are attributed particular meanings in reference to precisely what they include and exclude. In this way reality is essentialised in terms of a set of binary oppositions, in terms of positioning oneself and others exclusively in some categories and not in others, such as being male and not female, rational and not emotional, modern and not primitive, with the belief that these categories reflect an intrinsic natural social order.

Davies (2000c) argues that this process of categorising oneself and others and being categorised into oppositional positionings needs to be questioned as it is a way “of controlling, of reducing, of slotting someone into that which is already known” (p. 38). It is a way of believing that people and their actions are definably distinct and discrete. In fact, binary oppositions conceal the extent to which meanings are derived from a socially constructed, rather than inherent and obvious, contrast.

Derrida (1967/1974) makes the case that binary logic is not a natural or neutral way of categorising people into familiar domains, but constitutes the world into

hierarchical ways through its privileging of one term or category within the binary and marginalising others. In binary pairs one of the terms is assigned a centre, a central and authorising presence against which all other terms stand in comparison (Davies, 1994). This term is ascendant and normative, and is unmarked, that is invisible as a category. The other term is seen as a deviation from this centre, this norm. It is marked and visible. Unmarked categories rely on and inhere within the opposing categories for their identity and supposed superiority. In this way binary logic organises the world into oppositional and hierarchical differences and stabilises meanings and representations.

Derrida (1974) seeks to disrupt the view that binary oppositions are mutually exclusive. He extends de Saussure's argument on the arbitrary relationship between a sign and its signified and argues that the meaning of a sign is never fixed but is constantly deferred. Any meaning he claims is already inhabited by other meanings; it always shifts into new meanings in new contexts and discourses, without erasing the trace of its previous existing meanings. Derrida uses the concept of *différance* to capture the differed and different nature of meanings, and asserts that there cannot be a fixed centre or privileged reference from which other meanings derive their value. Categories, then, are not fixed or stable, nor are they mutually exclusive, but refer beyond themselves. That is, borders and boundaries constantly shift when different discourses and subject positions are drawn on. Hence, Derrida introduces the view that meanings are transient and fleeting.

Hall (1996a) expands on the fluid and fragmented nature of binary oppositions. He argues that cultural differences surpass the borders of the binary structures of us/them, East/West, familiar/exotic into which they are locked. Meanings are continually repositioned, he argues, in relation to different points of reference. He exemplifies,

vis-à-vis the developed West, we [the colonised] are very much 'the same'. We belong to the marginal, the underdeveloped, the periphery, the 'Other' ... At the same time, we do not stand in the same relation of the 'otherness' to the metropolitan centres. Each has negotiated its economic, political and cultural dependency differently. (1996a, p. 114)

This suggests that categories and meanings are not transcendental. They are not fixed or stable. Rather, the boundaries enclosing categories are fluid and are continually re-sited along a scale of markedness (Davies, 1996; Søndergaard, 1999).

Søndergaard (1999) argues that boundary work can be thought to be inevitable. In the words one uses or in thoughts, one simultaneously creates boundaries, including and excluding meanings and people. In this way, one creates “a discursive essentialism” (p. 4). She adds, however, that instead of accepting these categories as fixed truths, one should conceptualise them as constructed and situated statements undergoing constant change. Working with the assumption that binary categories are not pre-discursive realities but are constructions suggests that they can be also deconstructed, contested and reconceptualised.

The deconstruction of binary logic

Derrida (1974) proposes a deconstructive practice to subvert binary oppositions, to move away from hierarchy, inevitable differences and the taken for grantedness of one’s locatedness in particular categories. Deconstruction aims to “dismantle the metaphysical and rhetorical structures which are at work, not in order to reject or discard them, but to reinscribe them in another way” (Spivak, 1974, p. xxv). This attempt implies not only the neutralisation or reversal of the binary oppositions or their replacement, but a conceptual reconstruction. Deconstruction “is an attempt to follow the subtle, powerful effects of differences already at work within the illusion of a binary opposition” (Johnson, 1980, cited in Scott, 1988).

Derrida’s conception of deconstruction rests on the assumption that binary oppositions are discursive constructions, and that what is constructed can also be deconstructed and contested. Deconstruction involves the breaking of the bonds of words, images and metaphors that hold individuals inside categories. St Pierre (2000) suggests that rather than seeing the world as “the way it is”, as natural, it should be seen as “created and maintained everyday by people” (p. 483). An

examination of the way individuals “word the world” (p. 483), of one’s role in the construction and maintenance of rigid categories and one’s compliance in the subjugation of particular categories, is essential for the reconceptualisation of binary oppositions.

The dismantling or subverting of a binary logic involves engagement and dialogue with the dominant unmarked categories rather than dichotomous opposition to them. It involves initially putting concepts *sous rature* (Derrida, 1974) which Spivak translates as “under erasure” (1974, p. xiv); that is recognising and making visible their exclusions and limitations yet holding onto them as there is no other concept to capture its reconstructed form and replace it. Putting concepts under erasure is a way of challenging the taken for grantedness of discursive practices and categories and moving beyond the limitations of particular worldviews.

Postcolonial theorists draw on a Derridean view of deconstruction to draw attention to whose interests the maintenance of oppositional categories serves. Ahmad (1987), for instance, puts under erasure the categorisations of first and third worlds. He argues that the first world is constructed in terms of economic production whereas the third world is defined in terms of its historical experience with subordination, which suggests that this distinction divides the world into those who make history and those who are mere objects of it. The struggles and histories of the so-called third world are in this sense disregarded. He argues, furthermore, that this opposition submerges the enormous heterogeneities of both worlds within a singular experience, masking contradictions and differences, and ignores the fact that within both worlds one could find matters that pertain to the other.

In a similar vein, the categories that set cultural differences in opposition, such as the categories East/West, are under erasure on the basis that differences are constructed as homogenous and coherent entities (Memmi, 1965). Individuals associated with particular cultural groups, located on either side of the binary divide, are assigned an essence that makes them the same as each other, though different to members of other cultural groups. Said (1978), for example, claims that

differences from western norms and values are drowned in an anonymous collectivity, with Arabs “shown in large numbers [with] no individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences” (p. 287). Likewise, Mohanty (1996) critiques western feminism for collapsing third world women into a homogenous group, a unanimous consensus that, she claims, does not exist. She argues that such absolute categories ignore diversity and fail to locate individuals in a historical and material context. Members of these categories are robbed of resistance, change and agency.

It appears, then, that binary logic, as a system of thought, “approaches a heterogenous, dynamic and complex human reality from an uncritically essentialist standpoint” (Said, 1978, p. 333), ignoring the way human reality is constantly made and unmade. One of the goals of the present research has been to make available to students the tools with which they can question the way a binary divide of the world essentialises individuals into particular ways of being, undermining the fluidity and complexity of meanings, practices and identities.

IDENTITY

Another term that is under erasure is the concept of identity. The present research focuses on providing students with the analytical tools to analyse constructions of cultural identities in texts. More specifically, it aims to equip students with the means to deconstruct the social positionings made available to mainstream and ‘other’ cultural groups in texts and to reconceptualise alternative positions. An understanding of the concept of identity is also central to my analyses of data where I investigate the identities students appear to take up, resist and subvert in their readings of texts and in their interactions with each other. I trace the complex shifting identities students experience in the teaching program.

Davies (1993; 1994), Weedon (1987) and other poststructuralists, who argue for a constant questioning and (re)construction of boundaries and categorisations, have abandoned the use of the term identity on the grounds that it invokes ideas of a unitary, singular and consistent self. They claim that the concept of identity

suggests a rational, conscious individual possessing an essence that is uncontaminated by the outside. St Pierre (2000) describes this view of identity as the dominant “fiction” (p. 501) of western philosophy, which needs to be opened up to reconstruction and reconfiguration.

In attempts to reconceptualise conceptions of identity, the terms subjectivity and subjectification are taken up, in particular, in feminist poststructuralist work. Davies (1994) explains that the concept of subjectivity derives from the verb to subject, which, she argues, serves to decentre the conscious and rational individual of humanist thought. The term subjectification refers to the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject, that is the process of being subjected and taking up the terms of subjection (Søndergaard, 2002; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The concept of subjectivity captures the idea that the individual does not exist independent of society but is produced socially, as the effect of discourse and discursive practices, and the networks of power through which they operate (Weedon, 1987).

In this thesis I draw on the theory of subjectivity to formulate a conception of identity as a discursive construction, as multiple and complex and always in process. In my study of two groups of EFL students, I use the term identity to refer to one’s conscious and unconscious understandings of oneself in relation to the world. I prefer the term identity to subjectivity in order to emphasise the ways individuals make the particular ways of being they are subjected to their own, investing in these multiple selves.

Identities are constructed, taken up and invested in, or are resisted and transgressed, in the subject positions made available in discourses. Positioning is the discursive process whereby individuals are located or locate themselves in situations as observable and coherent participants (Davies & Harré, 2000). Individuals are not necessarily in control of the positions they take up or resist. Indeed, Davies and Harré (2000) point out that “one lives one’s life in terms of one’s ongoingly produced self, whoever might be responsible for its production” (p. 91).

Hall (1996a) conceptualises identity as the names individuals give to the different ways they are positioned and position themselves within the continuous play of history, culture and power. He argues “we need to understand [identities] as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” (S. Hall, 1996e, p. 4). In this perspective identity is not a fixed essence, a fixed origin to which individuals return, but one that is strategic and positional. Identities are points of temporary attachment to subject positions within available discursive practices. When a subject position is taken up, the individual sees the world, themselves and others in terms of the concepts, categories and storylines made available within discursive practices.

The individual’s identification with particular subject positions is not a stable and continuous process. Rather, it is fragmented and ongoing as individuals move in and out of different and competing discourses and subject positions, foregrounding particular identities and giving up others. The singular use of the word identity is, in fact, misleading as the ways one takes up being in the world are never singular. They are “multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions” (S. Hall, 1996e, p. 4). Hence, there is never a total fit into a single identity; one is constantly in the process of change and transformation.

Identities constitute individuals’ minds, bodies and emotions (Weedon, 1987). They are sites of consensual regulation as well as struggle and contestation. Individuals are hailed or interpellated into the social world; that is, they are positioned to take up expected ways of being, “along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there?’” (Althusser, 1971, cited in Davies, 2000c, p. 47). Nevertheless, this hailing is at the same time always open to challenge and negotiation and is never final or fixed. Individuals may fit into and readily take up the subject positions opened up to them in discourse, or they may resist the subject position, set up a counter-discourse and position themselves within a powerful rather than marginalised subject position. It is through

“*disidentification*” (Butler, 1993, p. 4, emphasis in original) with regulatory norms, that is not responding to the hail, that individuals can take up alternative positions and can reinterpret and refigure their positions in social and political structures. In the present research, for example, I am interested in the ways the students in the study responded to various texts’ hailings, in the subject positions they appeared to take and those they subverted or resisted.

Identities and social categories are constructed within specific modalities of power and entail the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, of differences and exclusions rather than unities. The unity and internal homogeneity which one assumes as foundational in identities is not natural but is a “constructed form of closure [with] every identity naming ... that which it lacks” (S. Hall, 1996e, p. 5). Benhabib (2002) describes the search for identity as the creation of difference. It is through “the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, that identity is constructed” (Butler, 1993, p. 3). In other words, one’s perceived relations and differences to the other, to what one is not helps define who or what one is.

‘Othering’

The construction of identity involves excluding particular characteristics, meanings and people from a ‘self’ category and assigning them as ‘other’. The construction of an ‘other’, then, is simultaneous with the construction of a ‘self’, where the ‘self’ is defined in terms of the ‘other’. Fanon (1967) describes, for example, how the gaze of the ‘other’ fixes him in a racial identity. He describes that he is fixed into an awareness of the colour of his skin through his ‘otherness’ to the owner of the gaze. Fanon’s example suggests that the ‘other’ is not outside but also inside the ‘self’. The construction of identity, then, can be described as “the relationship of the other to oneself. Only when there is an other can you know who you are” (S. Hall, 1996b, p. 345).

In the process of identity construction, the ‘self’ emerges as superior to the ‘other’; the ‘self’ constitutes the norm, the centre, the powerful whereas the ‘other’

constitutes the periphery, occupies a less powerful position and becomes a deviation from the norm. In this case, the 'other' constitutes a threat to the unity of the 'self' category, a unity which is achieved by repressing and silencing the 'other'. Colonial discourses, for example, construct and define an inferior 'otherness'. Said (1978) and Mohanty (1996) discuss how the West implicitly constructs for itself an identity based on what it is not. By assigning particular representations, words, metaphors and storylines to the 'other', the West constructs a "latent self-representation" (Mohanty, 1996, p. 183). These representations inform and shape the ways in which the distinctions between the East and the West are understood and established as truths. Mohanty further adds that it is not the West, the centre that determines the periphery but the periphery in its boundedness that determines the centre. Indeed, she claims that without the discourse of the 'other' "there would be no (singular and privileged) first world" (Mohanty, 1996, p. 192).

Hall (1996a) makes the case that the ways the 'other' are "positioned and subject-ed in the dominant regimes of representation [are] the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation" (p. 112). The 'other' is cited, framed, and illuminated but it is never the agent of its own articulation (Bhabha, 1994). Colonial discourses produce a social reality which is at once 'other' yet entirely knowable and visible. The 'other' is fixed into an ambivalent mode of power and knowledge, into a stereotype, where the identification of the 'other' is already known yet is anxiously repeated to ensure it is kept in place (Bhabha, 1994). For Bhabha the stereotype is a simplification of the 'other' not because it presents a false representation of a given reality. Rather, it is a simplification because it is an "arrested, fixated form of representation" (p. 75) that denies the play of difference. Hall (1996b) argues that discovering this self/other relation is central to unlocking histories of nationalism and racism. Racism, he argues, "is a structure of discourse and representation that tries to expel the other symbolically – blot it out, put it over there in the third world, at the margin" (p. 345).

The representations and myths of the 'other' are not only taken up as true by those outside the 'other' category but also by those inside, by those positioned as 'other'.

The other's 'othering' becomes internalised and naturalised knowledge; it becomes inscribed in the 'other'. Indeed,

... it is one thing to position a subject or sets of people as the other of a dominant discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that 'knowledge', not only as a matter of imposed will and domination, [but also] by the power of inner compulsion and subjective con-formation to the norm. (S. Hall, 1996a, p. 112-113)

The 'other' takes up its 'othering', its deviation and difference, hence creating a "self-Orientalism" (Iwabuchi, 1994, cited in Kubota, 1999, p. 19). Bhabha (1994) describes this process of subliminal conformation to one's stereotype as returning the coloniser's gaze, as the subject turning around the "pivot of the stereotype to return to a point of total identification" (p. 76).

While Bhabha, Said and the others cited above focus on the power games underlying the naturalisation of the 'otherness' of particular races, societies and cultures, Aitchison (2001) and Kubota (1999; 2002) point out that the take up of exotic and unique self-representations can be seen as political and economic investments. Aitchison discusses how third world tourism industries construct the West as overfed and bored and represent themselves as providing excitement and fulfilling fantasies. She claims the first world is lured into consuming "third world places and people as pleasure products" (p. 135). Furthermore, Kubota's argument is that the 'other' adopts cultural uniqueness in its struggle for power and recognition in the globalisation of markets. In Japan, for instance, Kubota claims, affective and nationalistic values have been promoted by Japanese governments since the 1960s not only against fears of cultural and linguistic imperialism from the West, but also in order to secure Japan's participation in national and international markets.

National identities

The construction of national identities is an example of fixing a communal 'self' against a collective 'otherness'. Anderson (1991) describes nations as imagined

communities, built on an imagined unification with people within politically defined boundaries. Nations are not only political constructs but also social constructions as people participate in the forming of the idea of a nation.

National identities are produced, maintained and transformed on the basis of discourses of homogeneity. The construction of national identities builds on the mobilisation of ideas of a shared ancestry and history (de Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999) and a shared language (Blackledge, 2002). Individuals' recollections of past events and mutual anticipations of the future are significant in affirming their connections with each other and securing solidarity. In this sense national identities play a political role in securing a collective 'self' in opposition to and distinct from 'others'. Politics, mass communications, militarisation, education and other social and political spheres of life disseminate such ideas of national collectivity. The linguistic and cultural practices of socially and politically powerful groups are built into mainstream institutions and are circulated and maintained as representative of all members of society. These practices are assumed to underlie all differences and to be the essence of a national identity.

From the perspective of identity as a discursive construction that is ongoing, fragmented and contradictory, assumptions of a collective identity become problematic. Assumptions of collective identities essentialise differences and diversity and expect consistency and coherence. Any diversity within the nation, whether linguistic, racial or ethnic, is considered a threat to national harmony, a disruption which needs to be subdued (Gilroy, 2001). While Hall (1996b) asserts that all identities are narratives that serve to stabilise the status quo, he also adds that collective identifications do have political and social significance of a more oppositional nature (1990/1996a). His argument is that historically conceptions of collective identity have played a crucial role in the emergence of anti-colonial, feminist and anti-racist movements. An imaginary rediscovery or reunification with a hidden, forgotten or marginalised history can be "a way of imposing an imaginary coherence on the experience of [racial or ethnic] dispersal and fragmentation" (S. Hall, 1996a, p. 112).

In a similar vein Fanon (1965) discusses the significance of collective identifications to counteract “the perverted logic” with which colonialism “turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it” (p. 170). He argues that a valuing of pre-colonial native, local histories and identities requires identifications at a national level. “A national culture” he asserts “is not a folklore, nor an abstract populism that believes it can discover the people’s true nature. ... [It] is the whole body of efforts made by a people” (p. 188). Fanon associates struggles for constructing national identifications and unifications as essential in the struggle for freedom from colonialism. While Said (1993) agrees with this, he is also quick to warn that “western imperialism and Third World nationalism feed off each other” (p. xxvii) in that “defensive”, “reactive” and “paranoid nationalism” (p. xxix) venerates the uniqueness of a national ‘us’ against a national ‘them’.

Davies’ (2000b) use of (be)longing is relevant to the discussion of national identities here. Davies brackets the ‘be’ to emphasise individuals’ desires for recognition and affiliation, a longing for belonging. The ‘be’ written in this way also captures the illusion of individuals as existing naturally, as ‘being’ themselves, in a mythical pre-discursive manner. In this sense, a national (be)longing signifies a form of solidarity and security, albeit an imagined and fragmented one.

Hall (1996b) elaborates on the fractures in imagined national communities in *New Times*. He argues that the homogeneity and distinctiveness of ‘us’ and ‘them’ at a global level is being challenged at local levels. More specifically, his point is that “at one and the same time people feel part of the world and part of their ... face-to-face communities” (p. 343). He stresses that global ecological and economic interdependency as well as local struggles for religious and cultural autonomy undermine assertions of nation-states for stability and unity. In the present research I designed tasks which I believed could encourage students to interrogate the textual mobilisation of national and cultural stereotypes and recognise the complexity and variability of alternatives to these.

Hybrid identities

Homi Bhabha's (1994) conception of hybridity allows the negotiation of the multiplicity and fluidity of identities. Working with a Derridean perspective of the *différance* of meanings, he seeks to trouble the binary logic with which individuals are located into originary and initial subjectivities, where 'us' is pitched against 'them'. Bhabha posits that meanings and identities are formed in the spaces "in-between" (p. 1), in the interstices of the categories of difference and identity, the past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. It is in these in-between spaces, these spaces which are "in excess of the sum of the 'parts' of difference" (p. 2) that subjects are formed. His argument is that emphasising "the interstitial passages between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (p. 4). These hybrid spaces make possible the emergence of an "interstitial agency" (Bhabha, 1996, p. 58) that refuses binary representations or cultural supremacy.

Bhabha (1994) draws attention to how an ethnically cleansed, homogenous national identity is possible only through the death of people, histories and cultures. He argues that there is overwhelming evidence of a more transnational and transcultural sense of the hybridity of imagined communities. Instead of assuming that differences are superficial and need to be subsumed under similarities, Bhabha suggests being open to differences. The exchange of values and meanings, he argues, may not always be collaborative and dialogical in a society. Indeed, they may be "profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and incommensurable" (1994, p. 2). This may be so not only between groups of people or between individuals within the same social group, but between the values and priorities any individual holds themselves. In this sense, the spaces in-between may be places of contradictions (Soja, 1996), challenges to what one believes constitutes the norm as well as what one believes constitutes the self.

Bhabha's theoretical orientation to culture and identity has been taken up in education. Kramsch (1993; 1995; Kramsch et al., 1996), for example, incorporates

Bhabha's concept of hybrid spaces into language pedagogy. She discusses the creation of third spaces and hybrid identities as possible when one takes an insider's view into other cultures and an outsider's view of one's own cultural categories. In the interstices between the old and the new, the familiar and the foreign, one negotiates new meanings, identities and worldviews. It is in these spaces that EFL students are required to participate in New Times. Learning a foreign or second language entails navigating between foreign and familiar times and spaces, and negotiating differences in-between global and local times and spaces. In the study that I conducted, I sought to investigate the ways students created hybrid spaces and moved in and out of familiar and foreign meanings. My discussions of hybridity (see chapter 8) will hopefully add to the growing body of work on the negotiation of hybrid identities in language learning (e.g., Byram & Fleming, 1998; Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, & Crozet, 1999).

PEDAGOGY

Education is a political act in that it involves the presentation and negotiation of worldviews (Pennycook, 1994, 2000; 2001). The classroom is a site where different visions of the world, different linguistic codes and discourses come into contact, are challenged and/or negotiated. Indeed, as Canagarajah (1999) points out, the classroom does not merely reflect or reproduce the social world, but is itself a social and political domain, constituting a place in which social relations are constituted and played out within networks of power relations. In the present research I focus on two classroom contexts where I investigate the intricate web of meanings and relationships the students and I constructed and the various identities we each played out.

From the perspective that schools exist in a complex social and political relationship to the world outside, classrooms can become sites where unequal global and societal power relations are manifested and confirmed, or where they are challenged (Luke & Elkins, 2002). The discourses and practices that teachers make available to students, then, can be effective in equipping students with the tools and understandings to challenge the inequities that result from imbalances of power

relations. An explicit focus on the ways texts position readers to take for granted particular realities, for instance, can encourage students to oppose being caught up in such hegemonic discourses and can help them appropriate counter-discourses.

According to Pennycook (1994), the take up of counter-discourses is possible by encouraging students to develop a voice. Voice here does not refer to merely non-silence, a mouthing of words. Rather, it refers to students' awareness of language as social practice, a consciousness of the sociocultural and political contexts in which language functions. Pennycook's notion of voice here is analogous to Bhabha's concept of hybrid spaces in that Pennycook describes voice as "a contested space" (1994, p. 310), and as "a place of struggle in the space between language, discourse and subjectivity" (p. 311). These voices provide learners with the means to trouble the binaries, the categories and representations that stabilise their identities and understandings. In my discussion of the outcomes of my study at the ELICOS centre, I argue that the addition of an ethnographic element to the analytical tools of critical discourse analysis appeared to be effective in giving several students a voice, in Pennycook's sense of the term. These students' journal entries suggested that they were questioning and challenging their own assumptions of normativity and were seeking ways to go beyond the self/other divide. I recognised this as significant in suggesting that the teaching program I had employed had equipped some students with the means to access complex, diverse discursive realities.

CONCLUSION

I have devoted this chapter to theory in order to make visible the assumptions and understandings which underpin my views of the social world. In the next chapter I trace the various ways the concept of culture has been conceptualised by different people at different times and places. I outline how the concept moves in and out of various discursive themes and frames.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALISING CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the contentious concept of culture. There is no single, authoritative definition of the concept; rather, over time it has been conceptualised in a number of different ways. Geertz (1973) describes the term as having acquired “a certain aura of ill-repute” (p. 89) because of the historical multiplicity and complexity of what it signifies and Raymond Williams (1976) claims that culture “is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (p. 76).

Appadurai (1996) expresses his discomfort in using the term culture as a noun and claims that he is attached to its adjectival form cultural. He argues that this is due to the evocations of the term culture as a kind of substance, object or possession, whether physical or metaphysical. The term cultural, however, he claims, “moves one into a realm of differences, contrasts, and comparisons ... in relation to something local, embodied, and significant” (p. 12). Throughout this thesis I use the term culture with similar concerns. I do not use the term to suggest that culture is a property. Rather, I emphasise culture as a discursive construction, as the everyday social practices available to groups of individuals and I recognise these practices as multiple and hybrid.

In this chapter I put the concept of culture under erasure. I examine a number of ways the concept has been theorised and studied and discuss their limitations and strengths. I end the chapter with my reinscription of the concept from a discourse perspective.

CULTURE AS INTELLECTUAL REFINEMENT

During the Enlightenment era, commencing towards the end of the sixteenth century in western Europe, culture was equated with literary and artistic work, and

the elitism thought to derive from such intellectual and creative endeavours. Enlightenment thinkers, such as Kant and Descartes, emphasised the advancement of reason and advocated an intellectual and moral refinement through engaging in literature and art. In this tradition, culture was theorised as a process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development that could be experienced only by a privileged minority. In particular, the literate societies of the world, which at the time were western European societies, and the elite literate classes in these societies, perceived themselves to have the rational capabilities to engage with culture.

In the post-Enlightenment era, the idea of culture as a process of intellectual refinement was transferred to the artistic achievements of a society, such as its music, theatre, art and especially its literature, which were thought to sustain and represent culture. Mathew Arnold (1869/1960), for instance, continued with a view of culture as intellectual refinement, defining culture as the perfection exhibited in a canon of classical literary work. Arnold regarded the literary and artistic capabilities of ordinary people, of the masses, as unworthy of study, considering them anarchic and vulgar, and the result of delusion and superficial interests. Although Arnold espoused the view that culture could be transmitted through education and, thereby, become shared by more than an elite social group, culture was still separate to the everyday activities of the general population.

Within this view of culture, particular literary genres and authors are hierarchically organised. At the lower end of the hierarchy are popular literary culture and other forms and practices that have as their base the everyday experiences of ordinary people. Popular culture is excluded from the canon and is dissociated from intellectual and moral refinement. Surber (1998) asserts that Enlightenment thinking and its attendant distinction of the cultivated and the popular can no longer enjoy the general acceptance it once had. The establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, for example, began with an interrogation of high and low cultural categories and the intention to democratise the culture and society divide (S. Hall, 1996c). However, conceptions of high culture are still prevalent today. Many English departments in universities, for instance, are divided over

whether to teach only a classical canon, hence following in the footsteps of Arnold, or to incorporate elements of popular culture.

THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE ‘OTHER’

In the late 1800s, anthropologists’ interests in describing and understanding the lifestyles of colonised peoples suggested a broader conceptualisation of culture. Conceptions of society and culture were brought together with a focus on what ordinary people do, their communal way of life, behaviour, beliefs, customs and assumptions. The focus of anthropology was on the shared social fabric that makes up a society. However, until the mid-twentieth century, the gaze of anthropology was directed solely on those that were ‘othered’ as different, as quaint and exotic.

Evolutionary explanations of the ‘other’

The earliest definition of culture as a way of life is attributed to Tylor (1871/1958), who claims that

Culture or Civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (p. 1)

In this definition Tylor introduced a non-discriminatory perspective on culture as practices and views that can be acquired by all of mankind. Tylor accepted the cultural diversity of people on a global scale but attempted to fit this diversity into an evolutionary theory about the origin of history, race and civilisations.

Tylor theorised differences in lifestyles as the product of rational thought processes. Along with other anthropologists like Morgan (1877/1978) he advocated the existence of a uniform mental faculty in humankind and, drawing on Darwin’s theory of human evolution, maintained that differences in the application of this faculty to everyday practices placed societies in different grades of civilisation. Based on this argument he theorised that the investigation of reason in the ways groups of people conduct their everyday lives could provide evidence of their

evolutionary development. With a strong conviction that the lifestyle of British society in particular, and western European societies in general, were inherently rational, he interpreted non-western societies' practices according to western norms and conventions. When these foreign lifestyles seemed unintelligible, Tylor concluded that they were irrational and unstable, and had resulted from ignorance and error. For him, and other like-minded anthropologists, this had once again proven the supremacy of western European societies and their ways of life over 'others'.

Tylor's theory of culture was significant in suggesting a move away from culture as literary and artistic artefacts to the thoughts and events of ordinary people. However, it was equally significant in establishing a normative view of the social and intellectual superiority of western societies. His work, therefore, retained the Enlightenment eurocentric view of valuing the ways of being of some, while despising others.

Cultural relativity

Boas (1911/1965; 1940/1966) was also interested in investigating and explaining the lifestyles of 'other' peoples. However, he emphasised the uniqueness of each cultural group and rejected Tylor's views of a homogenous humanity. He argued for an understanding of colonised people and their lifestyles as relative to their historical and situational contexts, rather than as deviants of industrial societies. Boas described culture as a system of habitual processes and practices, suggesting their taken-for-granted subconscious nature. He further argued that these habits are acquired through socialisation so that the behaviour and beliefs of individuals reflect the traditions in which they are raised rather than their native intelligence.

Boas' theories of culture and society have been significant not only in raising anti-evolutionary ideas of culture at the time, but also in present day uses of the term. Kuper (1999), for example, notes that the differentiation between the use of the terms a culture and cultures, as opposed to culture, was initiated by Boas and his students. Boas also initiated a move towards incorporating subjective interpretations

in descriptions of cultural practices. Boas himself was a firm advocate of providing transcriptions of natives' recollections and thoughts on their own cultural practices. In this way he believed he could enable readers to understand cultural phenomena by gaining an insider's perspective, as well as avoid imposing his own western-based views or standards. This was a radical move for anthropology in that the ideas and experiences of people that had been labelled by many as primitive and uncivilised were for the first time being given credibility and voice.

For Benedict (1934/1959), the term culture referred to an emotional consistency which underlies differences in collective ways of being. Benedict's intention was to move beyond ethnocentric assumptions of the absurdity and incoherence of the 'other' by recognising the unique temperaments of each cultural group. Benedict located the general tendencies, as she assumed them, of a particular cultural group on a continuum of emotional dichotomies, a method of describing cultural differences recognised today (E. T. Hall, 1981; Hofstede, 1994). While such analyses focus on exploring both the 'self' and the 'other', the normativity of the 'self', in most cases the West, in describing and defining 'others' is maintained. Moreover, the employment of binary opposites reduces the complexity and diversity within any cultural group to a fixable point on a continuum. The processes and practices familiar to groups of people are essentialised as stable entities.

A focus on meaning-making

By the mid-twentieth century, it was getting increasingly more difficult for anthropologists to discover and document tribal communities untouched by colonisation. Hence, their interest shifted to analysing the peoples of the third world and of postcolonial contexts, continuing to satisfy their curiosity in the 'other'. In this context Levi-Strauss' work in discovering a universal grammar of culture was significant in that Levi-Strauss had gone beyond the Boasian aspiration of describing and saving exotic societies, to demonstrating that there is no fundamental difference between cultural groups.

Levi-Strauss theorised that all humans possess an identical competence to perceive, organise, and represent the world. He assumed that in the same way that speakers of a language are unaware of the structures behind language (*langue*), which Ferdinand de Saussure had claimed determine language use (*parole*), members of a culture are no more aware of the underlying structures governing their actions. He defined culture as sign systems that express the unconscious foundations of meaning-making and sought to demonstrate the existence of a universal grammar of culture rooted in the subconscious properties of the human mind. From this perspective, cultural differences could be explained as variations in the performance, the implementation, of this competence. To demonstrate his argument, Levi-Strauss studied the myths, kinship theories and exchange systems of preliterate societies claiming that the same basic structural patterns governed both so-called primitive thought and modern scientific thought.

Levi-Strauss' work is widely acknowledged as contributing to understandings of the concept of culture, which developed either as an extension of his ideas or in reaction to it. Poststructuralist theories, for example, developed primarily as a set of critical responses to the universalism and structuralism inherent in his approach to the individual and society. Poststructuralists perceived the idea that meanings are derived from a universal, innate mental structure governing human action to be problematic. Instead, they argued for a focus on meanings as produced in dialectical relationship between action and structure, and called for a focus on meaning-making as an ongoing process of signification.

Whereas Levi-Strauss reassigned culture to a mental state, Geertz (1973) focused on observable cultural patterns, with the belief that meaning itself is public. Geertz describes culture as a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms by means of which men [*sic*] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (p. 89). For Geertz, these symbolic forms were human behaviour and actions. Geertz rejected the idea that cultures determine meaning; rather, he asserted that a culture creates the context, the social model, which renders human behaviour meaningful. In other words, for Geertz, human behaviour signifies meaning not because of a culture, but within a

culture. This new discourse insisted that cultural meanings are accessible within context.

Geertz sustained attempts to understand and explain the worldview of the 'other'. He explains the purpose of anthropology as "gaining access to the conceptual world in which our [anthropologists'] subjects live so that we can ... converse with them" (1973, p. 24). To this end, Geertz advocated an interpretive approach to cultural analyses, what he calls a thick description of cultures. He argues that a thick description of a culture would entail describing a complex set of conceptual structures in terms of which a particular act is produced, perceived and interpreted. In this sense, he compares cultural analysis to reading a written text, the difference being that rather than conventionalised graphs of sound, this text constitutes momentary examples of behaviour. What is significant about Geertz's interpretive approach was that it suggested that understanding other cultural groups in the frame of their own particularities can expose their normality to the western world. However, what Geertz failed to take into account was that ethnographies are cultural constructs themselves, are texts that are fabricated with the discursive practices and meanings familiar to the anthropologist him/herself, rather than being straightforward objective accounts. Moreover, from a postcolonial perspective, thick descriptions today would need to take into account a globalised context where meanings and identities are in a flux, are partial and contradictory (Appadurai, 1996).

Culture as property of the 'other'

Postcolonial theorists have drawn attention to the liaison between anthropology and colonialism, and have put under scrutiny the largely male, eurocentric view of cultural studies that have dominated the social sciences (Bhabha 1994; Goldberg, 2000; Pels, 1997). They criticise anthropologists for claiming to have taken on the white man's burden to speak on behalf of the oppressed and to be the voice of the muted. Holliday (1999) claims this presumptuous attitude has resulted in what is perceived to be foreign being reduced to "a simplistic, easily digestible, exotic or degrading stereotype" (p. 245). Said (1993) also questions the ways in which

practices associated with the 'other' become fixed into predefined traits and are used as excuses for colonisation (Fanon, 1967).

A history of anthropological interests in the rituals and lifestyles of 'other' peoples, a continual fascination with describing and understanding what makes 'them' different have led to assumptions that 'they' have culture and 'we' do not. Today the term culture is used to explain what makes non-mainstream groups different to the norm or what makes it difficult for them to integrate into mainstream life, thereby further marginalising already marginalised groups. Issues of cultural differences are dealt with through tokenistic programs which focus on the quaint and colourful aspects of 'others' as representative of who they are and what they do. Mainstream social groups, on the other hand, remain invisible as a cultural category (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Singh, 2000). They assume a transcendental normativity and regularity.

HEGEMONY AND POWER IN CULTURE

The conceptualisation of culture as a site of struggle between competing interests can be traced to the Marxist grounding of personal life in political and economic contexts. Marx and Engels (1846/1965) conceived of culture in the form of the values, beliefs, behaviour and institutions of society that are shaped by and are the reflection of a particular mode of economic production. They were interested in making visible the politics and ideologies of the dominant classes which function to naturalise and legitimise their interests and make them appear congruent with the interests of all members of society. Gramsci (1971) supplied the theorising of the nature and functioning of ideological forces with the concept of hegemony to describe the domination of the state or ruling class over the individual through the consent of individuals.

Similar to Foucault's (1978) power/resistance nexus, Gramsci proposed that dominance is not totalitarian but will be met with counter-hegemonic movements that will resist assimilation into the hegemonic culture. The "lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (Williams, 1977, p. 110) saturate identities and

relationships, the processes of the everyday living of the individuals. This relation of dominance and subordination is never exclusive or total but can be challenged by alternative views of reality. This implies the possibility of a shifting set of allegiances among both dominant and marginalised social groups and their practices. Fanon (1965), for example, asserts that struggles and resistance against domination contribute to the formation of social groups, rather than folksongs, traditions and artefacts. Fiske (1989) too captures this view of culture as contested knowledge in his definition:

Culture is not a relatively harmonious and stable pool of significations, but a confrontation between groups occupying different, sometimes opposing positions in the map of social relations, and the process of making meanings (which is, after all, the process of culture) is a social struggle, as different groups struggle to establish meanings that serve their interests. (p. 58)

From this perspective, definitions of culture that assume homogeneity and internal coherence are problematic. Boas, Geertz and Levi-Strauss, for example, were interested in discovering meanings and the processes and structures that govern meaning-making but they ignored the struggles involved in the production and maintenance of particular meanings and relations, and the silencing of others. Their accounts of culture were disengaged from moral and social conflicts between individuals, genders, classes and races.

Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) conceptualisation of culture as habitus is also problematic in that with the concept of habitus he seeks to explain the consistency underlying groups of individuals' everyday practices. Bourdieu describes habitus as

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, ... principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them. (1990, p. 53)

Bourdieu assumes a common unity of dispositions particular to a social class, suggesting a conceptualisation of social groups and cultural practices as harmonious and coherent and as homogenous, unified entities. This is evident in his claim that

“the objective homogenising of group or class *habitus* that results from homogeneity of conditions of existence is what enables practices to be objectively harmonised” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58, emphasis in original). Here the concept of *habitus* fails to account for issues of race or gender that can hinder individuals’ access to the dispositions deemed significant within a social group.

Cowen (1990) argues that such assumptions of homogeneity “exaggerate the impression of internal coherence within a society” (p. 11) and hide the struggles and conflicts involved in maintaining the dominance of particular cultural norms and practices over others. Remaining unrecognised, mainstream cultural norms are often privileged as representative of the whole cultural group, leaving invisible and marginal all other cultural representations. It seems, then, that to be able to encapsulate how individuals work with multiple and often contradictory sets of assumptions and practices, and the ways individuals take up, resist and subvert familiar and foreign meanings, identities and worldviews, Bourdieu’s *habitus* will have to be reconceptualised as a more fluid and varied construction.

A DISCOURSE VIEW OF CULTURE

Gee (1990; 1992) captures the idea of multiple, shifting *habitus* with his use of the term discourse which is also useful in the navigation of the term ‘discourse’. According to Gee, discourses are “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group” (1990, p. 143). It is through these networks of constructing meaning that human life is organised into a shape and form which can be recognised and understood by individuals themselves and others. Gee asserts that one is socialised into multiple, often contradictory sets of discourses. While discourses can regulate and delimit what can be said or done, they provide the spaces for making new statements within any discourse.

Gee’s theory of discourse draws on Foucault’s conceptualisation of the term (1969/1972) (see chapter 2). Discourses are far from being static, conceptual repertoires; they are multifaceted public processes through which meanings are

progressively and dynamically achieved (Davies & Harré, 2000). A point that Foucault stresses is that, as opposed to the common use of the term discourse to simply refer to speech and writing, as Bourdieu for example used it, discourses are not necessarily linguistic. It is precisely this point, that discourses involve much more than language, that Gee seeks to emphasise by using the term with a capital D. In this thesis I do not adopt this capitalisation of the term in the way Gee does, yet the view I espouse for conceptualising culture is one of discourse.

A view of culture as discourse refers to the regulated and regulating meaning making processes and practices particular to groups of individuals, which enable and constrain particular forms of knowledge and social relations. With a discourse view of culture I assume social practices to be hybrid and varied and operating in a network of power relations. In the research I conducted, I aimed to problematise the ways meanings, identities and practices are essentialised in texts, constructed as fixed, neutral and apolitical. I intended to emphasise cultural groups as dynamic organisms that exist in discursive fields, that is to introduce a view of culture as a verb (Street, 1993).

A discourse view of culture encapsulates the notion of culture as “competing ways of framing the world” (Pennycook, 2000, p. 96). It allows me to emphasise that the meanings one makes and the identities one takes up are the result of ongoing struggles and contestation over the legitimacy of particular versions of reality and relationships. With this view, in my research I sought to undermine constructions of mainstream social norms and practices as representative of all members of society and intended to draw attention to the practices of non-mainstream groups.

Gutierrez (2002; Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003) also takes up the notion of culture as discourse in her conceptualisation of the term as social, linguistic and historical repertoires for participating in social practices. Gutierrez argues that repertoires of meaning-making are never shared by all members of a group, but instead are shaped by hegemonic social forces. Moreover, she contends that such repertoires are “both patterned and dramatically varied” (2002, p. 314), capturing the idea that meaning-

making processes and practices are meaningful within a group, are dynamic and variable.

The view I take up in this research for conceptualising culture is one which centrally includes the concept of discourse, of repertoires of meaning-making practices. I work with the assumption that the concept of culture refers to the complex practices of creating and contesting meanings and representations, which are inherently political and conflictual, involving the production, reproduction and contestation of relations of power (Benhabib, 2002). I recognise cultural practices as dynamic and changeable, and as sites of social struggles.

In this thesis I make references to national, ethnic and regional groups, such as Asian, Australian, western, with the recognition that such labelling is static and limiting. I recognise the categorisation of people into such groups as discursive constructions, as imagined collective identifications, and seek to problematise the boundaries enclosed around such constructions and to emphasise alternative ways these categories can be constructed. However, I use these terms as alternatives are not linguistically available.

In the following chapter I discuss the ways the various theories of the concept of culture I outlined in this chapter are taken up in language teaching. I describe approaches to the teaching of culture in language classrooms that are based on a high culture view of culture or homogenous views of social groups and argue that there are a number of language teachers and researchers also proposing pedagogical approaches for the teaching of a dynamic, processual view of culture.

CHAPTER 4

PEDAGOGY OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

Sapir (1924/1970; 1929/1970) and Whorf's (1940/1956) arguments that linguistic structures determine social practices and Hymes' (1964) claims that language use is an outcome of social practices have been influential in bringing language and culture closer together. The idea that language is an important medium in reflecting and constructing culture, whether conceptualised as high culture or social practice, has been significant in convincing language teachers to teach not just language and culture but language in and as culture. With various conceptualisations of culture being taken up in the field of language teaching and learning, ways of teaching culture and the competencies learners are expected to develop have also differed. In this chapter I discuss five pedagogical approaches to the teaching of language and culture. Here I acknowledge the work of Crozet and Liddicoat (1999) in informing my conceptualisation and discussion of these approaches.

A HIGH CULTURE APPROACH

Until the nineteenth century the Enlightenment tradition of high culture was predominant in language teaching. Latin and Greek were learned in order to gain access to the canon of literary works, the study of which it was believed would refine and civilise man. Culture was thought to be mediated primarily through written language and cultural competence was defined as knowledge of literary works. As Latin declined from being a lingua franca and modern languages entered the curriculum, a high culture view continued to be dominant. As with the study of classical languages, the goal of modern language study was the intellectual and mental development that was thought to result from reading a literary canon in its original language. Moreover, modern languages were taught in the same way as the classical languages with the Grammar Translation Method remaining the principle

teaching methodology. In this way modern languages were aligned with the high status classics and, hence, validated as worthy of study (Howatt, 1984; Richards & Rodgers, 1986). Today, although there has been a shift away from approaching literature as evidence of high cultural products (Maurer, Carroli, & Hillman, 2000), some language programs continue to incorporate a heavy literary study load.

AN AREA STUDIES APPROACH

During World War II, the Army Specialised Training Program (ASTP) was initiated in the USA in response to the military's need to master the foreign languages with which they were coming in contact. While the concept of culture was shifting to a view that included history, geography and institutions as well as the literature of the target language community, the influence of structural linguistics and the new technology of the language laboratory overshadowed any major focus on the social context of language teaching. Teaching culture as the detailed study of a nation-state or geographical area was regarded as a complement to language and literary study and served to fulfil the need to gain logistical and historical information about countries. This view of culture is known as Area Studies or Background Studies in the US and Britain, *Landeskunde* in Germany and *Civilisation* in France (Stern, 1983, 1992).

A 'CULTURE AS PRACTICE' APPROACH

In the 1960s approaches to teaching culture moved from teaching high culture and/or Area Studies to teaching culture as social practice. Influenced by the ideas of Sapir (1929/1970) and Whorf (1940/1956) on the inseparability of language and culture, and Boas' (1940/1966) claims that all cultural groups are worthy of study on their own terms and not as deviants of European societies, scholars such as Brooks (1964), Seelye (1974) and Chastain (1976) called for a view of culture as the everyday practices of a community to be incorporated into language curricula.

These scholars were also proponents of the Audiolingual Method, the language teaching methodology adopted in the Army Specialised Training Program (Stern, 1983). In the Audiolingual Method, although theoretically there was

acknowledgment of the inseparability of language and culture, in practice culture was not integrated into language teaching. Cultural teaching was treated implicitly with the assumption that cultural insights and appreciation of difference would naturally follow linguistic mastery (Chastain, 1976).

An implicit approach to teaching social practices is problematic in that it risks either ignoring cultural issues altogether, or leaving social practices as “input which recharges the content with new energy when everyday topics have been worn out” (Murphy, 1988, p.149) with a focus only on what is colourful and enjoyable. Brooks (1964) criticises this foregrounding of the obvious, colourful and inoffensive aspects of culture and proposes an alternative focus on the everyday lives of members of the cultural community, on how power relations operate in social practices and on ways this is present in the language, such as in the selection of pronouns and verbs to reflect age and status. However, while proposing a different focus Brooks does not see the need to make the teaching of culture explicit. He describes a structural syllabus with no obvious place for cultural teaching other than five-minute warm up activities or supplementary activities. Failing to provide an explicit focus on culture in the classroom, Brooks risks doing the very thing he critiques: reducing culture to the bland, quaint and colourful. This problematic stereotyping of ‘other’ cultures is still with us. Kalantzis, Cope and Slade encapsulate this approach as the “spaghetti and polka” view of culture (1989, p. 15) in reference to the conceptualisation of multiculturalism in contemporary Australia.

The implicit approach to the teaching of culture as social practice continued as language teaching shifted from structuralist to functionalist views of language and the approach referred to as the Communicative Approach began to emerge. The Communicative Approach is, in fact, seen as having more potential than other language teaching approaches to integrating culture in language teaching (Savignon, 1991) due to the fact that for the development of communicative competence, learners need to become aware not only of linguistic but also of pragmatic and sociocultural rules and behaviour governing communication. However, in practice the cultural implications of the communicative functions are frequently overlooked

(Liddicoat, 1997). For example, Chen (1995) reports that although communicative approaches have been adopted in the teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australia, cultural learning has been restricted to non-linguistic characteristics of countries and people, with no foregrounding of the link between language and culture.

The spaghetti and polka view of culture mentioned above can also be observed in many communicative textbooks and materials. For example, the textbook excerpts that Valdes (1990) provides as exemplary cultural teaching material present stereotypical bland representations of mainstream foreign culture. Culture here is reduced to the observable, colourful aspects of the exotic 'other'.

In much language teaching today, then, either it is assumed that cultural learning will be the automatic result of language learning, or culture is taught as a fifth skill. The problem with the former is that culture is left implicit in the language program, textbook or methodology and is too easily ignored. In the latter case, the focus of teaching culture is on stereotypical aspects. Cultural information is often regarded as a pastime activity for capturing students' attention or for giving light relief to the task of linguistic training. Hence, the outcome of second/ foreign language teaching is "no more than an acquisition of separate and largely decontextualised information which does not amount to an understanding or an insight into another people's way of living and thinking" (Byram, Esarte-Sarries, & Taylor, 1990, p. 380).

In the past decade, proposals for a different approach have begun to emerge (Coleman, 1998; J. K. Hall & Ramirez, 1993; Tusting, Crawshaw, & Callen, 2002). Hall and Ramirez, for example, argue that cultural learning requires conscious effort on the part of the learner and that, for changes in cultural perceptions to occur, students need to become aware of their own identities and those of others as individual and cultural beings. Moreover, studies of students' residences abroad have suggested that students' physical location within the foreign cultural context does not necessarily lead to intercultural understandings. Coleman argues that residence abroad can even confirm and strengthen students' negative stereotypes

and, therefore, he stresses the need to change existing language pedagogies to accommodate an explicit focus on both foreign and familiar cultural practices.

AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH

An intercultural approach, as it is proposed by a number of scholars (Byram, 1990, 1997; Byram & Esarte-Sarries, 1991; Crozet & Liddicoat, 1997, 1999; Kramsch, 1993; Murphy, 1988), is claimed to provide an explicit approach to language and culture integrated into the language program. It rests on the assumption that language and culture learning can foster a better understanding of oneself and others, and develop tolerance and improved cross-cultural attitudes. Hence, language teaching is seen as a means of expanding learners' horizons and preparing them to participate in a multilingual and multicultural world. As Buttjes (1990) puts it, language teaching can help to "enhance tolerance of ambiguity and empathy with others ... at a time of increasing international dependency and imminent global threats" (p. 9). The concern here is to find ways of improving students' attitudes to learning a foreign language and discouraging ethnocentrism (Byram & Cain, 1998; Murphy, 1988; Permenter & Tomita, 2001), or facilitating the integration of second language learners into the host community (Barraja-Rohan, 1997; FitzGerald, 1999; Mangubhai, 1997; Parsons & Junge, 2001).

Michael Byram and his colleagues propose an intercultural approach for the development of foreign language learners' intercultural competence (Buttjes, 1990; Buttjes & Byram, 1990; Byram, 1997; Byram & Esarte-Sarries, 1991; Byram, Esarte-Sarries, & Taylor, 1990; Byram & Fleming, 1998; Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001). They argue that learners' existing communicative competence or cultural competence needs to be developed into an intercultural competence to equip them with an awareness of the relationship between language and context in order to manage interaction across cultural boundaries. Byram (1997), in fact, distinguishes between intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence. He describes the former as the ability to interact in one's own language with people from different cultures, whereas the latter involves being able to carry out the same interaction in a foreign language. However, in more recent

publications Byram uses intercultural competence with the same associations as intercultural communicative competence (Byram & Guilherme, 2000; Byram et al., 2001). Henceforth, I follow Byram in using the term intercultural competence to refer to both of the situations Byram distinguishes above.

Byram provides a comprehensive definition of intercultural competence in terms of linguistic and cultural *savoirs* (knowings):

Attitudes: Curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own.

Knowledge: of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction.

Skills of interpreting and relating: Ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own.

Skills of discovery and interaction: Ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction.

Critical cultural awareness/ political education: An ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries. (Byram, 1997, p. 50-54)

Byram's division of intercultural competence into a number of *savoirs* is unique in that it provides language practitioners with a framework for conceptualising an abstract competence in terms of a set of attainable objectives, each of which can contribute to the development of intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence, then, is the acquisition of the "abilities to understand different modes of thinking and living, as they are embodied in the language to be learnt, and to reconcile or mediate between different modes present in any specific interaction" (Byram & Fleming, 1998, p. 12). The development of intercultural competence involves taking an insider's view of the foreign culture and an outsider's view of one's source culture. Byram et al describe this "tertiary

socialisation” (Byram, Esarte-Sarries, Taylor, & Allatt, 1990, p. 104) as the shift from an ethnocentric perception of cultural phenomena to an awareness that such phenomena can be seen from a different perspective. This idea of tertiary socialisation is further developed by Kramersch (1993) using Bhabha’s (1994) concept of the third space as a metaphor for the new reality emerging in the interstices of the familiar and foreign cultures. According to Kramersch, the third space entails developing the ability to be flexible and adapt to the interlocutor’s cultural style, to reassess the interaction and tacitly negotiate an acceptable mode of communication, shifting from a monocultural view of the world to accepting a multicultural one.

According to Crozet, Liddicoat and Lo Bianco (1999) striving for the development of a third space should be the aim of foreign language teaching. They argue for a move away from the aims of tolerance and empathy to a goal of facilitating “participation in ‘otherness’” (1999, p. 1). Their approach is based on three fundamental aspects: the teaching of a culture embedded in language use, a comparison between learners’ home cultures and the foreign culture, and intercultural exploration. They claim that the creation of the third space requires establishing a dialectical relation with both home cultures and foreign cultures, which they believe will help learners recognise the arbitrary nature of their own ethnicity and learn to reconstruct and appreciate another world view.

Both Kramersch (1993) and Crozet and Liddicoat (1999) perceive the potential to transcend one’s cultural boundaries to find a third space as being at the core of intercultural competence. In this sense, intercultural competence does not involve replicating native speaker norms or assimilating into the target community. Rather, it involves taking on the identity of an “intercultural speaker” (Byram, 1997, p. 32; Kramersch, 1998, p. 17), an intercultural communicator who can adopt a position in which s/he is comfortable in relating to and mediating difference while achieving personal and communicative goals. An intercultural speaker is not located within one side of a binary divide, in a stable self-contained cultural unit (Guilherme, 2002) but moves in and out of hybrid identities and spaces. In this sense, an intercultural speaker is always in the process of transformation and change. This is a

significant shift in language teaching from constructing the learner as an imperfect or deficient native speaker to a social actor equipped with the competencies to engage successfully with other social actors.

The practice of facilitating intercultural competence

Byram and others propose an ethnographic approach as a means of developing the intercultural competence of language learners (Byram & Cain, 1998; Byram & Esarte-Sarries, 1991; Byram & Fleming, 1998; Roberts, 1993). They reason that an ethnographic approach will provide learners with opportunities and with tools for acquiring knowledge of the foreign culture as seen from a foreign culture perspective, which could eventually denaturalise learners' own values and assumptions and aid the development of intercultural competence. The observation and elicitation techniques of ethnography are considered to be possible tools for investigating and analysing cultural aspects embedded in the spoken and written texts of the foreign culture.

Byram's argument for the adoption of ethnographic tools in intercultural language teaching seems particularly promising for exploring the foreign culture in its local context (Parsons & Junge, 2001; Woodin, 2001) or for an analysis of home cultures as a preliminary step in understanding the foreign culture (Barro, Jordan, & Roberts, 1998; Duffy & Mayes, 2001; Georgieva, 2001; C. Morgan, 2001). In other words, it is appropriate in situations where there is direct contact with the culture studied. Such an approach seems to be relevant in the European context, for instance, where increasing concerns are voiced over balancing the encouragement of developing a European identity and embracing European integration, and preserving a national or local identity (Byram & Risager, 1999). However, it seems the ethnographic approach would fail to address contexts where students cannot or do not wish to experience the foreign culture first-hand for political, economic or logistic reasons, and where the means of exposure are via a mix of authentic and non-authentic spoken, written or visual texts such as those found in textbooks, the media, the internet, popular culture and other sources.

Various foreign language practitioners have proposed analysing the cultural content of everyday spoken and written texts as a means of facilitating the development of intercultural competence. Liddicoat (1997) and Crozet (1996), for instance, suggest that micro-level analyses of verbal interaction have the potential to reflect the cultural conventions of the foreign culture. Genova (2001) reports on a cross-cultural analysis of the visual codes and modes of presentation particular to Bulgarian and British news broadcasts, and Martinez-Gibson (1998) exemplifies the use of a television commercial for foreign cultural study. Others propose investigating the cultural aspects embedded in written texts such as cartoons (Crozet, 1995), short stories (Burwitz-Melzer, 2001), and letters (Kirkpatrick, 1992). While these proposals offer valuable theoretical insights and possible practical approaches to analysing how cultural practices are enacted in language, there are problems with the ways the texts are studied. Burwitz-Melzer and Martinez-Gibson, for instance, fail to interrogate stereotypical constructions taken up in the texts they analyse, and in Crozet and Kirkpatrick's analyses, there is no questioning of the political decisions underpinning the production of texts, such as text producers' choices to present particular representations of cultures while ignoring others. The texts are assumed to be neutral conveyers of the foreign culture, as if they are providing a window on reality. Moreover, there seems to be an assumption that only texts chosen from contexts outside the classroom can contain cultural information. The cultural assumptions and values underpinning texts contrived for pedagogical purposes are ignored.

Although the intercultural approach to language teaching has reconceptualised the teaching of culture as social practice and its relation to language, several issues have been overlooked. Advocates of intercultural approaches seem to expect that all learners will put into actual use their knowledge of 'other' social practices in intercultural contacts. In Steele's (2000) argument for an intercultural approach to language teaching, for instance, globalisation is seen as an all-encompassing, naturally occurring phenomenon, and, hence, intercultural competence is believed to be valid for everyone everywhere. It is not only believed that language learners will have the means to engage in intercultural encounters but that they will be willing to do so. Learners who resist or are unwilling to learn about otherness, and

those who do not have the means to interact across cultural boundaries are not taken into account.

Roberts, Davies and Jupp (1992) have reservations that the goals of intercultural language teaching could be too idealistic. They emphasise the difficulty for most people of seeing difference as something positive. It can be argued, therefore, that it is rather naïve to believe that learning a language or undergoing a particular teaching methodology can change learners' attitudes towards the 'other'. Furthermore, Osler and Starkey (2000) argue that intercultural understandings are not sufficient for engaging with cultural diversity. Referring in particular to the teaching of language and culture in a European context, they call for language programs that address racism and xenophobia and that focus on the relations between minority and majority social groups within societies. They perceive an explicit focus on social justice issues as essential for regional democratic participation.

Furthermore, an intercultural approach to language and culture teaching presents a conception of culture as neutral, non-political everyday social practices. As Buttjes (1990) and Chen (1995) maintain, intercultural education is dissociated from its wider social and political context in that the social and political aspects of linguistic and social practices are ignored. Languages and cultural groups tend to be explored as monolithic, homogenous constructs, treated as if mainstream and non-mainstream groups share access to the same forms of local and global power and capital. Political issues such as the dominance of particular languages and social groups over others are often disregarded. In an intercultural language teaching perspective, then, a discourse view of culture is not maintained.

CRITICAL APPROACHES IN TESOL

Whereas the debate about an intercultural approach centres on how the teaching and learning of foreign languages and cultures should be introduced or changed in order to promote the goals of intercultural tolerance and harmony, a number of TESOL practitioners are arguing that the teaching and learning of English as a second/

foreign language has wider social and political implications than the teaching of languages other than English. Some (Edge, 2003; Pennycook, 1994; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Phillipson, 1992), for instance, claim that English language teaching is used as a vehicle for cultural and linguistic imperialism by propagating not only the spread of English but also particular forms of knowledge and practice. They make a much more explicit and critically theorised connection between language and cultural practice.

In EFL circles many do not question the neo-imperialist connotations of teaching English, regarding English and ELT to be non-problematic, a fact of life (de Bot, 2000; Permenter & Tomita, 2001; Schaub, 2000; Seaton, 1997). For others, however, a major concern is the possibly negative influence of Anglo-American cultures on learners' national identities. Adaskou, Britten and Fahsi (1990), for example, claim that western cultures are presented in language teaching material as providing more material advantages, economic opportunities and freedom of behaviour. Therefore, it is feared that learners' cross-cultural comparisons can cause them to feel discontent with their home cultures and can threaten their national identity (Alptekin, 1993; Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Zaid, 1999). Zaid warns that teaching material imported from Anglo-Christian contexts can force learners to deal with issues that may be sacrilegious for them by presenting instances of social behaviour unacceptable or embarrassing to learners' home cultures. Proposals to resist such forms of cultural imperialism include localising the cultural content in teaching material (Adaskou et al., 1990; Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984), or using local varieties of English (Prodromou, 1988, 1992).

In former colonial countries, discussions centre on the extent to which teaching the language and culture of the colonial masters perpetuates their dominance in postcolonial times. For some the postcolonial existence of English is seen as natural and beneficial. Bisong (1995) and Boyle (1997) claim that English is learned for pragmatic purposes rather than because of its colonial roots and Bloor and Tamrat (1996) argue that English can be adopted as a politically neutral intranational link language, causing the least fear of tribal domination. Others, however, question the benefits of English education. The official and social prestige of English is claimed

to have displaced indigenous languages (Phillipson, 1992) and to have led to the rise of a new English-educated elite (Mathew, 1997; Phillipson, 1992, 1996; Tickoo, 1996; Tully, 1997). To resist the neo-colonial implications of English, Ngugi (1986) argues for the complete rejection of English. Others, however, suggest balancing the social and economic status of local languages with that of English by making English education accessible to all (Joseph & Ramani, 1998; Tully, 1997) or promoting bi/multilingualism in schools (Mathew, 1997; Phillipson, 1996).

In response to the resistance strategies outlined above in postcolonial and EFL contexts, Pennycook (1994) and Canagarajah (1999) argue that creating culturally comfortable teaching methods, materials or policies can not be effective in resisting the hegemonic connotations of TESOL without the support of a pedagogical framework. They advocate that a critical pedagogy can unveil the cultural and political nature of TESOL and serve to “*reconstitute* it in more ethical, inclusive, and democratic terms” (Canagarajah, 1999, p.2, italics in original). Adopting a critical pedagogical framework to language and culture teaching, then, would involve interrogating and challenging the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin TESOL methods and materials.

Pennycook and Canagarajah both advocate a critical approach based on textual analysis. Canagarajah suggests problematising the cultural messages embedded in the dialogues, situations, grammatical rules and communication tasks in the textbooks available to students, and Pennycook proposes extending this analysis to non-pedagogical texts. Although their proposals are a crucial step in introducing analytical frameworks to language pedagogy, practical suggestions on the tools learners will require to deconstruct texts are not provided. The work of Fairclough (1989; 1992b) holds promise here in that his critical discourse analysis framework specifies ways of interrogating and confronting texts.

USING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) attempts to foreground the ways language is implicated in sustaining and reproducing inequitable power relations in society. CDA works with the assumption that language constructs worldviews and social relations and that an analysis of the linguistic, stylistic and discursive choices of the text producer can serve to denaturalise these views and relations. For this purpose, Fairclough provides an analytical linguistic toolkit, a series of questions and concepts based on systemic functional linguistics (see Halliday, 1978, 1994). Fairclough advocates a CDA approach in first language education to raise learners' awareness of issues in social justice and equity. I contend that a CDA framework also has relevance in second and foreign language education in troubling essentialised constructions of cultures and raising awareness of cultural diversity.

Hyde (1994) advocates adopting a CDA approach in TESOL based on the conviction that the analytical tools CDA provides can equip learners with "a mental construct ... to respond adequately and confidently to the pressures of the external cultures and its language" (p. 302). CDA, then, can encourage learners to question representations of cultures in texts and the effects these are intended to have on the reader. Hyde argues that it is this awareness that can enable learners to resist being positioned to accept particular worldviews as the norm.

In the context of foreign language teaching, Kramersch (1995; Kramersch et al., 1996; Kramersch & Nolden, 1994) and Carr (1994; 1998; 1999) argue that CDA can challenge and denaturalise learners' ethnocentric worldviews. Their argument rests on the assumption that an awareness of how language works to position readers can lead to a self-reflexive analysis of the discursive contexts in which learners' create particular realities and produce texts. According to Carr (1999) CDA provides a framework for productive dialogue between existing and new understandings, and provides learners with the skills and practices to become interculturally competent players and analysts of difference. In this way, learners are equipped with the tools

for participating in new transcultural forms of social participation and in operating with hybrid identities, within hybrid spaces.

It appears, then, that proposals to introduce CDA into the teaching of language and culture are made with different aims in different language learning contexts. In critical TESOL perspectives, the argument is that CDA can provide a conceptual and analytical framework for resisting neo-colonialism and for explicating the language and culture relationship. In the teaching of foreign languages, on the other hand, the same framework is seen as facilitating the development of intercultural communication skills and understandings and a critical analysis of meaning making systems and processes in New Times (S. Hall, 1996d). I use these arguments as a stimulus for proposing that CDA has the potential to contribute to the development of learners' critical cultural awareness, one of the *savoirs* of Byram's model of intercultural competence. Byram defines this awareness as the ability to see the relativity of one's own and others' meanings, values and behaviours (Byram & Guilherme, 2000). I propose to extend this definition to include the ability to problematise static, essentialising constructions of cultural groups and practices in texts, and to question how these constructions normalise particular realities and subject positions. My contention is that a deconstruction of the normativity of the ways cultures are represented in texts can open up spaces for a focus on alternative realities and relations. I argue that critical cultural awareness can facilitate language learners' negotiation of and participation in new, hybrid forms of spaces, meanings and identities. A CDA approach to language and culture in this way can include a view of culture as the practice of creating and contesting meanings and representations.

While there is considerable discussion and advocacy of CDA in the literature, there is little research into its actual implementation. One example is from Tarasheva and Davcheva (2001), who do not explicitly claim to be using CDA but, in fact, incorporate in their language programs a focus on analysing the conditions of text production and interpretation, which are the theoretical underpinnings of CDA. Their aim is to raise a group of Bulgarian EFL learners' awareness of how cultural images deeply engrained in mainstream Bulgarian cultures are used in texts in order

to have particular effects on readers. Although Tarasheva and Davcheva's conceptualisation of national identity and national culture as homogenous entities is problematic, their work is unique in that it offers an insight into the possible application of the tenets of CDA.

There have been other applications of CDA as a pedagogical framework in the language classroom (see Benesch, 2001; Clark, 1992; Janks, 1999; Wallace, 1992). Some of these draw on the tenets of CDA to help students participate in cultural practices more competently and critically, yet none of these approaches provide an explicit account of using CDA as a pedagogical framework for developing learners' intercultural competence. Moreover, these researchers have provided their own perspectives into the implications of the programs they propose but there is little into the ways the learners perceive and work through a CDA teaching approach, into the ways the learners take up, resist and subvert the tools of CDA.

The present study represents an investigation into the perspectives of two groups of EFL learners on learning language and culture in a CDA-based teaching program. The aim of the program is to raise learners' critical cultural awareness by providing them with the opportunities to challenge normative constructions of cultural groups in texts and encourage a focus on alternative ways of embodying and practising cultural views and understandings. In this program, a model of critical discourse analysis was employed as a pedagogical framework to provide learners with the analytical tools to interrogate and deconstruct texts.

In the next chapter I describe the research methodology I employed to investigate the application of the CDA-based teaching approach that I designed. Then, in chapter 6, I describe this approach, detailing the objectives, tasks and pedagogical procedures of the program.

CHAPTER 5

THE RESEARCH PLAN

INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter I discuss the research design I employed to investigate the adoption of the tools of CDA in the teaching and learning of language and culture. I describe my use of a qualitative case study methodology and the data collection techniques I employed to gain in-depth insights into the application of the proposed intervention in a specific site, into the experiences of two groups of EFL students.

RESEARCH AIMS

My purpose in this thesis is to gain insights into a CDA-based approach to teaching and learning a discourse view of culture from the perspectives of two groups of EFL students. The questions that capture what I seek to investigate are:

- How do two groups of EFL students in an ELICOS centre make sense of a CDA- based approach to learning a discourse view of culture?

More specifically:

- How do they make sense of the tasks and concepts offered in the program?
- How do they make sense of the purposes and assumptions of the program?

In the tradition of naturalistic, interpretive research I do not seek to provide evidence to either confirm or refute these questions. Instead, I perceive these questions as guiding my explorations and analyses. My aims are to inquire into the students' readings of particular situations, concepts and meanings and to explore "what actions mean to people who engage in them" (McDonough & McDonough, 1997, p. 52). For this purpose, a qualitative case study methodology, which focuses

on analysing meaning in context (Merriam, 2001), provides the most relevant framework for addressing these interests and questions.

McLaren (1995) describes the research site as a field of competing discourses that help structure a system of socially constituted human relationships. The purpose of my inquiry in this research, then, is to gain insights into the discourses and theories the students mobilised in classroom interactions and in journal entries as well as to reflect on the discourses and assumptions that I was bringing to the classroom. In this sense I do not aim to discover a truth about the research or the students, but rather to investigate what constitutes truth for different students and for myself in relation to the intervention, how and what the effects of this are (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

THE RESEARCH SITE

I conducted the research at a centre for English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) in an Australian university, where I was employed as a casual instructor. The ELICOS centre was relatively small in terms of student numbers, with approximately 40 students enrolled during the time of the research. The centre provided both general and academic English courses to EFL international students, with each class in the centre consisting of a mix of students with a general interest in English as well those intending to undertake tertiary study. Most of the students enrolled in the centre were between the ages of 20 to 35 and came predominantly from East and Southeast Asia, with lower numbers from other parts of the world.

For the present research I worked with two upper-intermediate groups, both of which reflected a mix of nationalities and interests in English. At the centre an academic year is divided into nine terms, with each term consisting of a five-week period. I chose to conduct the research in term 1 and term 3, as a part of a regular two-hour class every Monday. Initially, I had intended to carry out one five-week program with two different groups of students. I had assumed that a break between terms 1 and 3 would give me the time to reflect on the tasks and texts I had selected

and make changes if necessary before re-applying the program in another class. However, in term 3, I had four students who continued on from term 1. Therefore, to avoid the intervention being a repetitive experience for them, I devised a second five-week intervention, working with the same CDA rationale but including different materials and revising some of the tasks. I have named the two programs I designed for terms 1 and 3 module 1 and module 2, respectively, and henceforth, I use these terms. I discuss the theoretical tenets of using CDA as a pedagogical framework in chapter 6, and analyse the outcomes of the texts and tasks of module 1 in chapter 7 and of module 2 in chapter 8.

QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY RESEARCH

In the present research I work with the assumption that reality is multiply and socially constructed (Guba & Lincoln, 1998; Merriam, 2001). I refute the humanist notion of research as providing a window onto the inner characteristics of people and phenomena, as discovering and establishing a truth, on the grounds that all research and all knowledge are historically and socially situated (Haraway, 1988; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I take up Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) argument that any research inquiry and analysis is an interactive process filtered through the gendered, classed, racialised understandings available to the researcher, as a gendered, classed, multiculturally situated person (Maud, 1998).

I employed a case study methodology to gain an in-depth understanding of the multiple meanings and readings students made. Case studies provide a focus on processes (Faltis, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2001) and it was in particular the students' meaning-making processes and practices that I was interested in exploring. I recognise that the insights gained through case studies are specific to the particular historical and local times and places of the research. With this understanding I do not generalise the meanings the particular students in the research made to all EFL students, nor do I make predictions about the engagement of these students with similar programs. Rather, I construe the understandings I have gained in this research as tentative hypotheses that can contribute to a knowledge base for future research (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Stake, 1998).

Qualitative researchers argue for the recognition of the value- and theory-laden nature of inquiry. Guba and Lincoln (1998), for example, argue for an acknowledgement that all research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Self-reflexivity in research is posited as a method that qualitative researchers can, and should, use to question and explore research practices and representation (Pillow, 2003; Weis, 1995). Weis, for example, calls for maintaining a focus on “ourselves [researchers] as we ravel and unravel the lives and practices of others” (p. 203) and Ropers-Huilman (1999) argues for an explication of the researcher’s regimes of truth and theoretical stances. Ropers-Huilman advocates that it is crucial that researchers turn a conscious direction of gaze onto their embodiment of theory and discourse as all inquiries, interpretations and propositions are meaningful and valid only within particular theories and discursive contexts, within particular regimes of truth. She claims

We [researchers] are fabricating worlds, not because we are *falsifying* data or *lying* about what we have learned, but because we are constructing truth within a shifting, but always limited discourse. Our witnessed accounts, then, are valuable only in certain contexts to certain individuals who believe in the value of our stories. (p. 24, emphasis in original)

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to maintain a self-reflexive focus. I recognise that the meanings and readings I make of the research process and pedagogy emerge from and are framed by my understanding of the world and social relations. In chapters 7 and 8 I take up Fine’s (1998) arguments for a focus on the ‘self’ and ‘other’ relationship in the research, on the relations and meanings the students and I co-constructed and negotiated.

Validity is a key topic in debates on the legitimacy and credibility of qualitative research. Existing categories of validity are underpinned by positivist assumptions that assume a linear relationship between research findings and a single, tangible truth. Positivist research paradigms assert that the reliability, that is the stability and generalisability of methods and findings, is an indicator of the truthfulness and accuracy of the research findings. As Altheide and Johnson (1998) argue, because positivism and the use of quantitative research methods have been assigned a

normative status in research for most of the twentieth century, the same principles are expected to apply to qualitative research. Altheide and Johnson's point is not that qualitative researchers are not concerned with credibility or accuracy, but rather that the purpose of doing qualitative research and its assumptions of truth are different and, hence, so are its procedures for attaining validity (Maxwell, 1992).

As a qualitative researcher, I work with the assumption that all facts are theory-laden and all propositions are context dependent. In this respect, I do not seek external criteria to turn to for justification of my research conclusions. As Lincoln and Guba succinctly put it, "it is precisely the nature of ... reality that is at issue; if one already 'knew' it there would be no need to mount an inquiry to determine it" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 295). It is the nature of the realities the students and I created in the classroom that I investigate in the present research. I seek credibility in my analyses by recognising that as a researcher I cannot step outside the research context and provide a neutral account. Instead, I acknowledge the theory- and discursive-boundedness of my readings and interpretations (Scheurich, 1997).

Participant observation/observation of participation

In the present research I was a visible participant in the classroom, engaged in the teaching and learning of content, as well as being a surveyor of students' responses, equipped with various tools of surveillance. Guba and Lincoln (1981) describe the method of participant observation as involving simultaneous participation and observation. They argue that participant observation is

... a form of inquiry in which the inquirer – the observer – is playing two roles. First of all, of course, he [or she] is an observer; as such, he [or she] is responsible to persons outside the milieu being observed. But he [or she] is also a genuine participant; that is he [or she] is a member of the group, and he [or she] has a stake in the group's activity and the outcomes of that activity. (p. 189-190)

Indeed, as Atkinson and Hammersley (1998) argue, all research involves a form of observation and participation as one cannot study the world without being part of it.

Tedlock (2000) extends these views, claiming that observation of and participation in a research site involves a close interaction between researchers and the researched. She proposes a shift towards an understanding of the observation of participation, that is the recognition that the very act of observation itself is a form of participation that can have various effects on the research. This, Tedlock argues, entails self-reflexivity in research and a move away from conceptualising research as “objectifying methodology” to an understanding of research as “an intersubjective methodology” (p. 471). Tedlock’s claims have encouraged me to recognise the interactive and situated nature of research, one in which the researcher engages in the complex mutual shaping of understandings, beliefs, values and worldviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

I adopted various means of collecting data with the assumption that

human beings are complex and their lives are ever changing; the more methods we [researchers] use to study them, the better our chances to gain some understanding of how they construct their lives and the stories they tell us about them. (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 668)

A variety of data collection methods, then, do not stand to prove validity or to guarantee objectivity. Rather, they serve to provide insights into the intricate webs of meanings the students made. The data elicitation techniques I outline below include my records of classroom observations, my interviews of students, and student journals.

Classroom transcripts

I audio-recorded all classroom events as a means of capturing episodes of classroom life for later examination. Much of classroom activity and discussion can be taken for granted and goes unnoticed or forgotten by the time it is analysed. In this sense, recording the lessons prevented a time delay between teaching/observing and analysis. It became obvious to me while transcribing the recordings that there was much I had not noticed or did not remember of what had been said in class.

Recording students' group work allowed me to listen in to their group discussions and provided a wider context in which to situate the meanings they made.

I transcribed recordings of over 200 hours of classroom talk using an adapted form of Eggin's (2000) transcription conventions. I noted interruptions, overlaps and pauses in students' interactions but ignored most features to do with speed, breathing and the length of pauses. Appendix B details the transcription conventions I employed.

Research journal

With the assumption that journals provide a forum for reflection (McDonough & McDonough, 1997), during the research I kept a research journal in which I made notes of observations that I suspected the audio-recordings would not have captured. In this journal I included a register of student attendance each week and made notes of some of the events that had happened in class that I thought were significant. I conceptualise significance here as anything that I had not anticipated, such as alternative worldviews put forward by students, or significant in the sense that I believed I had or had not achieved unit or task objectives. I also reflected on whether tasks or units encouraged students to respond and what changes I could make to the task or unit to involve more students' participation. The research journal, in short, constituted my initial analyses of data. That is, the audio-recordings provided the raw data, the students' responses in the literal sense, and the research journal provided subjective accounts of these responses, based on my assumptions and expectations of the type of talk the intervention could generate. I had initially intended to use the research journal as a space for self-reflection on my role as researcher/teacher. However, caught up in the dynamics of teaching, I focused almost exclusively in the journal on students' classroom interactions and on my perceptions of the outcomes of tasks and units.

I anticipated that these two forms of data collection might not be sufficient in providing insights into the students' understandings of the tasks, concepts and material they worked with in the intervention. Therefore, I also collected data

through interviews, student journals and feedback forms, with the expectation that they could give me further insights into students' meanings.

Interviews

Interviewing is one of the most common data collection techniques in qualitative research (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Measor, 1985; Rubio, 1997). I conducted interviews before the intervention as well as during and after the intervention.

Before the intervention I conducted short semi-structured interviews with the purpose of obtaining background information about the students, of becoming acquainted with them. In module 1 I interviewed four students as only four students were enrolled in the upper-intermediate level course in the ELICOS centre at the beginning of the module (see Appendix C for a record of student attendance in the five units of modules 1 and 2). I met each of these students the day before our first lesson and asked them questions about their length of English study, their reasons for choosing to study in Australia, their future plans in Australia and in their home countries and what they already knew about Australia and Australians prior to their arrival here. The responses these four students gave, however, were short and lacking detail. All four of the students repeated the phrase "I don't know" in their interviews in response to questions where I asked them to elaborate on reasons or asked for their comments on issues. The students' responses suggested that they were uneasy in the interviews and were not willing to discuss at length the questions I posed.

The artificial nature of the interview context where interviewees are covertly coerced to respond instantly to a series of questions put forward by a stranger might have contributed to students' unwillingness to participate. Also, asking students to formulate immediate responses in a foreign language might have been difficult. In fact, in one of the units of module 1, a student commented on the linguistic difficulties she had experienced in the interview: "I wanted to talk about discrimination when you interviewed me but at that time I didn't remember the word discrimination and didn't explain it well" (Popo, journal entry, module 1).

This students' response suggests that not having adequate time for linguistic preparation in an interview might have inhibited her from producing her intended meanings.

In the first two units of module 1 I observed that the context of the classroom and the support of peers in co-constructing responses helped build rapport and confidence between the students and me, which appeared to encourage students to discuss some of the questions I had raised about their personal and academic backgrounds in the interview. For this reason, I raised some of the questions I would have asked in an interview as a follow up to classroom tasks for students to respond to in groups or in conversations I had with students during lesson breaks or after lessons.

In both modules 1 and 2 I used the short, ad hoc interviews I conducted with students during breaks and after lessons to gain information about students' personal and academic backgrounds as well as to gain further insights into responses students gave in class, such as to ask for clarification or further explanation for issues they had brought up in class. These interviews were not pre-planned, and therefore, not audio-recorded. These interviews did not consist of a question and answer sequence; rather they were informal and conversation-like. In these casual conversations the students appeared to be confident and relaxed and often responded to my questions in detail. I believe these casual interviews allowed both the students and me to step outside the context of the research, the classroom, even the ELICOS centre, to leave behind the familiar subject positions of teacher and student, and to take up the position of reflexive analysts.

Student journals

I encouraged the students to keep a journal with the purpose of “getting ‘under the skin’ of the psychological, social and affective factors involved in teaching or ... [learning] in ways that cannot readily be reached by meetings or tests” (McDonough & McDonough, 1997, p. 135) or observations. I hoped that the non-threatening, private space that a journal can provide would encourage students to

reflect on the tasks, materials and concepts they engaged with in the intervention and provide me with insights into their perceptions and experiences.

With the concern that the journal task might be seen as burdensome by some of the students I sought ways to entice students to take up the task. For example, I provided them with hardbound notebooks of various colours and sizes, which I told them they would keep after the program. I told the students that these journals were non-compulsory, and that they could write as many or as few entries as they wanted. The reason for this was that I believed it was ultimately their responsibility to decide when and what to write. I wanted the students to have the chance to write whenever they thought was the right time, and did not want to force them to write or limit them to a specific time frame. When students submitted entries, I photocopied and returned them with appreciative remarks and, if necessary, questions for clarification or discussion in the next entry. I usually returned the journals a day after they had been handed in.

I set the topic of discussion in the journals tentatively to anything students thought was interesting or relevant to the lessons or to their lives in Australia. All but one student in the program provided reflective comments on topics discussed in class, expressed disagreements with comments other students had made in class, and discussed their views of particular experiences of living in Australia. I present the number of entries each student submitted in module 1 in chapter 7 and in module 2 in chapter 8.

There was a relatively high response to the journal task in both modules with most students writing at least one entry and with only two students not submitting any entries. Most entries varied from 100 to 500 words and all were written in a casual, unpolished form. Most students commented favourably on the journal task. One student in module 2 of the program, for example, suggested: "I think it was a good idea to write in the journals. This is where we were able to express our personal feelings" (Lilu, feedback form, module 2). There was no explicitly stated negative feedback about the journal task.

The students were aware that I read every journal entry they submitted, copied it, and could use it as part of the research data. The journal might not be such a private space, then, when one knows others will read and comment on what one has written. However, in light of some of the issues students discussed in their journals, I perceive these journals as having created to some extent intimate spaces between the students and myself. There seemed to be confidence and trust as students wrote about personal experiences of distress and verbal abuse, issues that were not discussed either in classroom group discussions or in my conversations with students during or after class.

The students' journals also provided me with the opportunity to conduct member checks (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) on my readings of students' comments in class. In the journals I asked for clarification, examples and comments on my understanding of students' understandings. Most of the students responded to these questions.

Feedback forms

At the end of both modules I asked students to write short responses to the following questions:

1. What lesson do you remember distinctly? Why do you remember that one in particular?
2. Which text did you enjoy reading and analysing the most? Why?
3. Which text did you enjoy reading and analysing the least? Why?
4. What do you think you have learned by participating in this program?

My purpose in eliciting such feedback from students was to gain an understanding of what students perceived as significant about the intervention. I discuss the number of feedback forms I received in each module and students' responses in chapters 7 and 8.

ANALYSING THE DATA

In line with a naturalistic, interpretive research tradition, my analysis of data in this thesis is heuristic and theory-driven (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989). I take the view that language and discourses construct, regulate and control knowledge and social relations and that nothing exists prior to or outside of its manifestation in discourse. I work with the assumption that words and utterances do not carry meaning in themselves. Rather, it is through the metaphors, images and storylines associated with words and utterances, and the discourses of which these metaphors, images and storylines are traced, that words come to mean particular things. I conduct a critical linguistic analysis of the data and investigate the discourses and subject positions that students' responses suggest are available to them. In this way, I seek to make sense of how a student views the world, of him/herself and others.

I asked the following questions of the data:

- What discourses might students draw on in their conceptualisations of culture?
- How do students read constructions of cultures in texts?
- How do students read potentially racist/sexist/colonial assumptions in texts?
- What discourses and subject positions might students take up in their understandings of what the program seeks to achieve?

With these questions I explore the particular readings students made of the program, its texts and tasks, and examine whether the program created spaces for students to question essentialised versions of cultures constructed in texts and whether it encouraged students to explore the complexity and diversity of cultural practices. I recognise that my reading of the meanings students made of the program draws on the history of available discursive practices and subject positions that I bring to the analysis. In this sense, my analyses cannot provide an objective, factual recount of

what happened in the intervention, but rather they reconstruct events, relations and views.

ETHICAL ISSUES IN RESEARCH

In accordance with the university's ethical practice, I obtained students' consent to participate in the research and informed them of the nature of the research and that they could withdraw from participation at any time in the research, or that they could choose to not participate at all. In order to ensure the anonymity of the participants I have used pseudonyms for student names, all of which were selected by the students themselves. To conceal the location of the research site, I have used the pseudonym Sunny Hill and have deleted the original name from any text and magazine that I have referenced as well as from transcripts where students have identified the location.

I told the students that I would implement the program I had designed as part of a regular afternoon ELICOS class, which meant that, as part of ELICOS regulations, I would have to keep a record of attendance. That is, any student who was absent in any unit of a module would be considered absent from the ELICOS centre. However, to avoid giving the students the impression that they were obliged to participate in the research, I informed them that any student who did not want to be involved in the research could choose to withdraw from class and engage in private self-study during the two hour period of any unit. The ELICOS centre encouraged self-study hours on particular days of the week where students worked individually on a topic of their choice. In module 1 one student indicated that she was willing to join classes but did not want to be part of the research. She requested that her voice not be recorded, transcribed or analysed. In Unit 1 I did not transcribe her speech. However, in Unit 2, she appeared to have changed her mind, informing me that she consented that I use her responses and discussions. She explained to me that she had anticipated that the program would have a strong focus on grammatical accuracy and was intimidated by the thought of being recorded and analysed and of her grammatical errors being made public. She indicated that she had changed her mind after the first unit as she realised the focus of the program was not on grammatical

accuracy. This student's initial concerns are significant in raising possible difficulties of doing research with foreign language learners when they do not feel ready to participate using the foreign language.

Other ethical concerns in research pertain to who benefits from the research. Although much research is claimed to be carried out on behalf of or for the benefit of the researched, it accumulates "research capital" (Janks, 1999, p. 113) for the researcher. Fine (1998) and Denzin (1998) discuss the ways research has become a tool of domination, reproducing the colonising discourse of the 'other', despite its claims to voice participants' perspectives, desires, concerns. In the present research, for example, my aim is to investigate the effectiveness of a teaching program in making available to students the tools to help them navigate in New Times. However, at the same time, I recognise that I use students' voices to present a particular argument, to investigate a particular issue that is of interest to me. The research I conduct is based on my beliefs and perceptions of what will be of benefit to students, what will facilitate their negotiations of different meanings.

In this sense, all research is political in that the researcher is "bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises" (Bateson, 1972, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 26; Maud, 1998) which constitute regimes of truth. With this present research I am making public the responses of two groups of EFL students to analysing the ways cultural groups and practices are constructed in various texts. I am making public the ways these students use the tools of CDA in their deconstruction and reconstruction of realities. My expectation is that the research will contribute to the development of a growing body of material on the implementation of CDA in teaching culture. Such an archive would clearly become a valuable resource for the growing number of researchers with an interest in the field.

CHAPTER 6

USING CDA AS A PEDAGOGICAL TOOLKIT

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine the particular insights a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework can bring to the teaching and learning of language and culture. I base my discussions on Norman Fairclough's model of CDA, in particular, and on others who have drawn on and developed his model. In this chapter I initially focus on the theoretical tenets of the version of CDA I use in the research and exemplify three pedagogical applications. I then describe my design of a CDA-based teaching program aimed at raising critical cultural awareness.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The term critical discourse analysis (CDA) gained recognition as a paradigm of language study in the early 1990s, in particular with the work of van Dijk (1984; 1985), Fairclough (1989), Kress (1990) and Wodak (1989). Van Dijk describes CDA as "a critical perspective on doing scholarship" (2001, p. 96). The term covers a repertoire of political stances and literacy practices available for the analysis of the ways language, discourse, text and image are implicated in sustaining and changing social and economic conditions (van Dijk, 1993a).

It would be misleading to collapse the available models of CDA into a formalised corpus in that critical discourse analysts adopt different methodological and theoretical approaches and employ a range of linguistic tools for the analysis of discourse (Luke, 2002). For example, van Dijk (1985) relies on sociocognitive theory and analyses media discourses and issues of racism (1998), whereas Fairclough (1995a), van Leeuwen (1996) and Wodak (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) draw on linguistic theories to focus respectively on the media, televisual productions and political discourses. Rather than sharing any particular theory or method, critical discourse analysts are bound together by their interest in the

relation between language and power and their commitment to transforming inequitable social and economic conditions.

Critical discourse analysts define and defend a particular sociopolitical position. Drawing on Freirean, neo-Marxist, and more recently, feminist and postcolonial perspectives, critical discourse analysts “play an advocacy role for groups who suffer from social discrimination” (Meyer, 2001, p. 15) and economic and political marginalisation. They work with a shared interest in matters of class, race and gender inequalities, concerned in particular with the marginalised in society, and draw on Habermas’ views of language as a medium of domination. Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2001; 1995a; Gee, 1990), for instance, presupposes a sociocultural view of language implicated in producing and reproducing inequitable forms of knowledge and social relations. His argument is that as language socially and historically constructs knowledges and relations, a critique of language and the promotion of different textual practices can serve to contest, transform and reconstruct social, political and economic inequalities (1989; 1992a). Such inequalities, it is assumed, can be changed when people are made aware of the workings of language and power and the ways in which they marginalise others or are marginalised. Janks (1993) argues that if CDA “enables people to use their awareness to contest the practices which disempower them, and to use language so as not to disempower others, then it can contribute to the struggle for human emancipation” (1993, p. iii). It is believed that CDA can provide the tools and practices to question and challenge the legitimacy and common sense nature of language and other social practices that create racial, class, gender inequalities. Language, then, is a starting point for such transformatory action (van Dijk, 1996; Wodak, 2001).

Fairclough’s model of CDA

Most notably, the work of Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2001; 1989; 1992a; 1995a; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) has been significant in expounding the tenets and practical applications of CDA. Fairclough has moved away from Freirean models of empowering and emancipating socially or racially disadvantaged groups.

Instead, he argues for the need to introduce a critical language focus into mainstream, first language education to make all social and cultural groups aware of the workings of power, language and inequality. He claims that developing an awareness of the links between language use and power relations is a prerequisite for democratic citizenship.

Fairclough works with a view of discourse as regulated meanings and meaning making practices that constitute “the whole process of social interaction” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24; 1992a). Fairclough situates language and social structures as central to his understanding of discourse. Language, as social and embodied practice, is a product and a constituting element of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups create meanings in their interactions. These meanings, he claims, are in a dialectical relationship with society and its social structures and institutions. That is to say, language use is determined by sociocultural and sociohistorical conditions and at the same time has effects upon these conditions (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In using the term dialectical relationship, Fairclough suggests that social structures shape discourses and are dependent on gaining legitimacy through discourses. What Fairclough seeks to capture in his discussion of discourse is the dynamic relationship between the micropolitics of everyday practices and the macropolitical landscape of material, historical and social conditions.

Fairclough adopts a Hallidayan (1978) notion of text as meaningful and coherent instances of spoken or written language use. More precisely, texts include lexicogrammatical techniques as well as bodily, visual and oral semiotics that define social and natural worlds and position listeners/readers/viewers in particular relationships to these worlds and to the text itself (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2001). Texts, in this sense, do not merely reflect an already existing reality, but enable and constrain meanings and social relations between producers and consumers of texts. Individuals represent and understand their worlds, including who they are and how they relate to others through somatic and semiotic forms. Texts also seek to establish ideal reader positions (Fairclough, 1989). That is, the ways events are represented in texts and the types of knowledges and relations which are included

and excluded interpellate readers to take up particular subject positions, situating them in particular relations of power and agency in relation to texts (Luke, 1998a).

Within this view of language, discourse and text, Fairclough advocates analyses of texts as a starting point for understanding how language works and how social relations and practices are organised and become taken for granted. For this purpose, Fairclough (1989) advocates a sociolinguistic analysis of discourse based on systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1978; 1994). An analysis of discourse, he argues, involves a linguistic analysis of texts as well as of the processes by which the text is produced and received, and the sociohistorical conditions that govern and enable these processes. He claims

text analysis is correspondingly only a part of discourse analysis, which also includes analysis of productive and interpretive processes ... and the way in which they are socially determined ... The formal properties of a text can be regarded from the perspective of discourse analysis on the one hand as *traces* of the productive process, and on the other hand as *cues* in the process of interpretation. (1989, p. 24, emphasis in original)

Fairclough conceives of text analysis as essential in foregrounding the relationship between the linguistic, stylistic microstructures of language and the macrostructures of society, and thereby emphasises that there is more to discourse analysis than the linguistic deconstruction of texts.

According to Fairclough, a linguistic analysis does not serve to extract meanings, as if they are fixed into texts. Indeed, Fairclough (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2001; 1989) recognises Derrida's (1974) argument that meanings cannot be encapsulated into categories or texts. He acknowledges that texts do not have inherent meanings and that meanings are transient and fleeting. In this sense, texts can only ever create a "temporary retrospective fixing" of meaning (Weedon, 1987, p. 25) and CDA can provide the tools to investigate how particular meanings are achieved provisionally from a number of competing meanings and signifying practices. CDA, then, can open up these multiple meanings to investigation.

Power, resistance and ideology in CDA

While all critical discourse analysts desire to create more equitable social and economic power relations, some question their own assumptions of empowerment and emancipation. Janks (2000), for instance, reflects on and questions the idealism in her earlier work (e.g., Janks & Ivanic, 1992), which had the aim of empowering socially and racially marginalised students to make changes in their lives. Wallace (1999) draws attention to the deficit assumptions underpinning notions of empowering low socio-economic, racially or ethnically marked groups of learners. She describes this as a blame the victim model of education resting on the idea that if only marginalised groups were aware of their marginalisation, they could put an end to it. Within this model, Wallace argues, dominant groups are relieved of their roles and responsibilities in perpetuating social inequalities.

Lankshear (1997) questions the vagueness of what it is students are empowered to do or become, and from what they are supposed to be emancipated. Indeed, students may already be aware of social inequalities and empowered in ways the teacher cannot recognise or their awareness may not necessarily lead to empowerment. The present research suggests, for example, that the students who were marginalised in texts and perceived themselves to be marked in society due to their racial differences were already aware of their positioning as ‘other’ in mainstream Australian society. Their awareness, however, did not appear to give them the agency to change any of these situations. Furthermore, who decides what constitutes empowerment is a highly problematic question. For instance, not all students in the present research appeared to share my views of empowerment and not all perceived empowerment to be relevant to their concerns. They, therefore, might not have wanted to appropriate my practices, knowledge and beliefs. Janks (1999; 2002) claims that identification and desire can surpass reason in that students can engage in a critical deconstruction of texts without any changes to their own practices or aspirations.

In chapter 2 I argued that the conception of empowerment is problematic in that it assumes power to be a substance that can be handed over and neutralised, thereby

creating a power-free world. Fairclough's version of CDA works with a similar oppositional model of power conceptualised in terms of domination and oppression. Fairclough (1989) describes power relations as "always relations of struggle" (p. 34) but tends to see this struggle as unilateral, as a struggle between those who dominate and enforce power, and those who are dominated and endure power. In this way power becomes the possession of some groups and not others. Text producers, for example, are assumed to possess the power to position readers/listeners/viewers in particular ways, and to expect these positions to be taken up unproblematically. Within this simplistic view of power relations, what CDA analysts appear to be doing by interrogating texts is attempting to transfer power from the text producer to the consumer.

With Pennycook (2001) I argue for the inclusion of a broader and more complex conceptualisation of power in CDA. A Foucauldian understanding of power as grid-like and as operating through everyday relations, for instance, can move CDA beyond a focus on the ways texts constrain and dictate meanings and relations towards how these meanings and relations might be taken up, subverted and how alternatives might be produced. My argument here is not to deny or ignore relations of dominance and subordination, but rather to bring a focus on the relational character of power relationships with the assumption that "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95).

Indeed, within a repressive view of power in CDA, what remains largely unexplored is the notion of resistance. Van Dijk (1993b), for example, admits that he tends to be preoccupied with top-down analyses of power relations rather than complicity in or opposition to these relations. Fairclough is not very illuminating either in exploring how the consumers of texts respond to the positions and worldviews made available in texts and the ways they take up or resist ideal reader positions. Resistance to particular subject positions in spoken texts has been conceptualised along the lines of "the right to speak" (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 18), in the literal sense of expressing verbal disagreement. However, this is a rather limited view and CDA needs to address other forms of resistance, such as the ways

students' silences (Price, 1996), art work (McKay & Wong, 1996) and humour (Lin, 2001) can act as disagreement to taking up particular positions, or a focus on "idiosyncratic local uptakes" (Luke, 2002, p. 107) of texts where centrally broadcast texts or discourses are reinterpreted and recycled to serve local political and social interests.

Closely linked to Fairclough's understanding of power is the concept of ideology. Fairclough conceptualises the exercise of power through consent, which he claims is manufactured through ideology, through implicit, taken for granted assumptions and worldviews (1989; 1995b). According to Fairclough, CDA involves explicating the ideological bases of texts which serve to sustain unequal power relations. The concept of ideology, of cracking the code of texts and explicating what is hidden, implies that texts present a false view of the world and that CDA can provide access to the understanding of the constructedness of 'truth' beyond that. CDA, then, appears to take on the role of remedying a false consciousness, of correcting the distortions that lead people to misunderstand their true situation (Pennycook, 2001; Robinson, 1995). More recently, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2001) deny the neo-Marxist evocations of their use of the term ideology, claiming that they work with an understanding of ideologies as discursive constructions. However, it appears that they are still preoccupied with revealing repressive forms of power and focus strongly on inequalities of power relations.

Luke (2002) argues that it is time for CDA to

move beyond a focus on ideology critique and to document 'other' forms of text and discourse – subaltern, diasporic, emancipatory, local, minority, call them what we may – that may mark the productive use of power in the face of economic and cultural globalisation. (p. 98)

Luke's argument is that CDA must meet the challenges of New Times (S. Hall, 1996d). It must work towards deconstructing positive and productive configurations of power and knowledge, documenting how students navigate through the new spatial and temporal relations generated by flows of bodies, capital, knowledge and discourses (Appadurai, 1996) and the emerging hybrid forms of representations and

identities they experience (Luke, 1998b; Luke & Elkins, 2002). Luke argues that this requires a shift from focusing on the workings of language, discourse and power as the products of mainstream groups to an exploration of discourse and language as “blended, multiglossic and transcultural” (Luke, 2002, p. 108). With a shift in perspective, CDA has the potential to increase understandings that “diversity, hybridity, and heterogeneity of culture, identity, and literate practice are the norm and not the exception” (Luke & Elkins, 2002, p. 672). In this way, CDA is neither revolutionary nor utopian, but entails “the provision of a pedagogy conducive to the critique of fixed meanings, and the generation of new and different kinds of texts, identities, and voices” (Luke, 1997, p. 147).

Luke’s arguments are particularly relevant to the ELICOS students in the present research in that the very flow of their bodies, capital and knowledges both produces and is the product of cultural and economic globalisation. These students already live and face the complexities of New Times and operate in contexts where they have to engage with a destabilisation of familiar meanings, times and spaces and a proliferation of difference in their everyday lives. From this perspective CDA can contribute to the development of a critical awareness of language and culture, should they choose to take this up, as a possible additional framework for dealing with new forms of social participation, for negotiating and participating in the emerging hybrid spaces between familiar and foreign, local and global ways of performing the ‘self’ and viewing the world. A refashioning of language and culture pedagogy in this way will not build bridges and resolve cultural differences but it can problematise what constitutes normal and natural and can provide spaces for students to transgress stabilised conceptual boundaries and navigate their understandings of difference in transnational conditions.

PUTTING CDA INTO CLASSROOM PRACTICE

A number of researchers have proposed pedagogical models of CDA. A group of researchers working with Fairclough have adopted the label critical language awareness (Clark, 1992; Janks & Ivanic, 1992; Wallace, 1992) while in Australia the term critical literacy has been taken up (Comber, 2001; Comber & O'Brien,

1993; Kamler, 1997; Lankshear, 1994; Luke, Comber, & O'Brien, 1996; Luke & Freebody, 1997; W. Morgan, 1997). Advocates of both critical literacy and critical language awareness are concerned with providing students with the tools and practices to question and analyse relations, knowledge and identities constructed in texts. The work on critical literacy/critical language awareness has provided insights into the practice of CDA in classrooms. Furthermore, Janks (1993) and Mellor and Patterson (1996) have produced workbooks for teachers and students in which they provide sample CDA- based lessons.

The range of work on putting CDA into practice in classrooms provided me with ways of conceptualising the adoption and implementation of a CDA-based teaching approach. In particular, I found the work of Fairclough (1989), Wallace (1992) and Luke, Comber and O'Brien (1996) relevant in providing me with a practical toolkit, a set of analytical questions and classroom practices that I perceived could constitute the basis of a teaching program aimed at raising critical cultural awareness.

Fairclough's analytical toolkit

Although Fairclough uses CDA as an analytical tool and is not particularly concerned with its pedagogical applications, the toolkit he proposes is useful to draw on in pedagogical contexts. The analytical toolkit Fairclough (1989) advocates involves a list of questions and linguistic categories which Fairclough uses to investigate the ways linguistic structures create particular relations of power and knowledge. Fairclough works with Halliday's (1978) distinction of the experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions of language, and builds his analysis of texts around investigating the ways the lexical, grammatical and organisational features of texts encode and organise these metafunctions.

Although Fairclough adopts Halliday's perspectives on the functions of language, he does not adhere to Halliday's terminology. For instance, Fairclough adopts Halliday's term experiential, but prefers to use the terms relational instead of interpersonal, and connective rather than textual. Fairclough also emphasises the

expressive function of language, which he describes as referring to the text producer's evaluation of the reality constructed in the text, which Halliday collapses under the interpersonal metafunction. The questions and concepts Fairclough proposes for text analysis are:

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
What classification schemes are drawn upon?
Are there words which are ideologically contested?
Is there rewording or overwording?
What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy*) are there between words?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
Are there euphemistic expressions?
Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What *expressive* values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
What types of process and participant predominate?
Is agency unclear?
Are processes what they seem?
Are nominalizations used?
Are sentences active or passive?
Are sentences positive or negative?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?
Are there important features of *relational modality*?
Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
Are there important features of *expressive modality*?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
What logical connectors are used?
Are complex sentences characterised by *coordination* or *subordination*?
What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual Structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?
Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
10. What large-scale structures does the text have? (1989, pp. 110-111, emphasis in original)

With these questions Fairclough investigates, for instance, the ways lexical choices construct particular realities, the use of pronominalisation to position readers in particular relations and how agency and action are foregrounded or backgrounded through grammatical choices. Fairclough draws on these questions and concepts to make claims about the production of a text and to speculate on its possible interpretations. His argument is that textual analysis combined with a focus on the processes and conditions of text production and interpretation can provide understandings of the discourses that are mobilised in a text.

What is significant about Fairclough's toolkit is that it constitutes a practical model that integrates an analysis of the specific linguistic selections of the text producer, their juxtapositioning, sequencing and layout, with a focus on the broader historical and sociocultural conditions that have made these selections possible. Fairclough provides various examples of the application of his toolkit (1989; 1995a; 2000a; 2000b; Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2001), analysing government policies, advertisements and newspaper articles. In these analyses Fairclough seeks to explicate and document unequal social and economic relations of power, deconstructing hegemonic discourses and relations. What Fairclough fails to capture in his toolkit, however, is a focus on alternative ways of constructing these relations and realities.

Wallace's framework for critical reading

Wallace (1992; 1999; 2001) builds on Fairclough's analytical model and focuses on its adoption in EFL contexts. She argues that in the teaching of EFL, reading material is often conceived of as a vehicle for linguistic structure and as general interest material of a neutral, inoffensive nature. She seeks to problematise this conception and proposes a critical approach to reading. Wallace's critical reading approach entails conceptualising texts as discursive constructions of realities and deconstructing these realities drawing on Fairclough's analytical toolkit. Critical reading, Wallace argues, can encourage EFL learners to challenge the taken for grantedness of particular discourses in particular genres, to construct multiple

readings and “feel they [EFL students] have options in the way they choose to read texts” (1992, p. 80).

Wallace (1992) describes a critical reading program which she designed and applied in several adult EFL classrooms. In the program, she introduces an initial non-technical analysis of the conditions of text production and interpretation, prior to linguistic analysis. She works with a conventional pre/while/post-reading procedure with an embedded critical element. The critical element, she explains, involves not only interrogating the text as a product but also investigating the practice of reading. For this purpose, she suggests an initial focus on the role of reading in students’ lives by encouraging students to explore and reflect on their familial and historical experiences of literacy practices.

Wallace’s exploration of reading practices is followed by a closer examination of the production and interpretation of various magazine and newspaper articles and advertisements that the students and Wallace herself had selected. The pre-reading questions Wallace poses intend to problematise the taken for grantedness of particular discourses. For this analysis Wallace draws on the three questions Kress (1985) argues can be asked of any text:

1. Why is the topic being written about?
2. How is the topic being written about?
3. What other ways of writing about the topic are there? (Kress, 1985, p. 7)

To these, Wallace adds two more:

4. Who is writing to whom?
5. What is the topic? (Wallace, 1992, p. 71)

Wallace points out that in EFL classrooms reading material is often shorn of date and source, presented as authorless, as a generic already existing artefact. Her pre-reading questions are intended to situate texts into a particular time and space, emphasising the constructed nature of texts, the idea that texts are produced by particular groups of people for particular purposes, drawing on particular discourses.

Wallace's while-reading questions draw closely on Fairclough's analytical toolkit. She focuses on the experiential and interpersonal functions of the texts by investigating the ways the particular linguistic and stylistic choices of a text producer serve to construct particular worldviews and position readers in particular ways. This involves exploring who or what takes subject positions, what characteristics and qualities are attributed to participants¹, the kinds of processes and modalities that are assigned to various characters, genders or positions within the text and the implications of these choices in terms of textual authority and power relations.

Wallace's final analysis of texts echoes her pre-reading questions. She asks the questions:

1. To whom is the text addressed?
2. In what other ways could the text have been written? (p. 74)

Wallace claims that having reflected initially on the ways the text producer could have addressed the topic, students can be made more aware of which options were taken up and which were not. With this particular procedure of analysing texts Wallace seeks to trouble the idea that literacy practices merely entail encoding and decoding.

Wallace's work on the pedagogical practice of CDA is relevant to the present research in that she provides insights into the ways various EFL students appropriated the tools of CDA. Although she does not elaborate on the students' perceptions of the program, she does give examples of the students' linguistic analyses of the texts and the ways they identified specific linguistic features as significant in creating a particular reality and positioning them as readers in a particular relation to the text. Furthermore, Wallace gives examples of several students who were able to extend their critical reading practices to texts other than those studied in the classroom, identifying the mobilisation of eurocentric and

¹ Wallace uses participant here as it is used in systemic functional grammar to refer to a person, place or object (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks, & Yallop, 2000).

politically-oriented discourses in the media as well as in other students' spoken texts.

Luke, Comber and O'Brien's focus on reconstruction

The focal concern in Luke, Comber and O'Brien's (1996) research is to provide pre/early primary school students with the analytical resources for problematising the ways texts construct social power and knowledge, and cultural, gender and class identities. While they acknowledge that a linguistic analysis of texts, such as that proposed by Fairclough, can provide understandings of textual techniques of representation and relations, they argue that linguistic deconstruction used exclusively "cannot provide a cultural and political analysis of the text" (p. 35). In this sense, they welcome Wallace's addition of content analysis prior to linguistic analysis, stressing the importance of viewing a text as "an institutionally *located and motivated social strategy* first, rather than as an array of linguistic features" (p. 37, emphasis in original). Wallace's pre- and post-reading questions are particularly relevant to the students they are working with as these questions do not require the skills of encoding and decoding linguistic structures.

Luke et al. identify a list of questions, some of which are in fact the questions Wallace poses, for teachers to focus on foregrounding the social and institutional conditions of the production and interpretation of texts. These questions are:

1. What is the topic?
2. How is it being presented? Whose themes and discourses are being used?
3. Who is writing to whom? Whose voices and positions are being expressed?
4. Whose voices and positions aren't being expressed?
5. What is the text trying to do to you?
6. What other ways are there of writing about the topic?
7. What wasn't said about the topic? Why? (p. 37)

With question 4 in the list above Luke et al. introduce an explicit focus on what is not present in a text. Derrida (1981) posits the view that nothing is ever simply either present or absent, but rather what is absent is a trace of other meanings, other texts and other realities that could have been taken up but were not. With these

assumptions, Luke et al. argue that what is absent in a text is as significant as what is present, and in their toolkit include a specific interrogation of absences and silences. Fairclough too discusses the implications of what is included and excluded in texts, but this does not constitute a central focus of his toolkit.

Luke et al. report on the way O'Brien drew on this list of questions as a basis for analysing mothers' day catalogues with a group of primary school children. O'Brien claims that the children were able to recognise that women were being framed into a particular identity and reality in these texts and describes the analysis as having been successful in foregrounding to the children the gaps between their versions of the world and that created by the texts.

Luke et al. also emphasise that a deconstruction of the discursive realities produced in texts should be followed with strategic and tactical action with and/or against the text. Their argument is that reconstructive practice could bring a stronger focus on the multiplicity of ways a particular reality or social relation can be conceptualised and constructed. This can entail, for example, reconstructing the text for a different audience or rewriting it from an alternative perspective. O'Brien's students, for instance, complemented their analysis of mothers' day catalogues by developing and administering a written survey on the attitudes and preferences of their own mothers and caregivers. O'Brien reports that the diversity of the responses the students collated opened up explorations of the diversity of the discursive category of mother.

DESIGNING A CDA-BASED TEACHING PROGRAM FOR ANALYSING CONSTRUCTIONS OF CULTURES

The three toolkits discussed above all contribute to my understanding of the application of CDA in teaching a discourse view of culture. Fairclough's work is of central importance in that he provides a linguistic theory and a set of practical tools for text and discourse analysis. Wallace draws on Fairclough's work to focus on the deconstruction of the conditions of text production and interpretation, and extends the scope of his toolkit to include non-linguistic analyses. Luke et al. take up Fairclough's arguments for problematising the normativity of the worlds

constructed in texts but also emphasise the content-based non-linguistic analyses that Wallace introduces. In addition, they introduce an explicit focus on reconceptualising texts, concepts and understandings. In Table 1 below, I summarise the focus and application of each of these toolkits.

Table 1: The focus of the CDA toolkits of Fairclough, Wallace and Luke, Comber and O'Brien

Researcher	Application	Focus of text analysis	Texts analysed
Fairclough (1989)	Research contexts	Linguistic deconstructive analysis of conditions of text production and interpretation	media articles, advertisements, government documents
Wallace (1992)	EFL	Exploration of students' literacy practices prior to their engagement with texts; Pre-reading: non-linguistic analysis of conditions of text production and interpretation; While-reading: Linguistic analysis, as proposed by Fairclough; Post-reading: reconceptualisation of topic	media articles, advertisements
Luke, Comber and O'Brien (1996)	Pre/early primary school	Non-linguistic analysis of conditions of text production and interpretation drawing on Wallace; Reconstruction of texts & reconceptualisation of topics	texts of everyday life, e.g., junk mail

The program I designed consisted of two consecutive modules, with five units in each module. In both modules, the first unit served as an introductory unit and the succeeding four units were based on analysing various texts. In my design of the modules, I synthesised what I perceived to be the strengths of each of the toolkits summarised in Table 1 in terms of their possible application to problematising essentialised productions of cultural groups and opening up alternative, plural constructions. In particular, I used Wallace's toolkit as a pedagogical template for

the program and worked with her pre/while/post-text analysis procedure. I adopted Wallace's proposal for an initial exploration of practices and understandings already available to students and designed an entire introductory unit for each module to encourage such exploration. For text analysis, like Wallace, I drew on Fairclough's list of questions and linguistic categories, as well as on some of the questions Luke et al. introduce in their toolkit. My program differs from Wallace's in terms of the post-text analysis tasks. Here I introduced an explicit emphasis on alternative constructions of topics and texts, for which I drew on Luke et al.'s work. In Table 2 I summarise the format that framed this program. In the following sections I describe the sequence of the program, my objectives and the tasks I included in more detail.

Table 2: The format of a CDA-based approach to analysing constructions of culture

Number of modules	Two
Number of units	Five in each module: Unit 1: An introductory unit to each module Units 2-5: Based on text analysis tasks
Focus of units	Unit 1: Exploring students' conceptions of culture and stereotyping Units 2-5: Pre-text analysis: Exploring students' understandings of topic, the discursive constructions already available to them While-text analysis: Linguistic and non-linguistic deconstructive analysis of the conditions of production and interpretation of texts Post-text analysis: Reconceptualising topic, producing alternative constructions
Text selection criteria	Stereotyping and stereotypical constructions
Classroom methodology	Task- based learning.

Aims of the program

The aim of the program was to encourage students to recognise essentialised and static constructions of the cultural embodiment and practices of both ‘us’ and the ‘other’, and to question the mobilisation of eurocentric, racist and sexist assumptions underpinning these constructions. I worked with the assumption that a focus on texts as institutional and social productions could provide students with the means and tools to problematise the neutrality and naturalness of stereotypical constructions and could open up spaces for an exploration of the complexity and multiplicity of cultural meanings, identities and practices. In this way, the program could contribute to the development of a critical cultural awareness, with which students can transgress essentialised conceptions and operate within the fluidity and hybridity of bodies, meanings and identities.

Introductory unit to modules: Unit 1

The first unit of each module was aimed at providing spaces for students to explore their conceptions and assumptions of the concepts of culture and stereotyping. Here I extended Wallace’s interest in investigating students’ literacy practices prior to text analysis to investigating students’ meanings, experiences and observations.

I organised Unit 1 around three tasks aimed at problematising the familiar and taken for granted and exploring the foreign (see Table 3). The first task entailed small group discussions of students’ perceptions of cultural similarities and differences. Students were encouraged to take an insider’s view into foreign cultural practices and an outsider’s view on their own, and to explore the spaces in-between. I incorporated Weaver’s iceberg diagram of culture (1986, cited in C. Morgan, 1998) (see Appendix D for the diagram) in order to introduce a visual focus on the complexity and multiplicity of conceptualisations of the concept of culture. This task involved students’ discussions of their views on the constituents of cultures, focusing on visible and less visible aspects. I also assumed the task could lead students to make links between visible aspects of cultures and stereotypes, and in this way lead into the third task of the unit. The third task was based on problematising students’ taken for granted assumptions and perceptions of

‘otherness’, on recognising the ways cultural groups become locked into essentialised, static images and representations through stereotypes.

Table 3: Objectives and key questions of Unit 1

Objectives: To explore	Tasks
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - what is familiar and taken for granted - the concept of culture - the cultural situatedness of one’s practices and worldviews - visible and less visible cultural attributes - uses and abuses of stereotypes 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion of similarities and differences between cultural groups. 2. Discussion of Weaver’s iceberg model of culture. In particular: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What is the significance of an iceberg image? b. What aspects of cultures are visible and what are less visible? 3. Discussion of cultural stereotypes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What does stereotyping mean? Can you give examples? b. Does it provide a useful way of thinking about people and places?

Analysis of texts: Units 2-5

The four units in each module were based on analysing the production and interpretation of texts and followed a pre/while/post-text analysis procedure. I summarise the sequence of Units 2-5 in Table 4.

Table 4: An overview of the sequence of Units 2-5

Sequence of tasks	Focus of tasks	Source
Pre- text analysis	Problematising understandings of the topic	Wallace
While- text analysis	Deconstructing essentialised constructions	Fairclough; Wallace; Luke, Comber & O’Brien
Post- text analysis	Conceptualising alternative constructions	Luke, Comber & O’Brien

Pre-text analysis

The pre-text analysis questions were aimed at questioning the taken for granted ways topics are conceptualised and constructed in texts. I used titles of texts and visuals and lexical items from texts to focus on the conditions of text production and to generate discussions of students' predictions of the particular discourses that they associated with the topic of the text (see Table 5 for a list of the questions I used to generate such discussions). My assumption in planning pre-text analysis questions was that a focus on the constructed nature of texts could challenge the naturalness of conceptualising particular topics in particular ways.

Table 5: Pre-text analysis questions and intended outcomes

Objectives	Questions	Source
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to explore what one already knows about a topic - to question taken for granted ways of conceptualising events and topics - to recognise the constructed nature of texts - to recognise the multiplicity of addressing topics 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the source of this text? 2. What is the topic? 3. What would you expect to see or read about this topic? 4. What could be the purpose of this text? 5. Who might be the producer of the text? How do you know? 6. Who might read this text? Would you find it interesting? 	Wallace

While-text analysis

The while-text analysis tasks entailed tracing the implications of text producers' choices. I drew on Fairclough's list of analytical questions to focus on the implications of text producers' lexicogrammatical choices and use of visual images to construct a particular knowledge and representation of the world and to position readers of the text in a relation to that world and to the text. In particular, the students focused on the use of pronominalisation, mode and agency in grammatical

structures and the types of processes and participants used. I outline the key questions I used in analysing texts and my objectives for doing so in Table 6.

In linguistic analyses of texts I built on students' existing linguistic knowledge and capabilities. As in most EFL classrooms, the students at the ELICOS centre were already familiar with analysing linguistic structures as part of grammar practice and accuracy exercises. They had an already developed metalanguage built on traditional grammatical terms. Therefore, rather than introduce students to the categories and concepts of systemic functional grammar, which Fairclough and Wallace adopt in their toolkits, I used the linguistic categories of traditional grammar to investigate the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of texts.

Drawing on Luke et al.'s analytical toolkit, I also included an explicit focus on the exclusions in the texts with the assumption that what is not present in a text is as significant in constructing particular meanings as what is present (see questions 3 and 4 in Table 6). Questioning the exclusion of bodies, worldviews and practices in texts, I anticipated, could highlight the narrow and singular versions of the worlds constructed in texts. It could problematise the ways mainstream cultural practices and views are "assembled, presented and taught as the culture" and encourage students to question the way "a selective tradition of culture is naturalised" (Luke et al., 1996, p. 34). This practice of deconstructing what is excluded is crucial in investigating the regimes of truth taken up and legitimised in texts and the ways other truths are deemed irrelevant, exotic or deviant, and left invisible. I expected that questions 5 and 6 in Table 6 could also contribute to emphasising that the version of reality constructed in the text is only one among many.

Table 6: While-text analysis questions and intended outcomes

Objectives	Questions	Source
- to recognise the ways linguistic and visual features of texts create particular realities, relations	1. How are people/events talked about in the text? Make a list of the verbs/ nouns/ adjectives that are used in reference to people/events.	Fairclough; Wallace
- to question the essentialised versions of cultures constructed in texts	2. According to your lists, who initiates action? Who remains passive? What does this suggest about people/events?	
- to question the generalisation of mainstream cultural practices as relevant to all	3. Whose pictures/voices are included in the text? Whose are excluded?	Luke, Comber and O'Brien
	4. Do you think these have an effect on the ways you think about particular people/ places/ events?	
	5. In what ways does the text reflect your experiences or observations about Australia/ Australian men/women?	
	6. If your only experiences of Australia were through this text, what would be your impressions?	

Post-text analysis

Deconstructive linguistic analysis of texts was followed by an investigation of alternative ways of constructing these texts. The task of reconstructing topics, perspectives and representations was aimed at opening up the plurality of cultural practices, identities and relations. To pursue these objectives, I adopted the strategies Luke et al. suggest, such as rewriting or reconceptualising the topic from a different perspective or for a different ideal audience (see Table 7). I also incorporated an ethnographic element in the program, drawing on the work of Michael Byram and his colleagues, which I discussed in chapter 4.

In chapter 4 I acknowledged the significance of ethnographic techniques, such as observation and interviewing, in encouraging foreign/second language learners to explore less familiar terrains and gain insights into the 'other'. However, I had

argued that ethnography in itself cannot provide students with the analytical tools and practices to question the constructedness of the texts they engage with or to deconstruct the ways texts invite particular readings. From this perspective, I included the techniques of interviewing and observation in the program after students had worked with the tools of CDA to deconstruct the realities constructed in texts. Using ethnographic tools after textual deconstruction, I believed, could give students access to alternative perspectives and meanings. I hypothesised that an ethnographic focus embedded into CDA in this way could allow students to explore, engage with and interrogate diverse ways of conceptualising events, people and relations.

Table 7: Post- text analysis questions and intended outcomes

Objectives	Questions	Sources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to explore alternative ways of addressing topics - to recognise the plurality of cultural practices, identities, relations 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What other ways are there of writing about the topic? 2. Interview a homestay family member/ teacher to find out their views on the topic of the text. 3. Observe/collect information on an aspect of the topic excluded in the text. 4. Reconstruct the text/picture to capture your family life. 	<p>Luke, Comber and O'Brien</p> <p>Byram (see chapter 4)</p>

Selection of texts

I chose written, spoken and digital texts of a range of genres, such as advertisements, textbook units, magazine articles and webpages, which I recognised as stereotypical and stereotyping. That is, I read these texts as constructing cultural groups and their practices as a singular, monolithic category and as situating the discursive categories of 'self' and 'other' in a hierarchical, oppositional binary order. Only one of the texts I selected produced what I perceived to be a multicultural construction of Australia. This was in Unit 1 of module 1, which I analyse in chapter 7.

In Table 8 and Table 9 I give an overview of the texts I selected in module 1 and module 2, respectively.

Table 8: An overview of the texts selected for analysis in module 1

Unit	Title of the text	Genre	My reading of the text
1	Australians	Media & digital	Two sets of visual texts used: Stereotypical constructions of Australia and other countries; a multicultural construction of Australia.
2	Bloke (see appendix E)	Pop/rock song	A humorous yet derogatory narrative of an Australian man and his relationship with his partner and his friends. The text produces a stereotypical gendered and sexist construction of Australians.
3	Sheila (www.australianbeers.com/culture) (see appendix F)	Web page	The article is about beer in the lives of Australian women. Several pictures of women drinking beer are featured. A phallogentric construction is produced: Women are constructed as envious of male freedom, as lacking agency and are assigned a subordinate, subservient position in society.
4	Welcome to paradise ²	Article in local travel magazine	The article describes Sunny Hill, the city in which the students are located. The city is constructed as robust and lively with theatres, galleries, museums. Local residents are constructed as elite, intellectual, middle class.
5	It's a small world (see appendix G)	ELT textbook	Pictures of people having meals, shopping, spending time outdoors. The pictures maintain a eurocentric divide, associating laughter and entertainment with the West, and seriousness and formality with the non-West.

Table 9: An overview of the texts selected for analysis in module 2

² To ensure the anonymity of the location of the research site and cohort, the name of this article has been altered. Due to the nature of the information in the article, I have not included it as an appendix.

Unit	Title of the text	Genre	My reading of the text
2	Greetings (see Appendix H)	ELT textbook	The text is aimed at introducing greetings to low-intermediate EFL learners. The text maintains an East/West binary divide: A stereotypical construction of westerners shaking hands and Asians bowing is produced.
3	Crocodile Dundee	Movie	Australian masculinity is constructed as fit, tough, primitive. An outback Australian life provides the context for the film.
4	Fathers' day catalogues	Junk mail	Australian men are constructed in these catalogues as white, middle class, able-bodied, healthy, family men. Mainstream bodies, values and interests are generalised as representative of all Australian men.
5	Interview texts	Students' interviews	Each student interviewed a university student outside the ELICOS centre. The students brought the interview data to class and analysed the various constructions of Australians their interviewees had produced.

A task-based learning methodology

In the design of each unit I adopted a task-based learning methodology, as proposed by Willis (1996). I worked with the assumption that learning occurs in contexts of interaction where learners negotiate their existing understandings and form hypotheses about new meanings (Nunan, 1989). From this perspective, I organised each unit around series of tasks, in which the students were given opportunities to experiment with available and new meanings.

Willis (1996) proposes a task-planning-report sequence, with a consistent focus on interaction and communication. She suggests that students work towards task outcomes initially in small groups, drawing on linguistic resources already available to them. A focus on accuracy and teacher feedback is introduced in the planning stage, when students prepare to report their discussions and task outcomes to the whole class. Finally the students move into the more public context to present their reports to the class verbally or in written mode.

In my design of the tasks, I did not adhere to a strict task-planning-report sequence. I did tell the students to initially discuss their responses to each of the tasks in groups, then to work on reporting their group discussions to the whole class. In this way, I anticipated that all the students in class would have the chance to access the diversity of meanings and readings produced in any group. However, due to such small numbers of students present in the program, students could often overhear each other's discussions during group work (see Appendix C for a record of student attendance in each unit of modules 1 and 2). At times some students even responded to questions raised in other groups or joined in other groups' discussions. I also noticed in the research that when students could not come up with a response to a task, they abandoned group work and sought responses as a whole class. I explicitly asked students to prepare and present a report to the class only when I was aware that they had not overheard each other's discussions or when students worked on a task alone.

Parallel to Willis' explicit focus on language form through awareness raising activities (Ellis, 1994), I adopted an explicit focus on culture through raising awareness of the ways cultural groups and their practices are discursively constructed. That is, the aim of the units was not to teach culture as such, but rather to raise awareness of the complexity, diversity and hybridity of cultural groups. In this sense, I extended Willis' goal of developing TESOL students' communicative competence to raising a critical cultural awareness in such students. I sought to raise such awareness by presenting data in the form of various real-life texts. The tasks set were intended to lead students to analyse these constructions, negotiate their existing understandings with those in the text, experiment with new and familiar conceptualisations and arrive at their own understanding of culture and learning culture.

In the following two chapters I explore the various meanings students made of the texts, tasks and concepts I introduced in the two modules of the program, the ways they negotiated new and existing understandings and assumptions and their perceptions of cultural groups and practices. I demonstrate the ways the insights different students gained varied, not necessarily matching the outcomes I expected.

CHAPTER 7

MODULE 1: STUDENTS MAKING SENSE OF TEXT, DISCOURSE AND CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter as well as the following, I investigate the classroom application of the CDA-based teaching program I described in chapter 6. In this chapter I focus on module 1, on the meanings and readings students made of the tasks and texts in the five units of the module, and in the following chapter I analyse data from module 2. In each of these two chapters I trace students' meanings in various tasks and units, discuss the outcomes of tasks and examine the implications of the tasks and units for future programs aimed at raising critical cultural awareness. In my analyses I intend to gain further understandings into the complexities and possible strengths of adopting the tenets of CDA in teaching and learning a discourse view of culture.

CRITERIA FOR DATA ANALYSIS

In my analysis of data I investigate the claim I made earlier that CDA can contribute to the development of a critical cultural awareness. I examine whether the texts and tasks I selected in the program opened up conceptual spaces for students to question essentialised constructions of cultural groups and to recognise cultural diversity and fluidity. In my analyses, I draw on students' in-class interactions, journal entries and their comments on feedback forms with the aim of gaining insights into their perspectives of the significance and relevance of the program in teaching and learning culture.

In my analyses I take up the assumption that language constructs realities, knowledge and relations. Hence, I conduct a linguistic analysis of spoken and written data to gain insights into the realities and relations the students construct. I do not assume that one's words and actions are an indication of what one thinks or believes. Rather, I investigate the words, phrases and metaphors the students use as

clues to the discourses they might be drawing on and I predict the possible meanings these discourses might make available. For instance, I analyse the students' use of pronominalisation to speculate on the discursive categories they create and I investigate their lexical choices to focus on what they include and exclude in these categories. In this way, I predict the meanings and worldviews they appear to be taking up, resisting or subverting and I draw on these meanings to discuss the pedagogical outcomes of the tasks and units.

In analysing students' meanings I also work with the perspective that individuals' conceptual and perceptual processes are not simply reflections of stable inner dispositions but are constituted in the discourses and subject positions available to them. These discourses and subject positions are multiple, diverse and not necessarily compatible (Davies, 1994; Weedon, 1987). In this sense, I do not expect students' meaning making practices to follow a rational, linear line of argument. Instead, I acknowledge that the students can shift between various competing sets of meanings, identities and practices, and in my analyses I try to capture the complexity and variability of students' meaning making practices.

I summarise the key questions I ask of the data in this chapter in Table 10. With this list of questions, I do not seek to demonstrate that I have changed students' perceptions and worldviews. Instead, I investigate the types of discussions the tasks encouraged. For instance, I analyse group or pair work and journal entries in which I recognise students questioning the realities and relations constructed in the texts. I present instances of students' discussions which suggest recognition by students of cultural hybridity, fluidity and complexity, as well as instances where students do not suggest such recognition. I examine students' negotiations of meanings and discourses and reflect on what this suggests for future applications of CDA in teaching language and culture.

Table 10: Key questions for data analysis**I ask the following questions of the data:**

- Do the tasks encourage students to question the versions of cultures presented in texts?
- Do the tasks encourage students to explore the complexity and diversity of cultural practices, meanings and representations?

In order to analyse the interrogative and exploratory spaces the program might create for students, more specifically I ask:

- What discourses might students draw on in their conceptualisation of culture?
- How do students read constructions of cultures in texts?
- How do students read potentially sexist/racist/colonialist assumptions?
- What discourses and subject positions might students take up in their understandings of what the program seeks to achieve?

STUDENT PROFILE AND PARTICIPATION

The number of students who participated in module 1 ranged from five to seven throughout the five units of the module. The students were aged between 20 and 35 and were of a mix of nationalities. They were attending an ELICOS centre to fulfil a variety of academic, leisure and profession-related purposes. In Table 11 I provide background information on the students, which I obtained through a survey that I administered on each student's first day in the program.

I provide information on students' national backgrounds, gender and motivations in attending ELICOS in order to familiarise the readers of this thesis with the students. I do not use these characteristics as variables to make comparisons between students' meaning making practices. The differences in students' responses throughout the two modules may result from differences in cultural or gendered backgrounds but speculating on this is not one of the objectives of the research.

Rather, I analyse students' responses as resulting from differences in the discursive practices available to them, of which gender, race, class, ethnicity and other variables may or may not be significant.

Table 11: Background information on students in module 1

Name	Gender	Country of origin	Reasons for studying English
Jeon	M	South Korea	Gain entry to postgraduate program
Lilu	F	Russia	Gain entry to undergraduate program
Chika	F	Japan	Gain entry to undergraduate program
Asami	F	Japan	Gain entry to postgraduate program
Popo	F	Japan	Improve fluency in English
Yui	F	Japan	Family – married to an Australian
Thomas	M	Germany	Travel
Eric	M	Germany	Travel

Four of the students in module 1 – Popo, Asami, Jeon and Chika – were already acquainted from the previous ELICOS term, but the rest of the class came together as strangers. To all the students except for Popo, I was a stranger, an outsider. Popo and I lived in the same university residential college and, therefore, were acquainted with each other before the study. She is the only student I am aware of who recognised me as a teacher at the ELICOS centre prior to the research. It is possible that the other students could have seen me teaching in other classes or in the ELICOS centre but I was not familiar with them. I introduced myself to the students as an ELICOS staff member, situating myself within the familiar context of the ELICOS centre, and as a researcher, as an outsider interested in their actions and meanings.

In Table 12 below I provide a record of the students' attendance in each unit of module 1, the number of journals they handed in and whether they returned the feedback forms which I distributed at the end of the module. I use this information

to demonstrate the various ways the students contributed to the research. I have included in the table a record of students' attendance to display the complexity of working with variable student numbers. I do not interpret their attendance as an indication of students' interest in the program in that the program constituted part of a regular ELICOS term, and, according to ELICOS regulations, students were expected to attend these classes.

Table 12: Students' participation in module 1

Name	Sessions attended					Number of journal entries	Feedback form returned
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5		
Popo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	11	✓
Asami	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	15	✓
Jeon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2	✗
Chika	³	✓	Absent	✓	✓	1	✗
Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2	✓
Eric	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	0	✗
Yui		✓	✓			0	✗
Lilu				✓	✓	0	✗

* A shaded box indicates the student was not enrolled at the ELICOS centre at the time.

Of the eight students in module 1, Popo, Asami, Jeon and Thomas provided the most data as they attended all five units of the module and submitted the most journal entries. During class hours, these students also asked questions of and commented on the tasks, texts and the program. The other four students in the module provided me with less data to analyse either because they were enrolled for a limited time period at the ELICOS centre, were absent for classes or contributed little to group and class discussions.

³ In Unit 1 Chika had requested not to be audio recorded.

Participation in the journal task appeared to be successful only with the four students who were enrolled for the whole five units of module 1. However, even then, only two of these students – Popo and Asami – submitted regular weekly entries. Of these two students I have not been able to draw on Asami’s journal, as all of her entries were personal, describing daily events without any reference to the texts or tasks of module 1. In this sense, while she regularly handed in journal entries, they were the least helpful in giving me feedback on the program. The low number of journal entries and, in Asami’s case, the seeming lack of clarity of the purpose of these journals, suggested that I could have given more guidance to students in what I expected of their entries. The submission of feedback forms was also substantially low with only three students returning these forms. I had asked the students to complete and return the feedback forms the week after module 1 had ended, which might have contributed to students’ forgetting to return the forms or perhaps not perceiving it necessary as the module had ended.

EXAMINING TASK AND UNIT OUTCOMES

Each unit in module 1 was organised around a series of tasks, most of which involved small group discussions. The ELICOS centre did not have a fixed seating arrangement, which allowed different student groupings to be formed in each unit. I organised the groups mainly by asking students sitting close together to form a group. I also made sure that each group was close to one of the three microphones placed around the classroom. This allowed me to listen to students’ private group discussions. In some cases, such as when only a few of the students could produce a response to the task, or when one of them spoke loud enough to be heard by all the others, students extended their pair or group work to a class discussion.

In my analyses below I demonstrate the sequencing of tasks in each of the five units in module 1. I trace the ways the students made sense of the tasks and texts and how they proceeded from one task to the next. In each unit I analyse the implications of the tasks and the unit for learning a discourse view of culture. I end the chapter with a discussion of the practices and meanings the module appeared to make available to the students and investigate whether the units and tasks I designed created spaces

for the students to possibly develop critical cultural awareness. In giving a detailed analysis of students' meanings and readings I hope that readers of the thesis might be able to envisage the classroom dynamics and interaction that the students and I experienced.

Unit 1: Exploring conceptions of culture

Five students were present in the first unit of module 1: Three female students from Japan – Asami, Chika and Popo – and two male students – Thomas from Germany and Jeon from South Korea. I do not analyse Chika's responses to the tasks of this unit as I did not have her consent to do so.

Asami, Popo, Jeon and Thomas were sitting with peers of their own gender at the beginning of the lesson and when asked to find partners to work with in the tasks, they paired up with those sitting near them. In Table 13 below, I list the tasks in the order I followed in class, the objectives I aimed for in these tasks and the groups students formed. I distributed written copies of each task to each student.

Table 13: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 1, module 1

Student groupings	- Popo, Asami - Thomas, Jeon
Objectives: to explore: - what is familiar ('us') and taken for granted and what remains foreign ('other') - visible and less visible cultural aspects, cultural stereotypes - cultural plurality in Australia	1. What are some of the similarities and differences between the ways you do things at home in your countries and the ways you do things in Australia? 2. a. Look at this model. Weaver (1986) has tried to explain the concept of culture by using an iceberg image. What is the significance of an iceberg image? b. Which aspects of societies are visible and which are less visible? Write them down on the iceberg model c. These are Weaver's responses. Do you agree? 3. Look at these pictures. Who are the Australians? How do you know? What are the clues?

I perceived the introductory unit to be successful in achieving the purpose of providing spaces for students to examine their existing assumptions of the concept of culture. The aim of this unit was not to determine a particular definition of culture and expect this definition to be taken up. Instead, I wanted to encourage students to explore their conceptions of culture by focusing on the spaces they create between familiar and foreign practices as well as to examine the complexity and variability of these practices. Below I analyse students' responses to each of the three tasks of this unit.

1. What are some of the similarities and differences between the ways you do things at home in your countries and the ways you do things in Australia?

The first task was aimed at initiating explorations of the us/them divide, of what constitutes the familiar and the foreign. My expectation here was that discussions of familiar and foreign practices can draw attention to the complexity within such categories and encourage students to explore the spaces in-between a binary view of difference.

For Asami and Popo, the task appeared to have succeeded in encouraging an exploration of their understandings of difference. In the extract below, for instance, these two students construct shifting and complex sets of us/them categories, investigating each from the inside as members, and from the outside as observers. After reading the task, Popo initiates the discussion (See Appendix B for the transcription conventions used in the thesis):

- 1 Popo: I think the Japanese don't like to show skin, they cover
 2 more. Here they show skin all the time, also in Japan
 3 sharing house is very rare
- 4 Asami: Yeah
- 5 Popo: Also we use sharp pencil and erasure but here they don't
 6 use erasure.
- 7 Asami: I thought Japanese not use body language.
- 8 Popo: Also, sound is different. English is more rhythmical. I'm
 9 surprised because Australian people like **oh yeah.**
- 10 Asami: I don't think a lot of them take shoe off. I have never seen.

-
- 11 Popo: I think western people wear shoes
12 Asami: Japanese doesn't touch each other. When we meet we
13 don't shake hands, but instead we give a bow.
(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1)

Popo and Asami's use of the first person plural pronoun suggests the construction of a self-inclusive Japanese category (line 5: "we use..."; line 12: "when we meet we..."; line 13: "we give..."). At other times in the extract, however, they distance themselves from this category through the use of the phrase "the Japanese" (lines 1, 7, 12) and the pronoun "they" (line 1), in the same way that they exclude themselves from an Australian category ("they", lines 2, 5; "them" lines 10). Hence, they seem to be exploring both a 'self' category as well as the 'other', where the 'other' is both narrowed down to local Australians ("here they", lines 2, 5) as well as generalised to "western people" (line 11). These comments suggest that these students are investigating familiar and foreign practices by shifting between old and new discursive spaces, which I recognise as exemplifying the constant navigation language learners engage in across familiar and foreign spaces. In this sense, the task was successful in generating discussions that could lead to de-naturalising what is familiar and to de-exoticising what is foreign and possibly strange, which could suggest critical cultural competence.

Jeon and Thomas engaged in the same task with a different focus. Jeon responded to the task by describing South Korean social and institutional practices. Thomas did not respond to the task at all but instead expressed his interest in Jeon's talk by asking him questions, seeking clarification and nodding his head. The task appeared to provide the space for Jeon to explore what is familiar to him and allowed Thomas to investigate 'other' sets of practices – in this case Jeon's construction of South Korean practices. However, I do not recognise instances in these two students' talk where they explore their experiences and perceptions of the us/them binary divide. In this sense, the task did not seem to encourage these two students to question their assumptions of the naturalness and normativity of practices familiar to them, nor did it appear to introduce an examination of assumptions of Australians.

The possible lack of shared cultural knowledge between Jeon and Thomas might have contributed to the task not providing them with exploratory spaces to question normativity. In the discussion of Asami and Popo, both of whom are of Japanese background, they appeared to recognise and build on the discursive repertoires they were drawing on in their discussions, which appeared to facilitate their examination of the self/other divide. However, the lack of such collaboration between Jeon and Thomas might have made it difficult for them to create familiar spaces in which they could comfortably initiate an examination of themselves as both ‘us’ and ‘them’.

2. a. Look at this model⁴. Weaver (1986, cited in C. Morgan, 1998) has tried to explain the concept of culture by using an iceberg image. What is the significance of an iceberg image?

All four students remained silent upon receiving this task. Thomas was the first and only student to speak up and share his response with the three other students. His response below suggests recognition of the view that the concept of culture is complex and multifaceted:

Because at first you see only little and most things are under the water if you see iceberg. Sometimes if you see somebody from another country you see only some things small. You think, oh, ok he’s like this, like this, you put him in like a case but if you know him more and more and you can understand why is he doing that way. (Thomas, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1)

In this comment, Thomas appears to question the way judgements are made based on visible, obvious cultural features and the ways individuals are expected to fit into particular pre-defined categories. This is the type of questioning I had hoped the imagery of an iceberg would suggest, one which encourages students to recognise the complexity of the concept of culture. The other three students in class did not provide a verbal response to the task but indicated their agreement with Thomas by nodding and providing confirmation checks.

⁴ I distributed a copy of Weaver’s diagram of culture (see Appendix D) with Weaver’s headings and comments removed.

b. Which aspects of societies are visible and which are less visible? Write them down on the iceberg model.

With this task I intended to encourage students to focus on the practices that constitute cultural groups, the practices that make one group different to another. I wanted to emphasise that while some of these practices are visibly available to outsiders, others are not. I asked the students to brainstorm what they thought constituted the concept of culture and then to arrange these on the iceberg diagram according to whether they perceived these to be more or less visible.

The students worked in pairs on this task. Asami and Popo wrote their responses together on one of the blank iceberg diagrams. On the four parts of this diagram they had written “dress”, “language”, “religion” and “behaviour” as elements that constitute cultural groups, with dress as the most visible and behaviour as the least visible. Asami and Popo’s voices were too soft to be recorded on the tape. Therefore, I can only comment on their finished product in this task.

The other pair initially appeared to agree on “government”, “belief” and “language” as constituting cultural groups but disagreed on which is the most visible:

- 1 Jeon: Beliefs ...*[inaudible]* ... visible.
 - 2 Thomas: Belief? I don’t think so because if you meet somebody at
 - 3 first you don’t know what he believes, [maybe
 - 4 Jeon: [but you can guess from behaviour very easy. You can
 - 5 understand from the language
 - 6 Thomas: Yes, but language isn’t behaviour. It’s communication.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1)

In the above extract, Jeon argues that beliefs can be discernable through behaviour and language. Thomas, however, does not appear to share the same assumption. The extract continues with Jeon and Thomas’ disagreement with each other’s proposals. Then, they each wrote down their responses on separate iceberg diagrams.

c. These are Weaver’s responses. Do you agree?

I had initially feared that distributing Weaver’s version of the model could have encouraged students to assume this version as more authoritative and hence more

legitimate than their own versions. In fact, at the end of the previous task, I noticed that Thomas' version of the iceberg was identical to that proposed by Weaver. I was concerned that this might further reinforce the impression that versions alternative to Weaver's, and hence Thomas', are invalid.

Popo was the first to respond to the task. She spoke loud enough to be heard by the other pair in class, which turned the task into a class discussion. She suggested that she disagreed with Weaver's placement of behaviour on the diagram: "I think it's better to put behaviour at the bottom because I think behaviour makes the different value and thought patterns and also behaviour includes belief and language" (Popo, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1).

Jeon too suggested a different interpretation of the iceberg diagram proposed by Weaver. Jeon used Weaver's model to reinforce the view he had proposed in the previous task, where he had suggested that language is significant in giving clues about one's beliefs. Jeon argued, "You can understand inside of the culture only with the language, so I put first, as top one, like Weaver" (Jeon, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1). Jeon seems to have interpreted the diagram in a way that fitted in with his own conception of culture. In this way, both Popo and Jeon proposed different readings of Weaver's diagram and argued for the legitimacy of their own interpretations.

Thomas did not respond to this task. He did not comment on the similarity between the version of the iceberg he had produced in the previous task and Weaver's. He did not make this similarity available to the other three students. Asami too did not respond to this task.

Drawing on the talk generated in both groups of students, I interpret this task of Unit 1 as having achieved its purpose of encouraging students to negotiate their understandings of the concept of culture. The purpose of the task was not necessarily to encourage students to reach a unanimous decision. Instead, I wanted the task to provide a context for students to explore and communicate their conceptions of cultural groups and practices, and, it seems, this is what the task did.

3. Look at these pictures. Who are the Australians? How do you know? What are the clues?

The aim of the final task of the introductory unit was to problematise the ways particular assumptions are made about cultural identity based on visible bodily and social practices. In particular, I aimed to encourage students to question their own assumptions about Australian bodies and practices. For this task, I asked the students to analyse a number of photographs of families, printed in a newspaper article, all of whom identified themselves as Australian. These photographs included families of varying sizes and age groups, and of various social, ethnic and racial backgrounds. I had hoped students' discussions of the national, cultural and ethnic identities of these families in their constructions of 'Australianness' could introduce a focus on cultural diversity and hybridity in Australia.

When responding to this task all four students gathered around the newspaper clippings, which I had spread across an empty desk. Jeon initiated the discussion by identifying who he perceived to be Australian:

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Jeon: | All of them. |
| 2 | Thomas: | ... [<i>picking up different photographs</i>] English ... Italian ... |
| 3 | | American ... actually none of them are Australian. They |
| 4 | | can be from other countries |
| 5 | Jeon: | [Yes, another countries |
| 6 | Popo: | [Yes |

(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1)

It appears that Jeon (line 1) initially recognises that the variety of physical characteristics displayed in the clippings could possibly be categorised as Australian. He suggests recognition of the multiplicity of the category Australian. However, Jeon later (line 5) seems to abandon this idea after Thomas suggests that these families might belong to social groups other than Australian (lines 2-4). After this extract, when I asked the students to point to the clippings they thought featured Australians, Jeon responded "none of them are Australian", to which the other three students in class nodded, suggesting agreement.

Thomas' reading of the photographs seems to have been influential in the meanings Jeon and the other students' made and, thereby, in their constructions of Australians. Thomas' reading, it seems, might have been conceived by the other students as perhaps appropriate and correct. Indeed, in pair and group work, students construct new knowledges by appropriating the meanings other students make available. I see this as part of the process of learning. However, I was concerned with the reading Thomas had made available in this task because it constructed the embodiment of 'Australianness' as one that ignores diversity, a construction which I was aiming to problematise with the program. I was concerned that students' take up of Thomas' reading might help to naturalise this construction as unproblematic.

In order to challenge students' assumptions of Australians, I announced that all the families, in fact, had identified themselves in this particular newspaper article as Australian:

- 1 Mehtap: But actually they're [*pointing to the clippings*] all Australian.
 2 Popo: Ahh
 3 Thomas: ... Yes, but they are not **typical** Australians.
 4 Mehtap: What do you mean?
 5 Jeon: But typical Australian is quite difficult because so many
 6 people was from many countries, Asian, multicultural
 7 Asami: Especially Europe
 8 Mehtap: [*to Jeon and Asami*] So then why didn't you choose this
 9 picture [*picture of family of East Asian appearance*] as
 10 Australian then?
 11 Thomas: [*responding to my question in line 4*] Because if you read
 12 something about Australia, they say they like beer and large
 13 country and white people and something.

(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 1)

Thomas initially challenges my identification of the families in the clippings as Australian. It seems that he expects Australians to embody particular characteristics ("typical", line 3), and fails to recognise as Australian those who do not. This suggests that according to Thomas there is a certain way of being Australian. However, later in the extract (lines 11-13), this assumption appears to be underpinned by Thomas' recognition of the ways the media draw on stereotypical

constructions of cultural groups. That is, Thomas appears to have failed to define any of the families in the photographs as Australian drawing on his awareness that stereotypical constructions of Australians are mobilised in the media. I recognise this as significant in introducing the idea that the media tend to be selective in their construction of Australian bodies.

My announcement about the photographs in the above extract also seems to have encouraged Jeon to reassume his initial recognition of diversity. Jeon (lines 5, 6), questions Thomas' assumptions of "typical" (line 3) and draws attention to the multicultural and multi-ethnic nature of Australia. He challenges the naturalness of stereotyping as he suggests that a "typical" (line 3) construction is "quite difficult" (lines 4, 5), suggesting recognition of the complexity of constructing a generalised Australian identity. I also recognise Asami's inclusion of "Europe" (line 7) to Jeon's list of examples ("many countries, Asian, multicultural", line 6) as supportive of Jeon's construction of a multi-ethnic Australia. In this sense, Jeon emphasised the view that stereotypes are static, limited constructions, and introduced a focus on the cultural variability and complexity present in Australia.

My overall perception of Unit 1 was that it had achieved the purpose of introducing key conceptions to students. The tasks appeared to provide a context for students to examine differences, to reflect on the complexity of familiar and foreign practices and to analyse constructions of Australians. A class of five students was not perhaps ideal for group or class discussions which could provide students with the opportunities to access multiple perspectives on a topic. For example, in task 2a, only Thomas voiced his understanding of the relation between an iceberg and the concept of culture. With a larger group of students a wider variety of responses and perceptions could have been explored. Nevertheless, I recognise some instances in this group of students' talk where they do produce and explore a variety of perceptions, where they counter-argue and provide alternative proposals. Although the students did not respond to all the tasks in the unit, in my reading at least some of the tasks encouraged exploration of the complexity of cultural groups and practices.

The tasks of Unit 1 appeared to be relevant in varying ways to several of the students. For example, while Jeon did not appear to be interested in examining foreign spaces in task 1, he initiated discussions of multiculturalism in task 3 and in this way explored the multiplicity of the 'other'. Asami and Popo, on the other hand, suggested an interest in examining the familiar and the foreign from an insider and outsider position in task 1, but did not contribute much to Thomas and Jeon's discussion on multicultural Australia in the final task. Thomas appeared to be interested in examining conceptions of culture (task 2) and constructions of Australians (task 3) but did not engage in an exploration of the 'self'. All four of the students appeared to take up particular meanings and abandon others based on what they perceived to be of relevance and interest to them. A similar shifting of positions was also frequently repeated in other units.

Units 2: Investigating constructions of Australian men

In Unit 2, two more students joined the class: Yui, a Japanese female student who was married to an Australian and was temporarily in Australia visiting in-laws, and Eric, a German student planning to travel around Australia, enrolled at the ELICOS centre. Also, Chika announced that she was willing to have her responses to tasks recorded and analysed. This brought participant numbers to seven (see Appendix C for a record of student attendance).

The text I chose for analysis in this unit was a popular song which I read as constructing Australian masculinity as dominant, lazy and disrespectful of females (See Appendix E for the tapescript of the song). The tasks I designed in this unit, then, were intended to encourage students to question the narrowness and stereotypical nature of this construction and to explore alternative constructions of men in Australia.

In Table 14 I list the objectives of the unit, the tasks and the groups students formed when responding to the tasks. Similar to Unit 1, students formed groups with those sitting next to them. Also, I distributed to each student a written copy of the three sets of tasks. I asked students to respond to each set of tasks in groups and then to

be prepared to give a short summary of their in-group discussions to the other group in class. In this way, I wanted to ensure that the meanings produced in one group were available to students in the other group. In cases where I do not have access to students' in-group discussions, for example due to failed recordings, I draw on students' group summaries.

Pre-listening tasks

My intention with the first task was to ensure that all students recognised the meaning of the title of the song. I perceived it important to overcome any possible linguistic difficulties that might impede students' understanding of the song. As I had expected, several of the students appeared to be unfamiliar with the meaning of the word bloke. Jeon volunteered to look the word up in the class dictionary and explained it as "guy, man" to the class.

Table 14: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 2, module 1

Student groupings	- Asami, Popo, Thomas - Eric, Chika, Jeon, Yui
Objectives	- to examine the ways language constructs a particular reality of Australian men - to explore alternative constructions of Australian men
Pre-listening tasks	
1. The title of this song is Bloke. What does bloke mean?	
2. Can you predict what the song is about? What could be written about a bloke?	
While-listening tasks	
3. Who is speaking in this song? Who is being spoken to? What in the text tells us this?	
4. How are these people talked about? Make a list of all the things the speakers do. (Look for the verbs that are used with each of these people.)	
5. According to your lists, who initiates action? Who remains passive? What does this list suggest about the relationship between the people in the song?	
6. Whose voices are included and excluded in the song? Why? What effect does this have on you?	
Post-listening task	
7. What other ways are there of writing about Australian men?	

The purpose of the second pre-listening task was to encourage students to propose a variety of ways Australian men might be constructed in texts, to suggest various storylines. My intention here was to encourage students to explore the variety of constructions of Australian men available to them, and then to contrast this variability with the restricted version produced in the song.

In one group, Asami, Popo and Thomas made various predictions:

- 1 Thomas: About men
- 2 Popo: Men
- 3 Thomas: Yeah, about men. What do you think? [*to Asami*]
- 4 Asami: Australian guy... How do you [he] think. What do you [he]
- 5 think.
- 6 Thomas: Maybe about, between strange men. ...
- 7 Popo: Story of Australian young [man
- 8 Thomas: [story about some Australian young man
- 9 Popo: Who drink a lot.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Initially the students appear to repeat the topic of the song in their predictions (“men” lines 1, 2, 3, “Australian guy” line 4). Later though, they make more specific predictions – “strange men” (line 6) and “young man who drink a lot” (lines 7-9). Popo seems to predict that the text will associate Australian youth, beer and masculinity, suggesting the availability to her of stereotypical constructions.

Stereotypical constructions of Australians also appear to be available to students in the other group:

- 1 Jeon: It’s about aussie guys. Probably behaviour of mens in
- 2 Australia. I think there is some special characteristics
- 3 because almost all Australian guys like beer and smoke.
- 4 Specially in Australia you can think beer, lots of beer
- 5 Yui: Australian men is the biggest drinker in the world.
- 6 Eric: No, German.
- 7 Yui: German?
- 8 Eric: Irish too.
- 9 Yui: Typical Australian. Typical young Australian man.
- 10 Jeon: They usually drink beer instead of breakfast. ...

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

In this group, Jeon predicts “behaviour of mens in Australia” (lines 1, 2) as a possible topic of the song. He then goes on to explain the meanings he associates with this topic. He appears to expect a stereotypical Australian masculinity to be constructed, generalising Australians to fit into a particular category (“almost all Australian guys like beer ...”, “you can think beer, lots of beer”). Appearing to draw on this stereotype, Jeon also makes generalisations about the dietary practices of Australian men (“they usually drink beer instead of breakfast”). A similar understanding of Australian masculinity seems to be available to Yui (lines 5, 9). Eric contributes to the group’s discussion on beer drinkers (lines 6, 8), a contribution that is, in fact, off topic, and does not respond to the task itself.

The pre-listening task, it seems, helped to arouse students’ anticipation of the content of the song. It appeared to encourage students to explore what they already knew about Australian men, most of which, however, appeared to rest on stereotypes. In this sense the task did not achieve the purpose of encouraging students to reflect on the variety of male bodies and interests in Australia. For this task I had assumed that the students would have an already developed repertoire of observations of local Australian men to draw on. However, only stereotypical constructions appeared to be readily available to most students.

While-listening tasks

The while-listening tasks were aimed at analysing the ways text producers create particular knowledge and relations through their use of lexicogrammatical and visual means. I had expected these tasks to provide students with the tools to question the implications of these constructions in terms of the ways particular assumptions of Australia and Australians become naturalised. I also hoped that students would recognise and problematise the ways they are positioned, as readers of these texts, to take for granted these realities and relations.

The students listened to the song twice. I asked the students to respond to the tasks individually after their first listening and then after their second listening to discuss their responses as a group. I also asked students to underline two lexical items in the

text that they were unfamiliar with while they were listening, to check the meanings of these words in their dictionaries, and after they had listened to the song twice, to share these meanings with members of their group. I thought that this might contribute to students' comprehension of the text.

3. Who is speaking in this song? Who is being spoken to? What in the text tells us this?

In Chika, Eric, Jeon and Yui's group, the artist singing the song – a male – is identified as the speaker in the song (lines 1, 2). No other proposals are made as Chika quickly moves on to the second part of the task:

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Jeon: | [reads the task] Who is speaking in the text. Singer. The |
| 2 | | singer |
| 3 | Chika: | [reads the task] Who is being spoken to. Men? |
| 4 | Jeon: | Men and women |
| 5 | Chika: | New age guy? What in the text tells us this? [reads task] |
| 6 | Jeon: | I think he want to tell us what is Australian guy, real |
| 7 | | Australian guy |
| 8 | Yui: | His way of living. |

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

As to who is being addressed in the song, several proposals are made: “men” (line 3), “men and women” (line 4) and “new age guy” (line 5). The third question in this task (“what in the text tells us this”) was aimed at encouraging students to identify the clues that helped them make these predictions. However, Jeon and Yui appear to misunderstand it as requiring them to speculate on what the text is telling readers, that is on the purpose of the song (lines 6, 7, 8). Nevertheless, I recognise the three students in this group as reflecting on and exploring the roles and relationships constructed in the song, which they would further examine in following tasks. Eric did not contribute to the discussion.

Asami, Popo and Thomas' group discussion was not audible. Therefore, I cannot analyse their in-group explorations. However, when they were reporting their in-

group discussions to the other group, they suggested that they recognised a male speaker addressing a female.

After each group had presented their discussions to the class, Jeon proposed a different reading of the song. He disagreed with the text being based on any kind of gender relationship:

- 1 Mehtap: So, you're [*referring to Thomas, Popo and Asami*] saying
 2 that the song is about a relationship between a man and a
 3 woman, and the other=
 4 Jeon: =it can be parents
 5 Thomas: ... Parents?
 6 Jeon: Between a man and parents
 7 Mehtap: So you mean the speaker lied to his parents about going to
 8 the pub. What do=
 9 Jeon: =yes
 10 Mehtap: ... Why would he lie to his family? I don't understand.
 11 Jeon: I don't think about Australian guys. That's my opinion.
 12 Sometimes the guys get the money from parents or family.
 13 In my opinion a man lies to family, not to wife or girlfriend
 14 or something.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Jeon appears to be drawing on practices and assumptions of honesty, gender relationships and family that were unavailable to me. This was a reading that I had not anticipated, one that I was not familiar with. In theory I advocated multiple readings of a text but in practice I had neither thought of alternative readings nor was I prepared to deal with such differences. Therefore, I unintentionally closed Jeon's reading and brought it back to one that I felt comfortable with:

- 15 Mehtap: Ok. But then how do you interpret knockers? Whose
 16 knockers is he talking about then?
 17 Jeon: ... oh, ah, lover. It can be lover, yes, lover.

Jeon's reading is, in fact, significant in that he brings a different perspective to the meanings the students and I were making of the text. Drawing on Jeon's reading, I could have explored in class the assumptions underpinning the relationships men and women are expected to take up and multiple alternatives to this. This could

have been an ideal context in which to question the taken for grantedness and dominance of particular readings.

Indeed, Jeon's response exemplifies the Derridaean argument taken up in CDA that meanings are not fixed within texts but are constructed based on the discursive practices available to the meaning maker. In the above extract, Jeon appears to be extending the meaning of the text beyond the linguistic structure of the text, of what is physically written in the text. In line 11, Jeon claims that he is not focusing on only "Australian guys" but appears to broaden his reading to possibly men in general, or at least to those he is familiar with. In this sense, Jeon exemplifies that any text is open to multiple, conflicting meanings. However, it seems that in this task I was focused on a particular reading, one that I perceived to be necessary to take students to the desired outcomes of the unit, and therefore, dismissed Jeon's reading.

4. How are these people talked about? Make a list of all the things the speakers do. (Look for the verbs that are used with each of these people.)

Thomas, Asami and Popo initially worked alone and then compared their responses:

- 1 Thomas: Ok. I will read my answers?
 2 Asami: Yes ... what is mean shirk? ... This one.
 3 Thomas: Oh ...maybe like shit? ... I don't know. I'll check my
 4 dictionary
 5 Popo: Shit?
 6 Asami: I didn't find in Japanese dictionary
 7 Thomas: Ah, Eric is using my dictionary. Ok, I will check later. ...
 8 [reads task] Make a list of all the things the speakers do ...
 9 Ok. I wrote, I have written, for the husband, 'I hate the new
 10 age guys', 'I live on beer and pies', 'I lied', 'I went out
 11 drinking', 'I told you', 'just feed me more VB', 'just pour
 12 my beer'
 13 Popo: Yes, and also, 'I really love your knockers'.
 14 [Thomas writes it down] Did you write answers for his
 15 girlfriend?
 16 Thomas: Ah, I just found 'you look', 'you look at me'. I think that's
 17 all. She does nothing [laughs].
 18 Popo Yes, yes. 'Look at me' ... This one. [points to page]
 (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

In the above extract, as Thomas reads his list (lines 7-12) Popo confirms what he says by nodding, suggesting she has completed the task in much the same way. Asami remains quiet. However, she has underlined some of the processes in the text, suggesting that she too has been able to complete the task. Meanwhile, the other group of students present in class, comprised of Jeon, Chika, Yui and Eric, respond to the question individually. All four of them appear to read the question silently, scan the text, underlining and circling some of the processes. In their report to the other group, they appear to have responded to the task in a similar way, identifying similar words and phrases. I recognise both groups of students as having successfully analysed particular linguistic structures used in the text's construction of reality.

The students at the ELICOS centre were often required to analyse the linguistic features of texts as part of regular grammar lessons. Therefore, I had anticipated that the students would have little difficulty responding to the linguistic analysis tasks I set. Based on the pace with which students responded to these tasks and their familiarity with what was required of them, the task of extracting particular linguistic features from texts did not appear to be difficult for them. In fact, at the end of module 1, Chika and Popo even commented that they thought the linguistic analysis tasks were repetitive and the "most boring" (Chika, feedback form, module 1).

5. According to your lists, who initiates action? Who remains passive? What does this list suggest about the relationship between the people in the song?

When reporting in-group discussions to the other group, Thomas had listed on the board in two columns the processes associated with the male and female characters of the text. I used this list to lead in to task 5, aimed at focusing on the way the text producer's linguistic choices help to create a particular reality about Australians. In this task, I initiated a whole class discussion:

- 1 Mehtap: Ok, let's compare these two lists now. Who is more active?
- 2 Thomas: The man
- 3 Popo: [the man
- 4 Thomas: [He says I live on beer and pies. That's state. Others maybe

-
- 5 more action
 6 Mehtap: Yes, so who initiates action? I mean who makes things
 7 happen?
 8 Chika: The man.
 9 Mehtap: That's right.
 10 Jeon: We first think "I hate new age guys" [*reads from the text*]
 11 so the speaker is old age guy. He speaks to his wife.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Thomas' visual display of the text producer's choice of processes appears to have been successful in drawing some students' attention to the particular relationship constructed in the text. In the extract above, Thomas (lines 2, 4, 5), Popo (line 3), and Chika (line 8) seem to recognise that the male participant is constructed as initiating action, as more active than the female. At the end of the extract it seems that Jeon attempts to give an example of an action associated with the male character ("I hate new age guys", line 10), and drawing on this example appears to continue to explore the identity of the speaker in the song and who is spoken to (line 11). I recognise Jeon's latter exploration as irrelevant to the present task, and with the intention to bring the discussion back to the task question, to investigating students' understandings of the implications of the reality and relations constructed in the song, I ask:

- 12 Mehtap: Yes, ok, think about, what kind of relationship does this
 13 list [*pointing to the board*], this difference suggest. Is it an
 14 equal relationship or an unequal one?
 15 Popo: Unequal
 16 Chika: Unequal
 17 Mehtap: Why?
 18 Asami: Because he asking too much
 19 Yui: And because he doesn't treat the woman like men. For
 20 example, he order the woman. He doesn't do anything.
 21 Mehtap: That's right. And what does he say he likes about his wife
 22 or girlfriend?
 23 Yui: ... knockers [*laughter*]
 24 Mehtap: Do you think this is true for all Australian men and
 25 women?
 (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Popo (line 15), Chika (line 16) and Yui (line 19) appear to recognise that an "unequal" gender order is being constructed in the text and, furthermore, Asami

(line 18) and Yui (line 20) draw attention to the way a dominant masculinity is constructed. In particular, Asami's use of the phrase "too much" (line 18) and Yui's use of "order" (line 20) suggest that they find this gender construction problematic. The other students in class, the three males – Jeon, Thomas and Eric – do not contribute to the discussion. Although in the present research I am not interested in examining gender differences in responding to tasks, the silence of the three male students might suggest that it was perhaps easier for the female students to recognise and question the take up of sexist discourses in the song. The task might have created the space for the female students to voice their critique of gender inequalities. In this sense, I perceive the outcomes of this task as successful, to some extent, in reaching task objectives in that some of the students appeared to recognise and question the ways the use of particular linguistic categories produces a particular version of the world – a sexist reading of the world in this particular text.

The students did not respond to my final question above (lines 24, 25), where I asked them to compare the text's construction of gender relations with their existing knowledge of gender relations in Australia. It seemed that with this question I was expecting students to draw on their knowledge of the 'other', expecting students to be able to compare the particular gender relationship produced by the text with their own experiences and observations, which they might not have.

6. Whose voices are included and excluded in the song? Why? What effect does this have on you?

A focus on exclusions in the text was also intended to draw attention to the particular constructions of masculinity and femininity in the text. In the extract below, Popo suggests that the text solely includes male voices:

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Popo: | Just the singer's voice. |
| 2 | Mehtap: | Yes, who else? |
| 3 | Jeon: | ... the mates. |
| 4 | Mehtap: | That's right. These are male voices aren't they? Do you |
| 5 | | hear the woman's voice? |
| 6 | Popo: | [No. |
| 7 | Jeon: | [No. |

-
- 8 Mehtap: No. Why not? Why doesn't he include her voice?
 9 Popo: He doesn't allow
 10 Thomas: It's not important
 11 Mehtap: Is this important. Does this affect how you think about men
 12 in general or women in general or in Australia?
 (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Popo and Thomas suggest that femininity is being constructed as passive (“he doesn't allow”, line 3) and trivial (“it's not important”, line 4). I read their responses as recognition of the mobilisation of sexist discourses in texts. In lines 11 and 12 in the extract above, I intended to draw students' attention to the implications of the take up of this discourse for Australian identities and relations. I wanted to problematise the way this construction is produced as natural and as integral to identifying as Australian. However, the students did not respond to this question.

I perceive the while-listening questions as having encouraged students to take up deconstructive practices, to recognise as problematic the restricted version of the world constructed in the text. I recognise several students challenging the way the female character in the text is assigned a passive, submissive role and questioning the particular gender relationship being constructed. However, what the tasks did not appear to encourage in this unit was an exploration of the real-life implications of the knowledge and relations produced in the text. In other words, several students recognised the sexist reading of the text, but none had been able to relate to the real life implications of this particular construction. There was no discussion of the effects a text might have on one's assumptions and expectations of Australian men, of gender relationships in Australia. It seemed that a linguistic analysis had helped students recognise the unequal gender divide that was being created in the text, but that this awareness did not necessarily lead them to question the ways the text circulates and naturalises a particular version of Australian men.

Post-listening task: 7. What other ways are there of writing about Australian men?

The rationale behind including post-listening tasks was to encourage students to explore alternatives to the discursive reality created in the texts. I had hoped that

this exploration could draw students' attention to the plurality and complexity of meanings, identities and realities.

After I had distributed to the students a copy of the post-listening task, Jeon raised the question of to what extent the version of Australian masculinity constructed in the text constitutes a truth:

- 1 Jeon: Is this true about the Australian guy?
 2 Mehtap: Well=
 3 Thomas: =It's true about **typical** Australian man.
 4 Mehtap: Typical. So how would you describe the typical Australian
 5 man?
 6 Asami: Who likes beer, who likes watching footy on TV=
 7 Jeon: Who likes going out drinking
 8 Mehtap: So do you think it's true about the men you see in Sunny
 9 Hill?
 10 Jeon: I don't know, maybe yes. [*laughs*]
 (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

Jeon's initial comment (line 1) was the type of question I had hoped the tasks would encourage. That is, I had hoped that the students would discuss and question whether the texts under analysis are able to capture everyday life and everyday Australians. I recognise Jeon here as seeking further knowledge of Australian identities, as interested in exploring foreign bodies and practices. In line 3 Thomas introduces the idea that the version of Australian men produced in the text is only one particular construction ("typical"), and Asami and Jeon, appearing to draw on some of the stereotypical features produced in the song, provide further insights into this particular version of Australian men. It appears that a "typical" version of Australians is readily available to students, but, as Jeon's final comment suggests (line 10), alternatives are not.

In Unit 2, most of the students appeared to be able to identify the sexist construction of Australian men and women in the song, and recognised and questioned the mobilisation of sexist discourses. What I had intended, though, was that the students compare the construction in the text with their own observations and experiences and conclude that there are other versions of this reality. However, the tasks in this unit did not appear to provide contexts for students to access alternative versions.

To create further opportunities for students to explore the plurality of ways Australian men can be constructed, I asked Yui to share her observations of Australian men. I was aware that Yui was married to an Australian and, although they had been living in Japan for the duration of their marriage, I assumed she might be able to compare the construction in the text with the characteristics she had observed of her husband or other Australian men. When I asked her to comment on whether she thought her husband is similar to the man in the song, she responded:

- 1 Yui: Actually, I sometimes see some men drinking in the early
 2 morning in pub, but my husband or his father or brother,
 3 they don't do that=
 4 Thomas: =Can your husband identify with this?
 5 Yui: Nooo
 6 Asami: But my hostfather is like this.
 7 Thomas: Really?
 8 Asami: Yeah
- 9 Thomas: Yes, but maybe a lot of men, they can identify with this.
 10 Maybe not all but some of its behaviour, they can do
 11 sometimes.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1)

A focus on Yui's personal experiences appears to achieve its purpose in that Yui (lines 2, 3) emphasises the idea that the construction of masculinity in the song is not the only version available. She suggests that while this version may capture the way masculinity is practised by some men in Australia (line 1) it is not generalisable to all men, such as those around her ("husband", "father", "brother" line 2). Asami, on the other hand, cites an example that fits in with the song's construction (line 6), but this is challenged by Thomas (lines 9, 10, 11). Thomas appears to reiterate Yui's point that while some men may identify with the particular construction in the song, this should not suggest that it is relevant and generalisable to all Australian men. Although all the students did not verbally participate in this discussion, I recognise it as significant in creating the opportunity for all students to gain access to and explore the multiplicity of Australian masculinities, Australian identities.

I perceived Yui's contributions as significant in suggesting not only that there are alternatives to the way Australian men can be represented but also in introducing the notion of cultural hybridity. To the extract above Yui also added that "he [*her husband*] is Australian but actually now he is more Japanese than me" (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 1). With this comment she introduced a focus on the way one is not necessarily locked into the cultural category one is born into but can take up various cultural identities and practices as appropriate. While her comments did not generate class discussions of cultural hybridity or cultural identity, she did introduce an example of a construction of Australian men other than that produced in the song. Yui's comments and claims were valuable in terms of initiating discussions of alternative realities.

Unit 3: Investigating constructions of Australian women

The text I selected for analysis in Unit 3 was about Australian women. I chose this text for analysis for two reasons. First, the text, titled Sheila, was part of a website promoting Australian beers (www.australianbeers.com/culture/women) (see Appendix F) and appeared to be circulating the stereotype of Australians as heavy consumers of beer. The inclusion of the words culture and women alongside beer suggested to me that the text was helping to construct women as fitting into this stereotype. I assumed that by using this text I could encourage students to question the limitedness of national stereotypes.

Second, I read this particular text as producing a derogatory construction of Australian women, constructing Australian women as intellectually and socially inferior to Australian men. In the text I recognise Australian men being constructed as benevolent and understanding, encouraging women's social and economic development whereas Australian women are presented as greedy and unappreciative of the rights and opportunities they possess today. The assumption underpinning the text appears to be that women should accept their inferior place in Australian society and should not disrupt the male-superior/ female-inferior gender divide by trying to attain male-specific subject positions. My purpose, then, was to encourage students to recognise and question the sexist construction of Australian women in

the text and to examine alternative constructions. The tasks I designed to reach these objectives are listed in Table 15.

Pre-reading tasks

I distributed the three pre-reading tasks in turn following the sequence I present in Table 15. With task 1 I wanted to encourage students to explore their existing assumptions and observations of Australian women, to reflect on multiple ways that ‘other’ bodies, practices and meanings might be constructed. For this purpose I distributed pictures from the website, all of which included women drinking beer. However, the task encouraged little exploration. All the students recognised that the text would be about women but none of them appeared to make more specific predictions.

Table 15: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 3, module 1

Student groupings	- Asami, Eric, Jeon - Popo, Thomas, Yui	Absent: Chika
Objectives	- to examine the ways language constructs a particular reality of Australian women - to explore alternative constructions of Australian women	
Pre-listening tasks		
1. Here are some pictures from the text we will analyse. Can you predict what the text is about? What could be written about this topic?		
2. This text is from www.australianbeers.com.au/culture ? What would you expect to find on this webpage?		
3. The title of this page is “your guide to Australian beer, pubs and culture”. Why has the writer used the word culture together with the words beer and pubs?		
While-listening tasks		
4. Read the first page of this text. What is the text about?		
5. Now read the rest of the text. Make a list of the things the writer says men do and a list of the things women do?		
6. According to these lists, what kind of relationship do Australian men and women have?		
7. What have you learned about Australian women and men from the text?		
Post-listening task		
8. Interview a home-stay family member/teacher to find out how they would define or describe ‘Australian’ and ‘Australian women’.		

The second and third tasks were aimed at encouraging students to examine stereotypical knowledge already available to them about Australians and Australian social practices. These two tasks generated more responses from the students compared to the first task. Although I had divided the students into two groups, they carried out both tasks as a whole class discussion.

In response to task 2, (what would you expect to find on this webpage?), Asami, Jeon and Thomas jointly proposed a fairly extensive list of Australian beer brands they expected to find on the website. They appeared to focus exclusively on beer and made no reference to how or why the word culture was also included in this website address. The third task (why has the writer used the word together with beer and pubs?) appeared to encourage this particular association. In response to this task, Thomas and Popo suggested an awareness of the stereotypical association of Australian culture and beer (lines 1-3):

- 1 Thomas: [*reads task 3 out loud*] ... because, he wants to show how
 2 beer is culture of the country
 3 Popo: Stereotype of the Australian is beer.
 4 Thomas: Yes. Beer is very popular on German webpage design too.
 5 The same pictures. Like they are talking about Germans.
 6 Ok, a lot of people drink beer but it's not the only thing.
 7 The same case here when people talk about Australians.
 8 Only beer. Maybe a lot of people like beer but I think
 9 every country has people who drink beer
 10 Jeon: I heard that German has got a lot of beer, so we think like
 11 that.
 12 I can't understand. I think beer is most important in
 13 German, most famous in the world. In Korea, we don't
 14 think about the Australian about beer. I haven't heard it
 15 before.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

In this extract Thomas (lines 4-9) elaborates on Popo's recognition of the stereotypical association of Australians and beer (line 3). He appears to question the ways Germans and Australians are categorised into a singular, stereotypical way of living. In his response, Thomas also draws attention to the limitedness of such categorisations, of the ways this categorisation excludes the diversity of social

practices that members of cultural and national groups engage in (“ok, a lot of people drink beer but it’s not the only thing”, line 6). Jeon, on the other hand, does not seem to share Thomas’ concern about the generalisation of beer consumption to a national group. Rather, he appears to be proposing a correction to the stereotype of the beer-drinking Australian (lines 12-15) by arguing that beer is not a stereotype of Australians but of Germans.

It seemed that pre-reading task 3, in particular, had encouraged some students to explore the stereotypes of Australians already available to them, which is what I had intended to do. It appeared that the task had created a context for at least some of these students – Thomas and Popo for instance in the extract above – to voice their critique of the circulation of national stereotypes. Thomas’ responses in particular were significant in introducing the idea to the class that stereotypes simplify and restrict cultural complexity and multiplicity. However, similar to the outcome of Unit 2, the pre-reading tasks of this unit did not encourage in students an exploration of available knowledge of possible multiple ways of being an Australian woman, which I could use to contrast with the narrow, singular version produced in the text.

When designing the pre-listening/reading tasks of module 1, I had worked with the assumption that the students would have observed and interacted with local inhabitants, would have participated in foreign ways of being and doing, and in this way, would have built a repertoire of observations of the ‘other’. I had expected that the pre-listening/reading tasks I designed could encourage students to draw on this repertoire to recognise that there is a multitude of ways the topic of a text can be constructed and that the particular construction of a text is only one among many. I had hoped that this recognition would lead to the awareness that texts are not neutral or natural constructions but offer an interested view of the world. Here I followed Wallace’s (1992) suggestion of introducing a focus on text production, on the ways a topic can, in fact, be produced in a multitude of ways but that text producers’ choose to produce it in a particular way, in addition to conventional pre-reading/listening tasks, which tend to be aimed at merely introducing the topic of the text.

Students' responses to the pre-listening/reading tasks of Unit 2 and Unit 3 suggested the difficulty of expecting students to draw on existing knowledge and experience of Australians. In neither of these units did the students appear to be able to draw on observations of the various possible ways of being an Australian man or woman. As Coleman (1998) and Tusting, Crawshaw and Callen (2002) claim, residence abroad does not necessarily lead to an awareness of the complexity and diversity of the 'other'. The fact that these students had been living in Australia for some time did not appear to have led them to automatically develop the skills to observe and reflect, or the opportunities and confidence to engage in interactions with the local residents of Sunny Hill. In this sense, the pre-listening/reading tasks of Units 2 and 3 seemed to achieve the conventional purpose of familiarising students with the topic of the text before they read or listened to it, but did not appear to give the "critical element" (p. 71) that Wallace (1992) suggests. That is, with these tasks the students did not seem to vocalise the range of knowledge available to them about a particular topic, which I could then draw on to foreground the gap between the possible range of ways a topic might be constructed and the stereotypical views produced in the text.

While-reading tasks

The while-reading tasks in Unit 3, it seemed, were the least successful in module 1 in encouraging students to recognise and question the production of limited, stereotypical views in texts. I had intended the while-reading tasks in this unit to encourage students to examine the construction of Australian identities, in ways similar to what they had done in Unit 2. The students responded as a whole class to these tasks as well.

4. Read the first page of this text. What is the text about?

With this task I expected students to gain a general understanding of the text and possibly to notice the take up of sexist discourses in the text. The students read the text in various ways:

- 1 Asami: [reads task] It introduces Australia, especially beer I think
- 2 Thomas: I think to talk about or make fun of the stereotype.

-
- 3 Asami: [*Pointing to one of the pictures in the text*] Is she naked?
 4 Thomas: Looks like, but [*laughs*] no. Also drinking beer. So, that's a
 5 typical Australian woman?
 6 Popo: I think on this page everything is related to beer and pubs.
 7 If the owner of this website just want to introduce culture,
 8 then he don't need to put beer or pubs. But I think he wants
 9 to attract more tourists to Australia. So if you put beer and
 10 pubs, it will be more interesting. For example, if I saw that
 11 beer or pub, I am interested in that culture [*laughs*].
 (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

In the above extract, Asami (line 1) appears to be assuming that beer constitutes Australian cultures and reads the text non-problematically as an “introduc[tion]” to Australia and beer. On the other hand, Thomas (line 2) seems to recognise that the text rests on stereotypical assumptions, and appears to expect a satirical interpretation of stereotypes (line 2). I recognise Thomas’ expectation of humour in the text as suggesting that he does not take for granted the version of reality produced in stereotypes but questions the truth in them. Moreover, the question Thomas asks of one of the pictures in the text (“so, that’s a typical Australian woman?”, lines 4, 5) is significant in suggesting that Thomas questions the particular reality captured by this picture and critiques the text producer’s purpose in including this particular visual representation.

In the extract above, Popo proposes an alternative to Thomas’ reading of the text (lines 6-11). She appears to respond to Asami’s response that the text “introduces Australia” (line 1) by drawing attention to the financial interests underpinning the production of texts. She suggests that by constructing drinking and nightlife as the lifestyle of a country, text producers might be able to make financial gains. She admits that as a reader of this text, she would find the association of alcohol and culture attractive. Here, Popo appears to be aware of the ways texts are not neutral but produce particular realities to achieve particular effects on readers. Both Thomas and Popo’s critical inquiry into textual realities is important in that it might also encourage other students’ reflection on the complexity and multiplicity of meanings, identities and practices, and could possibly open up spaces for the development of critical cultural awareness.

In order to explore other students' readings of the text and whether any of them will recognise the sexist discourses underpinning the text, I distributed task 5 to the students.

5. Now read the rest of the text. Make a list of the things the writer says men do and a list of the things women do?

The students initially responded to this task also as a whole class. After they had read the text, several of them started to produce more readings, although not the readings I was encouraging. Asami was the first to respond:

- 1 Asami: I think women like beer
- 2 Yui: And women like parties
- 3 Thomas: Maybe
- 4 Jeon: And women can also enjoy same as men. During the 60s,
- 5 women can just choose four choices, very limited jobs,
- 6 but now they can do anything.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

In this extract, these four students appear to be unquestioningly taking up the text's stereotypical construction of women. Their responses suggest a reproduction of the text's dominant reading. Asami and Yui do not suggest recognition of the way Australian womanhood is produced using the same stereotypical construction of Australian men, and Jeon appears to read assumptions of gender equality into the text.

Although these students were in fact making various, multiple readings of the text, I perceived these readings as unacceptable in that with these readings and meanings the students were reproducing and helping to naturalise the circulation of sexist and stereotypical discourses in relation to Australian women. Their readings I believed could not create opportunities for them to examine cultural multiplicity and complexity or to question static, essentialised constructions. In other words, in order to reach my aim of creating opportunities for students to develop critical cultural awareness, I sought for ways of making sexism in the text visible to students, ways of guiding students to recognise the reading that was obvious to me. With this

intention, I asked the students to do a linguistic analysis of the text, of the processes and noun groups attributed to men and women in the text, in their respective groups.

In one group, Asami, Eric and Jeon did not respond to this task. All three of them appeared to be reading the text, but they did not share their responses. In fact, they did not talk at all. In the other group Yui remained silent but Popo and Thomas identified several words and phrases that I hoped could make explicit the text's sexist construction of women. As Popo and Thomas were discussing their responses, their voices were loud enough to be heard by the others in class. At this point, the students in the other group stopped reading the text and turned to listen to Popo and Thomas' discussion.

- 1 Popo: [*Speaking loud enough to be heard by students in the other*
2 *group*] It says social invasion? ...
3 Mehtap ... Yes Popo, for who? For men or women?
4 Popo: For women.
5 Thomas: Yeah, they are changing the society.
6 Mehtap: ... Yes that's right. So do you agree with this sentence?
7 [*turning to the class*] Do you think that Australian women
8 are invading society?
9 Thomas: ... I don't think. I think they mean women enter society
10 because there are many women in society.
(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

Popo identifies a phrase (line 2) which I had recognised as sexist and derogatory. She recognises that the phrase is used in reference to women (line 4), but does not expand upon her response. The tone of her voice and the way she seeks confirmation for her response (line 2) suggest that she might not be very confident with this response. In fact, both Popo and Thomas appeared to be somewhat hesitant in their responses. For instance, Thomas does not respond to Popo's query (line 2), and hence I raise a question (line 3), and it takes Thomas some time to respond to my second question (lines 7, 8). These hesitations suggest to me that the task could have been challenging and/or the text might have been linguistically difficult for some of these students.

Thomas' response in line 5 seems to be an attempt to elaborate on Popo's identification of "social invasion" (line 2). However, he does not appear to share my

recognition of the sexism in the phrase (lines 9, 10). Thomas appears to make a more neutral reading of the phrase, one in which the underlying assumption seems to be of gender equality, of women becoming more visible in society.

I continue to ask students to analyse the text's use of words and phrases:

- 1 Mehtap: Any other words you would like to suggest? About men or
 2 women?....
 3 Popo: ... nagging, nagging ... also about women.
 4 Mehtap: That's right. So women nag, women invade=
 5 Thomas: =They say women is only subculture, for men that is
 6 culture, so real culture is men, men's behaviour.
 7 Interesting.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

It seems that whereas Popo can identify the derogatory words used to construct women (line 3), whereas she can complete more or less successfully a linguistic analysis of parts of the text, she does not voice her opinion on the type of reality that these words help to create about Australian women. This suggests that a linguistic analysis of a text on its own does not necessarily help students recognise the discourses at play in the text.

In the above extract, Thomas, suggests recognition of a sexist gender divide (lines 5-7), the first student to do so in this unit. Here the reading he appears to make of the text is that male behaviour is superior to and more authentic than women's. His comment ("interesting", line 7) at the end of his response suggests to me that he questions this assumption. He does not appear to take it for granted. The linguistic analysis task, then, appears to be somewhat successful in encouraging Thomas, at least, to recognise and question the reality produced in the text. Also, Thomas' response might have been significant in drawing the class' attention to the sexism in the text.

6. According to these lists, what kind of relationship do Australian men and women have?

I decided to omit this task for two reasons: First, the students had not completed a thorough linguistic analysis of the text in the previous task, which they could use to

respond to this task. Second, in the last task, Popo and Thomas provided most of the responses, becoming the centre of interaction and attention in class. The other students had become less vocal and less visible in the classroom interaction. Therefore, to move away from linguistic analysis and to include more student participation, I asked students to respond to task 7.

7. What have you learned about Australian women and men from the text?

The students responded to this task in their groups. I hoped that this task could invite students to reflect on the meanings the text made available about being Australian and to examine the particular realities that the text helped to naturalise. Similar to responses to the previous tasks, neither of the two groups suggested recognition of the text's sexist construction or the implications of this. In one group, Eric, Jeon and Asami responded:

- | | | |
|----|--------|--|
| 1 | Asami: | Australian like beer. |
| 2 | Eric: | Not different from the men |
| 3 | Jeon: | I got like now women can do anything like men, like |
| 4 | | smoke or they can have a beer, ... but before 1960s just |
| 5 | | four choices. What's your idea? [<i>asks Asami</i>] |
| 6 | Asami: | I have no idea [<i>laughs</i>]. You said all. |
| 7 | Eric: | ... Women not different from men. They want to copy |
| 8 | | men, want to be the same and want to have the same rights |
| 9 | | to do what they want. |
| 10 | Jeon: | Before the 1960s, around that period, they can choose just |
| 11 | | four jobs... |

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

Asami's response (line 1) suggests that the text confirmed a stereotype available to her – that “Australian like beer”. This construction appears to continue to be natural to her as I did not recognise any instance in the unit where Asami questioned the static reality produced by this stereotype. Eric and Jeon, on the other hand, appear to read the text as being about gender equality (lines 2, 7) and freedom of choice for women (lines 2, 3-5), and they seem to take for granted that women should want what men have. Both Eric and Jeon appear to be assuming that men set the norm in society and that it is, therefore, natural for women to follow, to “want to copy men”

(line 7) and moreover, that women should be grateful for what they have today (lines 4, 5, 10, 11).

Meanwhile, in the other group, the students suggested similar assumptions of gender equality (lines 1, 4, 5 below) and the phallogocentric assumption that it is natural for women to desire to be like men (lines 2, 3 below). Thomas did not suggest an awareness of the implications of the sexist discourses in the text, which he had appeared to recognise at the end of task 5:

- 1 Popo: So women also important.
 - 2 Yui: Important like men. I think Australian women's behaviour
 - 3 change more like men
 - 4 Popo: More similar to men
 - 5 Thomas: Yeah, more similar to men.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

It seemed that the while-reading tasks did not encourage any of the students to recognise and question the text's take up of a derogatory construction of Australian women. I recognise Thomas as the only student in class who vocalised his recognition of the text as producing such a construction but he appeared to abandon this reading in this task. Even if other students had identified sexism and stereotyping in the text, they did not articulate their views. Instead, most of them appeared to recognise the text as constructing an anti-sexist reality. The text's stereotypical and sexist production of Australian women appeared to be invisible to the students.

Post-reading task

As a way of opening up alternative understandings of Australian women and of possibly focusing on a range of discursive categorisations of Australian identities, I asked the students to interview a local resident to find out their perspectives on the categories Australian and Australian women. The students were to do the interviews in their own time and report the responses they had received to the class the following lesson. However, none of the students completed this task. Some students claimed that they had forgotten to do the interview while others complained that it had been difficult to find someone to interview.

I perceived the tasks in Unit 3 as the least successful in module 1 in terms of reaching task outcomes. The text was one I had recognised as quite explicitly making sexist and stereotypical assumptions and, therefore, had expected students to make the same reading. However, all three sets of tasks appeared to be unsuccessful in providing a context for students to examine and discuss cultural essentialism and cultural plurality.

Students' silences in responding to these tasks might appear to support Roberts' (1993) scepticism about using CDA techniques in second/foreign language classrooms. Roberts argues that textual deconstruction methods cannot be effective in developing second/foreign language learners' intercultural competence because, she claims, the discourses underpinning texts can be recognised only if the reader is familiar with these discourses, an awareness, she argues, second/foreign language learners will not necessarily have.

Indeed, in Unit 3, almost all of the students in class failed to suggest any recognition of the sexist discourses underpinning the construction of Australian women. However, I argue that students' lack of recognition might not be because such discourses were not available to the students. In the previous unit, several students had suggested recognition of an unequal gender divide being created in the text. I perceived this as a sign that sexist assumptions were available to them. Therefore, rather than assume that particular discourses will not be available to students, rather than focus on what second/foreign language learners might lack, which is what Roberts appears to be doing, I argue for a different conceptualisation of students' non-participation in the tasks of Unit 3.

I argue that the text of Unit 3 might have been linguistically challenging for students. Most of the students asked me to clarify the meaning of more words in this text than they did in previous units. Also, it might have been linguistically challenging for some to articulate their views and their reading of these texts. Popo, for example, appeared in several instances in the unit to recognise sexism, but did not seem to be able to develop her argument. Popo wrote in a journal entry she submitted the week following the completion of Unit 3 that "the text [of Unit 3] is

filled with critical words about women ...I felt poor for the writer. If the writer were strong and had confidence, he wouldn't need to write the text, I thought" (Popo, journal entry, module 1). In her journal entry it seems that Popo can, in fact, recognise and question the derogatory construction of Australian women in the text. In fact, in the feedback she gave at the end of the module, she identified this text as the one that she had enjoyed analysing the most. Popo's comments in her journal entry suggest that if the students were perhaps given more time outside the classroom to analyse the text, to reflect on their responses and the way they would word their responses, more might have contributed to responding to the tasks. More students might have then been able to explore the implications of sexist constructions in their understandings of Australian cultures and gender relations.

It appears to me that EFL students' abilities to critically engage with texts are underestimated. For instance, in this unit Jeon had not suggested recognition of the ways the text was positioning readers to accept as natural a particular reality. At the end of the unit, however, he appeared to question the way he was being positioned by the program. He asked:

- 1 Jeon: Why we do men woman all the time? I think we learn
 2 culture, but this isn't culture.
 3 Mehtap: What did you want to do Jeon?
 4 Jeon: I thought food and music and ... this is culture. Not men,
 5 woman all, I think not

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1)

I recognise Jeon as disrupting the way I was positioning him as a learner who had to go through a program I had designed. He appears to question the way I expected him to participate in a program in the development of which he had little say and to explore concepts that I believed were important or significant. For Jeon, the text and indeed the three weeks of the program appeared to have been of little relevance. In the extract above Jeon appears to be referring to his expectation of the tourist model of culture that is often practised in language classrooms. For the three units of the module, Jeon participated in the deconstruction of texts and discussed the ways people or events are defined in texts, but he did not appear to see texts as constructing a particular version of Australian cultures, nor did he appear to

perceive gender as part of culture. Perhaps if I had been clearer about my own view of the concept of culture at the beginning of the module, Jeon might have been able to recognise my intention in designing these particular tasks. However, I had intentionally avoided giving such information to students as I did not want them to assume that their goal was to reach my meanings and views. Rather, I wanted students to experiment and examine their own assumptions. In this sense, what I recognise as significant in Jeon's questioning above is that he appears to be exploring and questioning assumptions of culture and teaching and learning culture available to him. Indeed, it seems to me that Jeon is deconstructing my teaching method and program. He is problematising the way he is positioned by a text producer and the version of reality this text producer is making available to him through the program. In fact, I recognise Jeon as doing CDA in real life, as putting the tenets of CDA into practice. I can, therefore, hope that Jeon might be able to extend such questioning practices to other areas of meaning-making.

Unit 4: Examining productions of local people, local sites

The text I selected for analysis in this unit was a one page article on Sunny Hill (Edwards, 1999)⁵, published in a free local travel magazine. I assumed that this text might have more relevance to the students than the previous texts, as this particular text included names of local attractions with which I was aware students were familiar. These were names of places that the students often referred to in our daily conversations.

The purpose of Unit 4 was to encourage students to recognise the high culture view of Sunny Hill being taken up in the text and to question the exclusion of everyday, mundane activities. With the intention of encouraging students' reflection on their everyday observations and experiences of Sunny Hill, I designed the tasks in Table 16. In this unit there was some variation in student enrolment at the ELICOS centre:

⁵ To ensure the anonymity of the location of the research and the students, the name of the article has been altered and the name of the location in the title of the magazine has been omitted. I have not included the article in the Appendix as I believe the content of the text had clues that could reveal the research location.

Yui completed her two-week enrolment and left the centre and a Russian female student, Lilu, joined the class.

Pre-reading tasks

Unlike the previous two units, the pre-reading tasks of Unit 4 appeared to encourage students to explore a range of versions of Sunny Hill that could be produced by a text. It seemed that a variety of local attractions and features of Sunny Hill were already available to most of the students, and with these two pre-reading tasks, the students appeared to be able to make explicit this repertoire.

Table 16: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 4, module 1

Student groupings	- Chika, Lilu, Jeon, Thomas - Asami, Eric, Popo
Objectives	- to recognise and question the ways texts construct particular realities - to recognise the plurality of cultural practices, meanings and identities
<p>Pre-listening tasks</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Make a list of all the things you would expect to see about Sunny Hill in a travel magazine. Why would you expect to see these things? 2. What are some things you wouldn't expect to see about Sunny Hill in a travel magazine? Why wouldn't you expect to see these things? <p>While-listening tasks</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Make a list of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. the superlatives used in the text b. the noun groups used in the text (for example, 'gentle breezes' (adj. + noun)) 4. What effect could these words and phrases have on readers of this text? What effect do they have on you? 5. What is not mentioned in the text? Why? <p>Post-listening task</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Think about an aspect of Sunny Hill that has been left out of the text. Find out as much as you can about this aspect (i.e. visit the place, talk to people) and report your findings to the class next week. 	

1. Make a list of all the things you would expect to see about Sunny Hill in a travel magazine. Why would you expect to see these things?

The students in both groups responded without any hesitation to this task. For instance, one group's immediate response was to produce the following list:

- 1 Eric: Shopping=
- 2 Popo: =Beach, pub, markets, tropical fruit=
- 3 Asami: =Ocean, birds, kangaroo and koala
- 4 Popo: Fishing
- 5 Eric: History maybe.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

As Eric, Popo and Asami list their observations of Sunny Hill, I briefly interrupt their conversation and ask them to also predict the possible reasons for the inclusion of these in a magazine. The students respond to my suggestion in the following way:

- 1 Eric: Ahh, ok. ... because Sunny Hill is mostly tropical.
- 2 Popo: And because beach is famous in Sunny Hill. Actually, in
- 3 Japanese guide book I read Mt. Fort and beach in Sunny
- 4 Hill.
- 5 Asami: I said kangaroo and koala and birds because only Sunny
- 6 Hill has all Australian animals.
- 7 Eric: Yeah, to make tourists **only** stay here
- 8 Popo: Yeah.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

In the above extract all three students, it seems, draw on their personal experiences of Sunny Hill. Moreover, Eric (lines 7) suggests recognition of the way particular realities are included in texts in order to have a particular effect on a particular group of people.

The other group of students also appeared to draw on a range of experiences and observations of Sunny Hill:

- 1 Jeon: Museum, festivals=
- 2 Thomas: =go to beach
- 3 Jeon: Beautiful women and good looking men on the beach,
- 4 shopping centre
- 5 Thomas: Interesting places, night clubs, nightlife

-
- 6 Jeon: Nightlife? [*laughs*] Really? [*laughs*]
 7 Chika: Hotels.
 8 Thomas: You can fish or you can see fish. But not a lot you can do
 9 here.
 10 Jeon: You have to move to somewhere.
 11 Thomas: Yeah, one weekend enough in Sunny Hill
 12 Chika: Why do you think?
 13 Thomas: You can go to the beach one day. You can see everything.
 14 One day is enough.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

In the extract above, Jeon and Thomas initially respond to the task (lines 1-5) by listing a range of attractive, colourful and entertaining aspects of Sunny Hill, similar to what the other group had done. Then, however, they appear to shift their focus to what they perceive to be the less interesting and appealing features of Sunny Hill. Jeon (line 6), for instance, appears to question and make fun of Thomas' suggestion of "nightlife" as a feature of Sunny Hill. Both appear to agree on the limitedness of the range of activities one can do in Sunny Hill ("not a lot you do here" lines 8, 9; "one weekend enough" line 11; "one day enough" line 14).

The task appeared to be successful, then, in encouraging both groups of students to explore their existing perceptions of local places, practices and people. All the students, except for Lilu, who had been living in Sunny Hill for only a couple of days, appeared to reflect on either what they enjoyed doing or seeing in Sunny Hill, or, as in the example of Thomas and Jeon above, what they did not appreciate about living in Sunny Hill. In either case, the students appeared to be focusing on everyday, mundane practices, which I expected could make it easier for them to recognise and question the text's exclusion of such activities in its production of Sunny Hill.

2. What are some things you wouldn't expect to see about Sunny Hill in a travel magazine? Why wouldn't you expect to see these things?

I recognise the second task as successful in introducing a focus on the ways particular realities are excluded in texts to achieve particular purposes. Again the students responded with little hesitation to the task.

In their respective groups, Asami and Popo, and Jeon and Thomas, proposed transportation as a topic that would not be mentioned about Sunny Hill. Both groups of students discussed the difficulties they experienced in moving between suburbs in Sunny Hill. They suggested that the transportation system would not be included in a travel magazine because “tourists won’t come” (Jeon, classroom transcript, unit 4, module 1) and “Sunny Hill cannot get money from tourism” (Popo, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1). These students’ responses suggest recognition of the material interests text producers’ intend to achieve by producing a particular version of reality.

While-reading tasks

I recognised the while-reading tasks of this unit as the most successful in module 1 in creating opportunities for students to explore and reflect on the production of limited versions of the world and its implications. In this unit, several students suggested recognition of the ways the text producer’s linguistic choices helped to create a partial view of Sunny Hill.

3. Make a list of: a. the superlatives used in the text; b. the noun groups used in the text

With the intention of providing students with the time to thoroughly analyse particular linguistic structures in the text, I divided the two parts of task 3 (part a and part b) between the two groups of students in class. I asked Asami, Eric and Popo to make a list of the superlative structures used in the text, and Chika, Lilu, Jeon and Thomas to identify the noun phrases used. I asked the students to discuss their responses initially within their groups, and then to write down their answers on the board for the other group to see and comment on.

All the students in both groups appeared to read the text and make lists of the particular linguistic structure they were analysing. In one group Popo was assigned by the group members to write the groups’ responses on the board, and in the other group Thomas volunteered to do so. Some of the responses the students wrote on the board were: “world’s most exciting, largest venue, largest aquarium” (Popo) and “welcome to paradise, hospitable atmosphere, modern city, delightful tropical

climate” (Thomas). I asked the two groups of students to discuss the following task by referring to both of the lists on the board.

4. What effect could these words and phrases have on readers of this text? What effect do they have on you?

The lists the students made, it appears, helped to highlight the particular reality that was being constructed in the text. In one group Eric and Popo responded:

- 1 Eric: These texts use words which only show the beauty, the
 2 importance of, to show the positive, all positive
 3 Popo: Yes, and I think the writer give the reader stronger
 4 impression.
 5 Eric: To emphasise the beauty and the importance of the city,
 6 and perhaps to get the reader more interested in the city or
 7 area
 8 Popo: Also, I think, writer know about the effect. Also writer
 9 know about that, the writer uses these words ... [*checks the*
 10 *dictionary*]... deliberate?
 11 Eric: Yes, yes, I understand.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

I read Popo and Eric’s contributions as indicative of their awareness that the text is produced with the intention of circulating a colourful and attractive view of Sunny Hill (“the beauty” lines 1, 5; “positive” line 2) to achieve a particular purpose (“to get the reader more interested” line 6). Moreover, Popo appears to recognise that the linguistic choices the text producer has made are “deliberate” (line 10), that the producer is aware of the effects these structures will have on readers (line 8).

Several students, in the other group, also suggested a similar awareness of the ways an appealing image of Sunny Hill (lines 1-3 below) is being constructed for financial gains (line 6 below):

- 1 Jeon: Probably these words describe most exciting
 2 Thomas: It’s like a competition with other cities, like to show this is
 3 the best one.
 4 Jeon: Can be
 5 Chika: So to introduce Sunny Hill?
 6 Thomas: I think maybe to get tourists

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

In this group, Jeon too suggests that the text producer's linguistic choices are not random but intentional: "... they [text producers] don't use the same word again. They thought about the words very carefully" (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1).

This particular task appears to have created spaces for students to reflect on the everyday implications of the realities constructed in a text. Most of the students in class appeared to be aware of the way the text was helping to create a particular view of the world and the way the text producer was expecting readers to take it for granted. When I asked the students whether the text had any effect on their views of Sunny Hill, Popo responded:

- 1 Popo: It has not effect because I know the text tells everything
 2 exaggeratedly. I know Sunny Hill because I live here.
 3 Jeon: This is just the beautiful=
 4 Thomas: =But maybe if you were just in Japan or Germany or
 5 somewhere, you can think that oh this is a wonderful place,
 6 but it isn't actually we know [*laughter from class*]
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

All three of the students here suggest that they are aware of the gap between the version of Sunny Hill created by the text and their own versions. Their responses further suggest that as readers of this text they are not taking up the text's version as natural or neutral.

5. What is not mentioned in the text? Why?

The final while-reading task was intended to encourage students to focus on the implications of the exclusion of particular realities in texts. The students responded to this task as a whole group, with different students shouting out answers:

- 1 Jeon: No food is mentioned
 2 Thomas: What's Australian food? What can you write?
 3 Jeon: Every food is Australian food because Australia is
 4 multicultural country so that means every food can be
 5 Australian food
 6 Thomas: I think seafood is Australian because sea is very close to
 7 here.

-
- 8 Mehtap: Ok, so food is not in the text. What else?
 9 Asami: Map of Sunny Hill
 10 Jeon: And barbeque
 11 Eric: Cane toad also. When I walk at night I step [on
 12 Asami: [Oh, stop [*shrieks*]
 13 Eric: [the toad [*laughter from class*]
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

As the students list excluded items one after the other with little hesitation (“food” line 1; “map” line 8; “barbeque” line 10; “cane toad” line 11), it seemed again that most of them had an available store of knowledge and experiences of Sunny Hill to draw on. In the following extract, the students also appear to be examining the reasons for these exclusions:

- 1 Thomas: But you cannot put cane toads. It isn’t good for tourism
 2 [*laughter from class*]. They can’t mention it because tourist
 3 will think ah I can’t go to this place.
 4 Popo: Also, jelly fish you cannot mention.
 5 Jeon: Sharks also not mention.
 6 Mehtap: Why not?
 7 Jeon: Just one page. Not enough space to explain everything.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 1)

Here Thomas (lines 1-3) suggests it is in the material interests of the text producer to ignore particular unpleasant, unattractive aspects of the topic. Jeon (lines 7), on the other hand, appears to provide a more practical reason why toads, jelly fish and sharks are excluded. He suggests that it is impossible to capture everything on one page. Here Jeon might be attempting to protect the text producer, relieving the text producer of the responsibility of not including these items in the text and the possible effects of this. Nevertheless, even if this is the case, I perceive the task as having provided the space for Jeon and other students to examine texts as non-neutral productions, as produced to achieve particular effects.

The while-reading tasks appeared to me to be successful in reaching the aims I had set. I recognise several students moving in and out of discursive spaces created by the text and social spaces available to them when responding to the tasks. Moreover, I recognise the students as resisting being positioned by the text to take

up particular discursive realities as natural. They appear to recognise the multiplicity and complexity of a particular reality.

The students appeared to perceive the text as relevant to their lives and experiences and, hence, this might have been effective in encouraging them to take part in discussions in which they question the construction of static meanings and realities. Eric, for example, who had contributed little to discussions in previous units, appeared to be more motivated and interested. Eric and the other students seemed to be able to relate the discursive reality in the text to the realities they experienced, and this might have been significant in encouraging an examination of the implications of the text. Lilu was the only student in class who was silent throughout most of the unit. Unfamiliarity with the dynamics of the class as well as a lack of acquaintance with Sunny Hill might have led to her limited participation.

6. Post-reading task: Think about an aspect of Sunny Hill that has been left out of the text. Find out as much as you can about this aspect (i.e. visit the place, talk to people) and report your findings to the class next week.

My intention with the post-reading task was to encourage further exploration of the multiplicity of realities of Sunny Hill, of the complexity and variety of everyday practices. I aimed to encourage students to identify a particular exclusion in the text and to reconstruct a version of Sunny Hill different to that in the text. For this purpose, I asked students to conduct short ethnographic observations. I asked the students to decide which exclusion they wanted to reconstruct and told them that they could work in pairs or groups if they wanted to. The students proposed entertainment, family picnics, hotels and university life as topics that they could further explore.

Eric, Thomas, Popo and Chika carried out the ethnographic research and reported their findings in the following lesson. Popo, for instance, reported that none of her friends in the university residence hall where she was staying had been to the local theatre or to any of the local aquariums that were mentioned in the text. Instead, she claimed, they preferred cheaper means of entertainment. Popo's report appeared to

highlight that Sunny Hill can be multiply experienced in ways other than that produced in the text.

Thomas cited entrance fees of museums and theatres in Sunny Hill, drawing the conclusion that these were rather expensive forms of entertainment for most university students and that the cinema was, therefore, preferred. Chika commented on her observations of families having picnics in parks on the weekends. She discussed her surprise at seeing sausages, fish and frozen chips being cooked on barbeques in addition to meat. Lilu, who had been silent the week before, reported on the price range of hotels in Sunny Hill.

The verbal reports these students gave might have given other students the opportunity to expand their local knowledge and observations, but more significantly, it appeared to introduce a focus on the complexity of everyday, seemingly insignificant local activities and sites. I perceived this reconstructive task as successful in providing students with the opportunities to reflect on alternative realities of Sunny Hill. I was content that Unit 4 in general had opened up spaces for students to explore cultural complexity and variability.

Unit 5: Exploring the East/West divide

The purpose of Unit 5 was to introduce a focus on ethnic and racial stereotypes. In particular, I designed tasks in this unit with the intention of encouraging an examination of the ways particular social practices and behaviours are circulated by texts as representative of particular ethnic and racial groups. In Table 17 I list the objectives and tasks of this unit as well as the groups in which students worked.

The text I had selected for students' analysis was from a pre-intermediate ELT textbook (Leo, 1997). I assumed that the students might recognise themselves as possible readers of such texts and that this might encourage them to have more investment in participating in the tasks. The text contained four pictures (see Appendix G). Picture 1 includes a family who I read as having East Asian facial characteristics. Picture 2 is of an African couple, and, in picture 3, I recognise the

woman wearing a black hijab⁶ as fitting in with the stereotype of Muslim woman and Muslim head cover. Finally, the fourth picture includes a couple with fair hair and skin, appearing to be of Anglo-Saxon background. I read the first three pictures as suggesting formality and seriousness – taking place in formal occasions, such as meals, or including serious facial expressions. I recognised the fourth picture, on the other hand, as displaying pleasure and enjoyment being gained from the activity.

Table 17: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 5, module 1

Student groupings	- Jeon, Lilo, Thomas - Asami, Chika, Eric, Popo
Objectives	- to question the ways particular constructions are produced as representative of cultural groups - to examine alternative ways of constructing cultural groups
<p>Pre-text analysis task Think about the ways you have seen your country represented in various texts, such as in movies, films, textbooks. What aspects are described as characteristic of your country and its people?</p> <p>While- text analysis tasks</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where was this page taken from? How do you know? 2. Which countries might these pictures represent? How do you know? 3. Describe each picture in terms of the people's facial expressions and what they are doing in the picture. 4. Do you think these pictures reinforce cultural stereotypes? Do they have an effect on the way we think about people from particular countries? <p>Post- text analysis task If a textbook producer asked you to take a picture of your family or friends that could represent your home country, what kind of picture would it be? Describe it to your group.</p>	

I perceived the version of reality that these pictures were helping to produce as problematic in that they appeared to me to be helping to circulate and naturalise a stereotypical East/West divide. I read the pictures as constructing whiteness as carefree and fun-loving (picture 4) and 'other' races as serious and unexciting (pictures 1, 2 and 3). My intention in this unit was to encourage students to recognise and question the text's take up of a eurocentric binary divide and to

⁶ Hijab is a traditional scarf covering the head, neck, and throat that some Muslim women wear.

explore alternatives to this static, essentialised reality. I sought to encourage students to explore the multiplicity and complexity of ‘self’ and ‘other’.

Students’ responses to the tasks in Unit 5 are, in fact, one of the most interesting in the module in terms of the different readings the students and I made of the pictures. Whereas I had read the text as constructing an East-dull/West-fun loving binary divide, two of the students in class – Popo and Chika – both of whom are of East Asian backgrounds, did not appear to agree with this reading.

This unit is also one where I had the most difficulty transcribing audio recorded data. In this unit, the class had been moved by ELICOS administration to a larger classroom, in which I later realised, the microphones had not been able to record students’ responses to all tasks in the same quality as in previous units. Therefore, I have not been able to transcribe some students’ responses to some of the tasks. In such cases, I have drawn on notes I took during class. I indicate where I have drawn on classroom notes in my analyses below.

Pre-text analysis task: Think about the ways you have seen your country represented in various texts, such as in movies, films, textbooks. What aspects are described as characteristic of your country and its people?

The pre-text analysis tasks appeared to achieve the purpose of inviting students to explore the various ways a national ‘self’ is constructed. Several students suggested an awareness of national and cultural stereotyping and described a range of ways the cultural groups they associated themselves with are locked into particular representations. Lilu, for example, appeared to question the way snow and fur hats are generalised as “typical Russian” (Lilu, classroom notes, module 1). She suggested that the summer season in Russia is often excluded in representations of Russia. Popo too questioned the way a Japanese female identity is often thought to be “like a geisha” (classroom transcript, module 1), and asked the class “I am a Japanese woman, but do I look like geisha?”. Thomas and Eric also appeared to question stereotypical constructions of a national German ‘self’:

-
- 1 Thomas: When people think about Germany, they think that we
2 always drink beer=
3 Eric: And leather trousers, wearing leather trousers.
4 Thomas: Ah, yes, but I don't understand why people think like that.
5 I don't have friends that wear leather pants, maybe beer
6 yes, but not all my friends
(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 1)

These students suggested to me that they did not take as natural essentialised versions of national 'selves'. I recognised these students' explorations as significant in encouraging the other students in class to reflect on the simplicity and over-generalised nature of stereotyping.

Chika, Asami and Jeon did not contribute to any of the discussions. In a journal entry handed in the following week Jeon wrote that he was not aware of the ways South Koreans are constructed in texts, of 'self' characteristics that are foregrounded. This lack of existing knowledge to draw on might have contributed to his silence during the task.

While-analysis tasks

My intention with the first two while-analysis tasks was for students to recognise and question the text's take up of binary logic. I anticipated that with task 3 in particular the students could explore the ways this binary logic helps to circulate the idea that the West and their associated ways of being are exciting and desirable, while the East then becomes ordinary and unwanted.

1. Where was this page taken from? How do you know?

Several of the students suggested recognition that the page I had selected for analysis was from an ELT textbook unit. As I had assumed, their previous experiences with ELT material appeared to have helped them identify the source of the text. They claimed that the layout of the page, the types of questions that followed the pictures and the title of the page helped them make this prediction.

2. Which countries might these pictures represent? How do you know?

The purpose of this task was for students to examine existing national stereotypes. The students appeared to initially predict the various nationalities they believed the pictures captured. In groups, they appeared to agree that picture 1 included a Japanese family and picture 3 an Afghani couple. For picture 2 they could not specify the nationality but suggested it was African and for picture 4 there was agreement that the couple might be Australian. As the students were reporting their responses to each other, several students questioned the categorisation they had just done:

- 1 Jeon: *[Jeon has just finished reporting to the class that as a*
 2 *group they think picture 4 captures images of Australians]*
 3 Thomas: ... But these are just snapshots. They are, they cannot be
 4 *[inaudible speech]*
 5 Popo: And also, there is not enough information about countries
 6 to guess. Actually we cannot guess.
 7 Eric: We are just guessing but we cannot know.
 8 Jeon: Yes, and for example, for picture 1 we said first Japanese
 9 but we cannot say this is Japanese because maybe
 10 something not Japanese. Could be Korean, I don't know.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 1)

It appears that the task had raised a focus on the complexity of cultural practices and identities, as here the students appear to be drawing attention to the difficulty of categorising nationalities by merely drawing on particular appearances. They appear to be cautious about making cultural over-generalisations and question the way a particular practice or appearance can be expected to be representative of a cultural group.

3. Describe each picture in terms of the people's facial expressions and what they are doing in the picture.

I assumed that this task could help students recognise the binary assumptions on which the text rests. The students appeared to recognise various cultural or regional categories being constructed by the pictures, such as "Asian", "African", "Muslim" and "western" (classroom notes, Unit 4, module 1). However, some did not recognise a binary divide being drawn between these categories. That is, some of

these students did not appear to share my reading that the East was being constructed as less attractive than the West. For Popo and Chika, for example, all four pictures appeared to be constructing various ways of having fun:

- 1 Popo: [referring to Picture 1] Japanese family ... look like new year celebration
 2 Chika: Maybe new year dinner.
 3 Popo: Like family party ha?
 4 Chika: Yes. Picture 2? African couple are shopping? I love shopping.
 5 Popo: Yes, me too [laughs]
- 6 Popo: [referring to Picture 3] eating....maybe eating dinner in
 7 restaurant.
 8 Chika: Maybe they are married and they are celebrating marriage.
 9 Popo: Marriage anniversary?
 10 Chika: Aah, yes yes. [laughs]
- 11 Popo: [referring to Picture 4] Western teenagers ... young
 12 people. They are...
 13 Chika: They are spending time on street. Like they are playing a
 14 game.
 15 Popo: Maybe game.

(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 1)

Chika and Popo suggest an alternative to my reading of the pictures, appearing to recognise elements of entertainment and amusement in all four of the pictures. Drawing on their responses above, it seems that for these two students, the text's take up of an East/West divide is not underpinned by eurocentric assumptions but appears to be an attempt to capture diverse forms of entertainment. In fact, taking up Popo and Chika's reading, the pictures can be seen to trouble the way the East is often constructed as in opposition to the West, as lacking what the West possesses. These two students' responses highlighted that I had read the pictures from a particular discursive understanding of the concepts of entertainment and enjoyment, and that other possible conceptualisations had not been available to me.

After Popo and Chika had finished discussing their responses to the task, I asked them to explain why they had thought Picture 1 described a celebration. Popo and Chika responded:

-
- 1 Popo: Because they are all smiling. They look happy... and they
 2 have clothes like [*uses a Japanese word/phrase*]... special
 3 clothes for celebrations
 4 Chika: And also maybe they are eating [*uses a Japanese*
 5 *word/phrase*] ... it's for special days.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 1)

I had not read picture 1 as constructing such a reality. These students appeared to be drawing on meanings and practices that were unavailable to me. It seems that in my reading of the pictures, I was drawing on essentialised versions of the East and West, expecting the East to be stereotypically constructed as in opposition to the West. I recognise Popo and Chika's reading of the pictures as significant in exemplifying the ways meanings cannot be fixed within texts, but are produced in multiple ways as readers bring different assumptions and expectations to a text.

Meanwhile, in the other group, Jeon, Lilu and Thomas described the emotions and actions they perceived the pictures as capturing. Due to a failure in the audio recording, I do not have recorded data to analyse here. Drawing on notes I took during class, it appears that these three students briefly discussed the actions and events that they thought the first three pictures captured, and appeared to focus more on the emotions captured in Picture 4. Using my classroom notes, I reconstruct the dialogue between Jeon, Lilu and Thomas below:

- 1 Jeon: [*referring to Picture 4*] They are modern.
 2 Lilu: Yes, and they are having fun. They are Western people,
 3 and they are having fun... [*data missing*]... Asians are
 4 usually shy and polite. They wouldn't do things like that.
 5 Thomas: Shy? Asians are shy? Look at Jeon. He's Asian, but he
 6 isn't shy.
 7 Jeon: And I am not very polite [*laughs*]
 8 Lilu: But generally they are.
 9 Thomas: But Jeon isn't.
 (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 1)

In this extract, both Jeon and Lilu appear to take up a binary logic of ethnic categorisation: Jeon appears to attribute modernity to white races, implying that 'other' races are not modern, while Lilu assumes that it is natural that fun and entertainment is associated with the West and polite and reserved manners for the

East (“Asians are usually shy and polite. They wouldn’t do things like that” lines 3, 4). These are precisely the readings I had intended to problematise. However, to Lilu it appears to be a normal and natural way of viewing the world. There is no indication that she perceives this assumption to be problematic.

In the extract above, Lilu appears to be making generalisations by drawing on an essentialist binary logic. Thomas, on the other hand, appears to aim to disrupt such generalisations. He attempts to trouble Lilu’s generalisation by drawing attention to the way Jeon transgresses the boundaries and expectations (lines 5-9) that Lilu is drawing. I recognise Thomas’ response to Lilu as significant in suggesting his awareness of the complexity and multiplicity within the boundaries of cultural and national categories, and as an attempt to problematise essentialised versions of cultural groups. This is a view of the world that I had hoped the tasks would encourage students to take up, and one that suggests critical cultural awareness.

4. Do you think these pictures reinforce cultural stereotypes? Do they have an effect on the way we think about people from particular countries?

In one group, none of the four students – Asami, Chika, Eric and Popo – responded to the task. Instead, they discussed an off-task topic, debating what to do after class. Two of the students in this group – Chika and Popo – had not appeared to recognise any cultural stereotypes being circulated by the pictures in the previous task. Therefore, speculating on the negative implications of the versions of reality created by the pictures, which is what the task required, might have been irrelevant to their understanding of the pictures. Moreover, they might not have seen the point of deconstructing a text which they did not find problematic (Janks, 2005).

The other group responded in the following way to the task:

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Thomas: | <i>[reads the task]</i> Yes, maybe some are stereotypes. Maybe |
| 2 | | some are wrong. |
| 3 | Lilu: | No. The pictures aren’t wrong. There is nothing wrong |
| 4 | | with the pictures. They are just pictures. |
- (classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 1)

Thomas initially appears to suggest that it is problematic that the text is helping to circulate stereotypical versions of reality (lines 1, 2). However, his suggestion is disputed by Lilu, who appears to recognise the production of the pictures as natural and normal (“they are just pictures”, line 4), as how it should be. After this response, neither Thomas nor Jeon responded. Neither of them questioned the way Lilu had naturalised the text’s maintenance of a stereotypical binary divide. Lilu’s confident manner, fluent English and being relatively new in class might have been factors in Thomas and Jeon’s silence.

Post-analysis task: If a textbook producer asked you to take a picture of your family or friends that could represent your home country, what kind of picture would it be? Describe it to your group.

The purpose of the post- analysis task was to provide students with the opportunity to explore alternative constructions of ‘self’. I expected that a focus on students’ everyday local life could encourage reflection on the intricateness of their everyday relations, practices and identities, as opposed to the monolithic realities produced by stereotypes.

In one group, Popo suggested that she would include pictures of herself and her mother dressed in kimono. Chika appeared to agree with her. What I perceive to be interesting here is that earlier in the unit Popo had voiced her concern over the way Japanese women are generalised into a particular category (see pre-analysis task of Unit 5). I had read her earlier response as suggesting her discomfort with the mobilisation of such stereotypes. However, in this task Popo appears to be drawing on another stereotype – that of the Japanese kimono – in her construction of ‘self’. It seems that stereotypical assumptions are more readily available for one to draw on rather than complex alternatives. Asami and Eric did not respond to the task. They continued to be silent as they had done for most of the unit.

In the other group, Thomas claimed “I cannot answer this, I cannot think of examples” (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 1), to which Lilu answered “me too” (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 1). They did not appear to examine a complex

‘self’ either. For these students, the task did not seem to initiate reflection on alternative conceptualisations and productions of ‘self’.

Jeon is the only student who I recognise as exploring a complex construction of ‘self’. Jeon explained that the picture he would take would be of his family having dinner. He described in detail the food they might eat, the furniture in the room, the location of the television set, the programs they might watch and other details of the setting. Jeon told the class that at this particular dinner scene his father would be watching television with “a serious face”, while Jeon and his brothers would be joking and laughing. Jeon described this as a “happy, funny family dinner” (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 1). I recognise Jeon’s response to the task as an exploration and exemplification of the complexity of an everyday family dinner in South Korea. In this sense, Jeon made available to the other students in class an alternative to stereotypical Asian constructions, an alternative that I recognise as troubling fixed ethnic categories like the one Lilu had drawn up earlier.

TRACING SIGNS OF CRITICAL CULTURAL AWARENESS

At the beginning of this chapter I described the main objective of this study as creating spaces for students to develop critical cultural awareness, to question fixed, static meanings and recognise the complexity and diversity of cultural practices, relations and identities. I had anticipated that an awareness of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of cultural groups and practices could equip students with additional tools to participate in the hybrid spaces of language learning and to negotiate diversity and difference. Having analysed the meanings students made in the five units of module 1, I perceive the module as having achieved this purpose in some instances for some students. However, I also recognise that for other students the tasks and the texts did not seem to be of much relevance or significance. In the remainder of this chapter I examine to what extent the module created opportunities for students to develop critical cultural awareness.

In my attempt to trace signs of students’ critical cultural awareness, I work with the assumption that the development of critical cultural awareness does not necessarily

follow a linear line of progression, moving from non-awareness to expertise. I believe critical cultural awareness is not stable, constant knowledge that one either possesses or lacks. Rather, in my analyses I conceptualise it as a repertoire of understandings, meanings and practices that students appear to be drawing on in their negotiation of difference and diversity.

In my search for signs of critical cultural awareness in students' responses, I reflect on students' take up of two practices that I perceive to make up critical cultural awareness, namely, disruption of cultural essentialism and recognition of cultural multiplicity. When I take these two practices as the criteria for my analyses, it seems that only two students in the module – Popo and Thomas – suggested signs of a critical cultural awareness.

Questioning cultural essentialism, recognising cultural complexity

In module 1 I recognise Popo and Thomas as having suggested recognition of cultural complexity and as having questioned the mobilisation of essentialised versions of cultural groups. When analysing texts both students appeared to problematise sexist and stereotypical realities that were being constructed by some of the texts and in response to several of the tasks both suggested recognition that stereotypes produce limited versions of the world. For instance, in Unit 4 Popo criticised the way Japanese women are stereotyped as geishas, which I recognised as an attempt to disrupt assumptions of a stereotypical national 'self'. Moreover, in her journal submitted the week following Unit 4 Popo also appeared to question her own attempt to fit Australian women into a single category. She wrote "I try to put people into one box named typical though I know not all Australian women are like that" (Popo, journal entry, module 1). Popo appears to be aware of the differences within national categories and in her journal seems to be reflecting on and questioning essentialising assumptions of 'other' available to her.

Popo's response in the feedback form I distributed to the students at the end of the module also signals a critical awareness of cultural differences. In the feedback form one of the questions I asked was what students thought they learned by

participating in the module (see chapter 5 for the list of questions on the feedback form). My purpose here was to gain insights into students' views about the possible practices – existing and new – that they believed the units had helped them examine, develop or question. In her feedback Popo suggested that the module raised her awareness not only of differences between cultural groups, but also of possible underlying similarities. She wrote: “There are some different points between the cultures but also there are some similar points. For example, men and women. So I think the important thing is to know and understand the differences”. (Popo, feedback form, module 1). I recognise Popo's comment here as exemplifying her negotiation of difference. It suggests to me that Popo is aware of the need to reflect on and attempt to understand both ‘self’ and ‘other’ meanings, rather than merely regard the ‘other’ as deviant. I recognise this again as a sign that she is examining assumptions of difference available to her.

Thomas' feedback also suggested the possible development of a critical cultural awareness. Thomas wrote “I've learned a lot of slang words and that not all people belong to stereotypes but that you can find this behaviour by some people” (Thomas, feedback form, module 1). I read this response as suggesting that Thomas problematises the assumption of expecting individuals to fit into essentialised constructions, and that Thomas is aware of the complexity and multiplicity of cultural groups, which stereotypes fail to capture. Thomas' response is, in fact, not surprising as his in-class participation also suggested a similar awareness. In several of the texts we analysed (as in Unit 2 and Unit 3), Thomas appeared to compare the ways Australians were being constructed in the text and the ways Germans are stereotyped and questioned the limitedness of such stereotypical constructions. He appeared to shift positions between viewing the text as a production of the media (as in Unit 1 and Unit 4), where he expected the media to circulate stereotypical representations, and being a critical reader, questioning this take up.

Neither Popo nor Thomas, however, was consistent in their questioning of essentialised constructions or their recognition of cultural multiplicity. In Unit 5, for example, Popo appeared to draw on stereotypes of Japanese women and kimonos in her construction of a Japanese identity. I recognised this construction as failing to

exemplify the complexity of a Japanese category. Also, in Unit 1 Thomas did not appear to recognise the newspaper clippings of families of various ethnic and racial backgrounds as representative of Australians. In other words, in this particular task he did not suggest recognition of a multiracial, multiethnic Australia. Nevertheless, most of the responses Popo and Thomas gave to tasks as well as their comments in journals and the feedback form suggest to me that they are aware of the ways cultural groups and their practices are varied and multiple, and the ways this complexity is often not produced in texts.

I recognise that the module alone might not have contributed to the development of such awareness in Popo and Thomas. I am aware that they might already have been aware of cultural complexity in their navigations between familiar and foreign spaces before they participated in the module. However, even if this is the case, what I am content with is that the module appears to have provided them with the opportunity to examine and voice their opinions on and their experiences of difference and diversity, 'self' and 'other'.

When I base my analyses of critical cultural awareness on my recognition of students' disruption of essentialised versions of cultural groups and their recognition of more complex, multiple alternatives, it seems that the other students in the module did not meet the criteria. Jeon, for instance, appeared to be interested in exploring constructions of 'self' (as in Unit 1 and Unit 5), in examining meanings available and familiar to him. He appeared to be aware that the 'self' is complex and multiple. However, Jeon appeared to focus almost exclusively on the complexity of 'self' and not of that of 'other'. He did not appear to recognise the way the 'other' was being restricted into a particular category by the texts, or of the complexity of 'other' meanings, practices and identities. In several instances of the data, Jeon made references to a multicultural, multiethnic Australia. However, at the same time, in his responses, stereotypical assumptions of Australians prevailed. I did not recognise the module as having made available to Jeon the practices and understandings that could facilitate his navigation between familiar and foreign spaces. The foreign appeared to remain exotic to him while the familiar continued to be natural and normal.

Similar to Jeon, Lilu suggested that she is aware of the complexity of ‘self’. In Unit 5, for example, she questioned the ways Russians are stereotyped and the way these stereotypes fail to reproduce the complexity of the ‘self’ that she experiences. However, later in the same unit, she appeared to stereotype Jeon, expecting him to fit into a limited, restricted view of Asians. In the two units in which Lilu participated it seems that the ‘other’ remained different, exotic and different to ‘self’. Also, she appeared to read texts as natural and neutral, rather than as productions intended to achieve effects. I recognise that I have limited data on Lilu, as she participated in only Units 4 and 5, in which her responses do not suggest recognition of the implications of ‘othering’ or a problematisation of textual realities.

Asami, on the other hand, did not suggest an awareness of the multiplicity of either the ‘self’ or the ‘other’. In the feedback form, she responded: “Aussie loves beer!! This is what I learned in your class” (Asami, feedback form, module 1). It seems that a focus on stereotypes actually helped to reinforce stereotypical assumptions available to her. Even though the tasks were intended to encourage students to disrupt stereotypical constructions and to explore alternatives, the main focus of the texts and tasks were indeed on stereotypes and to Asami this seems to have confirmed the validity of stereotypes. I have no data from Asami to suggest that she perceived stereotypes to be problematic in any way.

Yui was present in the ELICOS centre for only Unit 2 and Unit 3, and, therefore, also provided me with limited data to analyse. In her responses to Unit 2 she suggested that she recognised the sexist construction of men in the text. Moreover, at the end of the unit Yui appeared to introduce a focus on the complexity of ‘other’, of the way not all Australian men fit into the stereotype reproduced in the text we analysed. Her responses in this unit suggested to me that in her navigation between familiar and foreign spaces, she might be drawing on assumptions and expectations of cultural plurality and complexity, which is what I intended the module to achieve. In Unit 3, however, Yui was rather silent and did not respond to most of the tasks. Moreover, she did not submit journal entries, nor did she return the feedback form I gave her. If she had participated in the module for a longer

period of time, she might have responded in ways that suggested critical cultural awareness. However, I do not believe I have enough data on Yui to speculate on the development of her critical cultural awareness.

As my data comprises spoken and written talk, in my analyses of critical cultural awareness in students, I have drawn only on the language the students have produced in the module. In this sense, there is little I can discuss about the critical cultural awareness of the students who remained silent in the tasks, journal entries and feedback forms. Chika and Eric, for example, did not verbally participate in most of the units and, therefore, did not provide me with much data to analyse and speculate on. Chika submitted one journal entry, which I analyse below, and told me at the end of the module that she had preferred to remain silent in most tasks because she did not feel confident with her level of English. Eric, on the other hand, was quite fluent in English, but his behaviour in class suggested that he was not interested in the discussions taking place, in most of the tasks and texts.

I realise that Eric and Chika's lack of participation in the module is not necessarily a sign that they are not critically culturally aware. In fact, these students might be skilled negotiators of difference and diversity, but may not have explicitly displayed this to me. They might not have performed in ways that suggested to me that they are critically aware of cultural complexity. However, while I may assume so in theory, in my analyses I could not make such predictions without the support of data.

An analysis of critical cultural awareness based on students' textual de/reconstruction, on their abilities to disrupt textual realities and recognise cultural plurality, has suggested that only two students developed such awareness. However, in other instances of the data, in other students' journal entries or responses to tasks I recognise signs that might indicate that students are questioning a version of the world, though not necessarily related to the text under analysis, and that they are examining plurality, though not in ways that I expected. Below I analyse students' recognitions of the multiplicity of meanings other than those produced by texts and

their problematisation of the ways they are essentialised as ‘other’ and the ways they create ‘other’ positions.

I do not necessarily recognise all of these explorations as suggesting critical cultural awareness however, as these meanings and practices did not seem to contribute to these students’ negotiations of difference and diversity. However, what these explorations suggest is that if the module had been more relevant to students’ explorations of ‘other’ practices, if it had incorporated, for instance, an explicit analysis of multiple readings of texts as well as discourses of racism, it might have encouraged more opportunities for more students to display signs of critical cultural awareness.

EXPLORING ALTERNATIVES: CONSTRUCTING MULTIPLE READINGS OF TEXTS

As I discussed earlier in my review of the tenets of CDA in chapter 6, in the classroom application of CDA, students are encouraged to make multiple readings of texts based on the Derridaean assumption that meanings are not fixed in or by texts but are constructed. It is assumed that as each reader will draw on a different set of discursive meanings to make sense of a text, it is natural that different readings be made.

In module 1, Jeon appeared to exemplify this transience and multiplicity of meanings. In Unit 2, for instance, he proposed a reading of the text under analysis that was alternative to one that I had recognised. He suggested that a different reality and a different set of relationships were being constructed in the text. Indeed, Jeon’s response can be read as exemplifying the way meanings cannot be fixed within the linguistic borders of texts and as disrupting the expectation that only one reading can be made of a text. Jeon exemplifies the variability of the possible meanings one can make. Moreover, at the end of Unit 3, when Jeon questioned the reasons underlying the module’s focus on gender relations and not on “food and music” (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 1), I recognise Jeon as also making a

multiple reading. Here he appears to be proposing an alternative reading of the concept of culture, one where culture is conceptualised as exotic and observable.

The dilemma I faced when confronted with the alternative readings Jeon proposed was that I was advocating the idea that any reading can be made of a text when at the same time I was teaching students to recognise and critique a particular reading. I had, in fact, announced to the students that they could produce alternative readings of any text. However, I now recognise that I expected these alternative readings to match the particular reading of the text which I recognised and intended to critique, and when they did not, as in Jeon's readings above, I regarded them as insignificant.

Mellor and Patterson (1994a; 1994b; 2001) raise this particular dilemma that practising CDA teachers might face in advocating multiple readings of texts while at the same time guiding students to recognise particular readings, such as those that are socially and politically desired by teachers. Mellor and Patterson's point is that CDA somehow expects teachers to "teach and yet *not* teach: the imperative that students be allowed to produce their 'own readings', rather than such readings being imposed or taught" (1994a, p. 45, emphasis in original). They question whether the concept of multiple readings is, in fact, misleading for teachers as it gives the impression of conscious learner autonomy, where students are seen to "adjust their readings in favour of a required reading apparently through their own free ... choice" (2001, p. 123). As data from this module suggested the students were not free to explore the texts on their own, or to make any meaning of it they chose. Through the feedback I gave students on the readings they had made, such as approving of it or expressing my disagreement, I was guiding and restricting the meanings students could make of texts. I was, in fact, adjusting their readings.

My rationale behind trying to adjust students' readings of texts was that I believed that for students to trouble essentialised constructions of cultures and recognise alternative, complex constructions, it was necessary that they recognised the sexist, stereotyping take up of a text; that is, I perceived it desirable that they read the text in a particular way, and not just any way. Also, I was not willing to be content with the conceptualisation of a polka dot culture as I did not believe that this could lead

to students' reflections on the complexity of cultures. I take up Mellor and Patterson's (1994a; 2001) argument for the need to recognise CDA pedagogy as normative and regulatory. They claim that it is time for critical discourse analysts to acknowledge that some readings are preferred and required over others. Indeed, in this study my aim was to guide students to put under scrutiny a version of the world created by the mobilisation of stereotypical constructions of cultural groups, to recognise the complexity of cultural categories, and for this I desired and required that students make particular sense of texts and read texts from particular reading positions.

Threadgold (1997) does not appear to share Mellor and Patterson's (1994a; 1994b) view of CDA as normative practice. She argues that producing multiple readings does not necessarily imply complete freedom or complete regulation of students' deconstructive and reconstructive practices. She claims it does not involve insisting on or adjusting particular readings. Her suggestion is that the classroom application of CDA should be conceptualised as being

... not just about producing subjects who can make feminist or anti-racist readings, not just about producing subjects who can critique earlier forms of reading regime, but actually about producing subjects who know the differences and the implications, the functions and consequences of doing one or many of these things, and who have a range of strategies for doing it with. (p. 377)

I agree with Threadgold that negotiating multiple reading positions should be seen as involving more than the particular text to be read. I agree that it should involve understanding how readership is enabled and constrained in discursive and textual realities. In this module I did not expect students to merely recognise the use of stereotypes in a text, but also to reflect on the real-life implications of the use of these stereotypes, to examine the consequences of simplifying cultural complexity. However, what I perceive to be problematic in Threadgold's argument is how students can be expected to recognise the differences and implications of various reading positions when they cannot recognise a particular reading position. As data from module 1 suggests, when students did not recognise that a text is operating

with sexist discourses or stereotypes, as in Unit 3 for instance, they did not appear to be able to recognise the implications of the text's take up of these discourses. They did not appear to examine the implications of the mobilisation of these discourses. In such cases, I believe teacher regulation can be necessary.

Drawing on insights gained from module 1, I argue that CDA pedagogy should not only involve a problematisation of sexist/racist and other readings that restrict one's ways of being and doing, but should also include an explicit analysis of the multiplicity of meanings that can be made of a text. In this research I acknowledge that in order to raise students' critical cultural awareness, I preferred some readings over others. I chose to emphasise the readings students made that matched my objectives. However, what I overlooked was that the normativity of reading positions should not mean simply dismissing a students' reading and deeming non-desirable alternatives as unacceptable and wrong, which is what I did with Jeon's proposals. Instead, I believe the readings students propose can be seen as evidence of the cultural repertoires students bring to class, the resources available and meaningful to them, and can be used to draw attention to the multiplicity and complexity of meaning-making practices.

In other words, I could have used Jeon's readings to highlight cultural complexity and plurality. I could have drawn students' attention to the way Jeon was not limiting himself to take up a meaning that was being made available to him by the teacher or others in class. Instead, Jeon appeared to resist being positioned by a text – the teacher's reading of a concept, the design of the module, the reading of a text – and was taking up different reading positions. He was exemplifying the complexity of drawing on one's cultural meaning-making repertoire and on the ways these repertoires are multiple and variable within and across cultural groups. Moreover, although I do not recognise instances in the data where Jeon navigates between a complex 'self' and a complex, multiple 'other', an inclusion and acceptance of his meanings in analyses of texts could have encouraged him to extend the practice of making multiple readings of texts and concepts to other contexts. In other words, it is possible that had I taken a different approach to Jeon's

responses, I could have created more chances for the development of his critical cultural awareness.

NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCE: ‘OTHERING’ AND BEING ‘OTHERED’

A discourse I had not included for analysis in module 1 was racism. I had not made an association between learning culture and racism but it appears that for some students racist discourses were relevant to their learning in the module as well as to their participation in Australian society. Popo, Chika and Jeon appeared to draw on racist discourses in their explorations of ‘other’ subject positions. These issues were only discussed in the journals they submitted and were not brought up in the classroom context. The journal appeared to constitute a space for these students to share their assumptions of racism, of ‘othering’.

In an early journal entry, Popo wrote about her views on “discrimination against Aboriginal people” (journal entry, module 1). In this entry Popo appears to examine her own ‘othering’ of Australian aboriginals:

I saw some Aboriginal people whose attitudes were rude. They spoke very loudly in the bus or said to us some dirty words and wanted the money. Before I met these kinds of situations ... I had been indifferent to them but now I admit I have negative images to all Aboriginal people though I know not all Aboriginal people are rude. It might be a prejudice.

Popo appears to be reflecting on the way she is positioning Australian Aboriginal people as ‘other’, as different and deviant (“I have negative images”). It appears to me that Popo is uncomfortable with the way she is defining Australian Aboriginals, situating them into an unwanted, undesirable category. She appears to be aware that her understandings of Australian Aboriginals stem from a “prejudice” that she holds, which she appears to be putting under examination. Her examination of her own act of ‘othering’ is significant in that Popo seems to be aware that her generalisation of Australian Aboriginal people into an unwanted, deviant category is simplistic (“though I know not all Aboriginal people are rude”) as not all

Australian Aboriginals fit into this description. This suggests that Popo is aware of the variability of Australian Aboriginals.

Chika also appears to examine her positioning of racial differences as well as her perceptions of the way she is 'othered' in mainstream Australian society. In the first and only journal entry Chika handed in, she described her experiences of verbal abuse:

One day my friends and I were walking down the road ... Suddenly a young boy riding in a car yelled at us. We couldn't understand what he said but we just understood that he mimicked Asian people's language. He just made sounds whatever he recognised sound of an Asian language. Another day, my friends and I were also walking down the street ... A young man, he looked us and immediately he yelled "Fxxx you". Not only him but also another man shouted same word. Sometimes they didn't shout but they make shape with their hand, which mean "Fxxx". (Chika, journal entry, module 1)

Here Chika appears to be questioning the way Asians are positioned as different, the way they are ridiculed and made deviant in mainstream Australian society. In her attempt to understand the rationale behind this positioning, she appears to draw on racist discourses. She continues:

You know this behaviour made us angry. They obviously looked down on us. It seems white supremacy. But nowadays, we don't care about abuse on us because we can think they are just stupid.

Chika suggests that her experiences of being 'other' are due to the dominance and arrogance of white races ("they obviously looked down on us. It seems white supremacy"). She appears to be drawing on an East/West dichotomy, recognising the East being constructed as inferior to the West. As a way of dealing with this dichotomy and its accompanying positions, she 'others' those who she appears to perceive are situating her into a deviant category ("we can think they are just stupid"). In the remainder of the entry, she shifts from being the victim of racial abuse to a victimiser.

I can understand their feelings a little because when I meet to people who have a dark skin, I remember I felt a sense of incongruity to them. I still don't know why I felt like that. I had an image about them, which is like a villain although actually they didn't do anything.

Here Chika appears to question her own ethnocentrism, her own racist assumptions of people with dark skin. Similar to Popo, she appears to be questioning the way she is overgeneralising a group of people based on a prejudice and appears to be aware that this is limiting her understanding of them. Although Chika had not contributed to class discussions, had not suggested recognition of the limited view of the world constructed in texts or alternative complex constructions, in this entry I recognise her as reflecting on and questioning the restrictedness of a view of the world in which she is 'other' and in which others maintain their 'otherness' for her. Chika had claimed that she had lacked the confidence to participate in class and group discussions and that this was a reason for her silence. However, drawing on the length of this journal entry, its personalised nature and the amount of detail she included, another reason for her silence might have been that she might not have perceived the units, the tasks and texts to be relevant to her learning needs and interests. In other words, the module might not have met her investment in learning about and navigating between 'others' and 'self'.

Jeon also drew on racist discourses when questioning the way he was being positioned as different in mainstream Australian society. In a journal entry he wrote about his experiences of an Australian shipping company failing to deliver his books from South Korea to Sunny Hill on time. Following this account, he wrote:

I should mention that this [*the shipping company experience*] is my experience. So I cannot say this is all of Australians. Unless they [*the shipping company*] are lazy, they could look down foreigners, especially Asians. I and many Asians had experiences, that when we walk or ride bicycle on the road, some natives who drove in cars call us swear. If you want to ascertain you can ask any Asian nearby you. I have heard this country is multicultural, but it wasn't at least to me. (journal entry, module 1)

Jeon provides two explanations for the shipping company's late delivery of his goods: either "they are lazy" or they despise foreigners ("they look down on us"), and he appears to focus more on the latter explanation. Similar to Chika's journal entry, Jeon also appears to be questioning the way he and other members of an Asian ethnic category are assigned an inferior, deviant place in mainstream Australian society. By defining Australians as lazy and ethnocentric, Jeon subverts the dominance of those who have singled him out as 'other', repositioning them as different to what he perceives to be normal. He suggests recognition that his categorisation of Australians as lazy and ethnocentric is not all-inclusive ("I cannot say this is all of Australians"), appearing to recognise that this is only one view of the world ("this is my experience").

In the same entry, Jeon also raises the question of to what extent the module was relevant to the understandings of 'other' that Jeon wanted to explore. When Jeon handed in this journal entry he had participated in four units but from his entry it does not seem that the tasks or texts had encouraged him to examine an 'other' category:

I have not met very polite Australians yet. I hope to meet that kind of people. They are likely to live somewhere in this country and I could be able to meet them one day as I hope. Can you encourage me?

This comment suggests to me that Jeon had had very minimal contact with Australians. The only experiences he had it seems were those that he perceived to be negative, which might have been the reason underlying Jeon's scepticism and unwillingness to learn about 'other' practices. The tasks and texts on their own did not appear to achieve the purpose of encouraging Jeon, and possibly other students, to continue to learn about 'self' and 'other'. At the end of four units of the module, Australians appear to remain to Jeon as foreign as they were before the module.

Jeon and Chika's journal entries on their perceptions of racial abuse in Australia were significant for two reasons. First, they suggested that the module might have encouraged them to voice their perceptions of Australians, to question their

dissatisfaction with being positioned as different. The journal in particular seems to have encouraged them to reflect on and question their existing assumptions and prejudices about Australians. It seems to have provided them with a relatively safe place, away from the gaze of other students, to reflect on such personal matters. However, at the same time, the entries suggest that the program did not seem to have broadened their existing understandings of and assumptions about Australians. The module did not appear to have met these students' needs and interests in exploring the 'other'. Drawing on these students' entries, what appears to be lacking in module 1 is the opportunity for students to contact local Australians, to meet and discuss issues with them. In other words, the 'other' as human, as part of real-life, was missing, an element I decided to include in module 2.

EFL STUDENTS DOING CDA

Some CDA educators raise concern in reference to learners of Asian cultural backgrounds doing CDA. Warren (1996), for example, argues that the predominance of rote learning and memorisation in the education systems of the countries in these regions results in their students not being able to engage critically with texts. She claims that bringing an alternative reading to a text other than the one expected by the text producer is "terrifying ground" for these students "because they have to think for themselves and sustain an independent response" (p. 10). Another argument made in reference to Asian background learners is that respect towards authority is highly valued in these societies, and that encouraging these students to question the authority of texts may be culturally inappropriate and may cause discomfort for them (D. Atkinson, 1997; Fox, 1994).

However, drawing on the responses of Jeon, Popo, Yui, Asami and Chika, all of whom had identified themselves as of East Asian origin, none of them appeared to lack the ability to "think for themselves" (Warren, 1996, p.10) nor did they seem terrified to voice their opinions. In fact, as I have already discussed, several of these students appeared to question the authority of the text, of mainstream Australian society and of the teacher in positioning them in particular ways. Several of these students displayed confidence in proposing readings and meanings alternative to

those already produced, not hesitating to introduce new concepts and understandings.

As suggested by other research (Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Littlewood, 2000), in module 1 there was, in fact, little difference in the classroom interaction behaviour of the students from Asian countries and those from Europe. For instance, both Asami (Japanese) and Eric (German) appeared to be equally quiet at times and equally disengaged with tasks, and both Popo (Japanese) and Thomas (German) were equally vocal in their discussions, proposing various responses and disagreeing with others. Based on the data I collected, I do not believe it is possible to draw a clear divide between the meanings made by students of Asian origin and those of European backgrounds.

In module 1, one of the tasks that the students appeared to respond to the least involved their examination of the implications of the realities and relations produced in texts. In fact, except for Unit 4, the students did not seem to reflect on the possible effects that the text's version of the world might have on readers. If I were to follow Warren's (1996) line of argument in interpreting students' silences in this particular task, I could suggest that this group of EFL students, most of whom were from East Asian backgrounds, lacked the ability to question and critique the ways they were being positioned in relation to the worlds created in texts. Students' silences might suggest that the task is cognitively and emotionally beyond this group of EFL learners. However, with such presuppositions I would be assuming that Asian students have a deficiency, that they lack complex cognitive skills. However, as I discussed earlier in my analyses of Unit 2 and 3, with this particular task I was expecting students to make explicit knowledge that did not appear to be available to them.

I would argue that the expectation that students of particular ethnic and racial origins lack certain intellectual and social skills rests on colonialist and eurocentric assumptions, which stigmatise students of 'other' backgrounds as backward, uncreative and unable to make complex meanings (Phan, 2004; Singh, 2002). Such arguments serve to maintain constructions of a monolithic 'other' who is at once

different yet obvious and knowable. I do not believe that making generalisations about the cultural upbringing, lifestyles and norms of Asian students to account for their silence is helpful in understanding the depth of the repertoires these students draw on to navigate through the spaces of New Times. Such assumptions do not help CDA practitioners find ways to extend and enrich these resources to aid students' negotiations of different meanings and identities. Therefore, instead of taking up a simplistic and ethnocentric understandings of students' non-participation in module 1, I argue that the reasons why students did not respond to a particular set of tasks are varied and complex. A reconceptualisation of EFL students' silences is, therefore, necessary in CDA literature.

I recognise that the medium through which students were expected to make explicit their understandings and perceptions was English, a language that most were still trying to improve. I acknowledge that performing in a foreign language might have been challenging for some of the students and that it might have contributed to their silence at some times. For example, several students told me that they thought the text of Unit 3 was linguistically challenging for them. As students' journal entries suggested, however, when given time to reflect on how they could articulate their views and understandings, students appeared to be able to discuss a range of issues.

Moreover, identifying as a member of the ideal audience of a text appeared to be significant in encouraging students to respond to tasks. In units 2 and 3, for instance, it appeared that the students did not identify themselves as part of the ideal audience of the texts, and it was particularly in these two units that the students showed the least interest in discussing the effects of the text on their worldviews and assumptions. However, in Unit 4, where students had suggested that they might read travel magazines such as the one under analysis, several students resisted being positioned as naïve consumers of travel and questioned the truth and neutrality of the text.

In this particular classroom, as in other CDA classrooms, these students were expected to make their opinions and views publicly available to the teacher and to other students. In this sense, the students themselves and their opinions were

available for (in)direct control and surveillance. The gaze of classroom members and the teacher could have, for example, persuaded Jeon to abandon his reading of the text in Unit 2 and to adopt the reading adopted by the rest of the class. Moreover, in this module, the students were told beforehand that their views would be tape recorded, transcribed and analysed. In other words, their words and worldviews would be solidified in print, available for examination and control by the researcher/teacher, and possibly unknown others⁷. Although I did not notice the presence of microphones in the classroom hindering small or large group discussions, it is likely that it might have put off some students from revealing explicitly to others what they believed or thought.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DESIGNING MODULE 2

Each student's experience of module 1 was undoubtedly unique, with each student taking away different meanings and practices. Although the module did not appear to make available to some of the students the skills and practices which I believed could facilitate negotiation of difference and navigation between the familiar and foreign, I was content that it had provided a context for most students to explore new meanings, to reflect on their existing assumptions and understandings. For most of the students it had introduced a focus on the idea that texts are produced to achieve particular effects, even though the students could not always recognise what these effects might be. It had encouraged most of the students to reflect on the complexity of 'self' practices and meanings, and had at least opened up spaces for a focus on 'other' practices and bodies. I believed that with some changes in module 2 to the types of texts I used, such as those that students might have more investment in reading, and some changes to the task types, such as incorporating more direct contact with the 'other', being more explicit about my expectations of students' responses to tasks and readings of texts, I could design module 2 to better facilitate the development of critical cultural awareness. I discuss the details of module 2 and my perceptions of its outcomes in the following chapter

⁷ I had told the students prior to the study that only my supervisor and I would have access to the recordings in full and that in manuscript and published versions of the study only parts of the data would be publicly available. In either case I informed them that their identities would remain concealed.

CHAPTER 8

MODULE 2: HYBRID SPACES, ETHNOGRAPHY AND NEW TIMES

INTRODUCTION

I had initially intended to use module 1 as a pilot program where I could put into practice the tasks and practices I had developed, reflect on their outcomes, and then make changes in module 2 if necessary. However, at the end of module 1 I discovered that four of the students from this module would be continuing on to participate in module 2. For this reason I needed to change the texts that I had used in module 1. In module 2 I used different texts but similar sets of tasks, replacing the tasks in module 1 that I did not recognise as encouraging an exploration of cultural diversity and complexity with new ones.

In this chapter I investigate the pedagogical outcomes of the tasks and units of module 2 and examine which elements of the module appeared to create spaces for students to take up meanings and practices that suggest critical cultural awareness. Here I continue to trace students' interactions and discussions with each other and the ways they made sense of the texts, tasks and concepts of module 2 with the recognition that the readings I make of students' meanings are filtered through the knowledge and practices that are historically and politically available to me. The questions I ask of the data in this chapter are the same as those of chapter 7, reproduced in Table 18 below.

In my analysis of module 1 I have attempted to give readers glimpses into the dynamics of the research and classroom context. I have attempted to exemplify the complexity and variability of students' meanings and interactions as well as the difficulties and dilemmas I experienced as a teacher/researcher espousing the tenets of CDA to make available to students a discourse view of culture. In this chapter my aim continues to be to re-produce the teaching and learning that the students and

I experienced in this module. One addition I make to my analyses of the program in this chapter is that here I speculate on the possible third spaces the module appeared to encourage students to create in their navigations between different times and spaces. That is, in this chapter I analyse more closely the spaces the students navigated between in their negotiations of difference and I examine in which of these spaces I recognise difference and multiplicity being entertained (Bhabha, 1994).

Table 18: Key questions for data analysis

<p>In relation to the objectives of the study:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do the tasks encourage students to question the versions of cultures presented in texts? • Do the tasks encourage students to explore the complexity and diversity of cultural practices, meanings and representations?
<p>In order to analyse the interrogative and exploratory spaces the program might create for students, more specifically I ask:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What discourses might students draw on in their conceptualisation of culture? • How do students read constructions of cultures in texts? • How do students read potentially sexist/racist/colonialist assumptions? • What discourses and subject positions might students take up in their understandings of what the program seeks to achieve?

STUDENT PROFILE AND PARTICIPATION

Nine students participated in module 2 (see Table 19). Four of these students – Popo, Chika, Jeon and Lilu – had also participated in module 1 and, I assume, were already somewhat familiar with the program. Tolib, an Indonesian student, and Tuahu, a student from Tahiti, enrolled at the ELICOS centre at the start of module 2 (see Appendix C for a record of student attendance in module 2). All the other

students were already acquainted with each other from the five-week ELICOS term between modules 1 and 2.

The students who participated in module 2 were aged between 20 and 30, with most of them planning to pursue an academic degree in Australia. This group of students seemed to express more interest in me as a researcher and in the research itself, compared to module 1. Tolib and Adhin, for example, had been admitted to doctoral programs in Australia and frequently asked me questions about my doctoral studies and my purpose in conducting this particular program. Cathy too appeared to be interested in the research. She offered to give feedback on drafts of my thesis, and, in her journal entries, often discussed her experiences of being part of a study on cross-cultural communication in France.

Table 19: Background information on students in module 2

Name	Gender	Country of origin	Reasons for studying English
Popo*	F	Japan	Improve fluency in English
Chika*	F	Japan	Gain entry to undergraduate program
Jeon*	M	South Korea	Gain entry to postgraduate program
Lilu*	F	Russia	Gain entry to undergraduate program
Cathy	F	France	Travel
Tolib	M	Indonesia	Gain entry to postgraduate program
Adhin	M	Indonesia	Gain entry to postgraduate program
Tuahu	M	Tahiti	Gain entry to undergraduate program
Jae-ko	M	Japan	Gain entry to undergraduate program

* students who continued on from module 1.

In module 2 I perceive the journal task as having been responded to more favourably than in module 1 (see Table 20). While the number of journal entries Popo submitted is considerably less than that of module 1, the task appears to have encouraged at least one entry from all the other students. All of these entries included students' comments on and discussions of issues raised in texts as well as their observations and experiences of living in Australia. That is, each of these

entries was relevant to class discussions and tasks. In this sense, the task seemed to achieve the purpose of providing for students the space for reflection and exploration of the familiar and strange concepts and meanings the tasks and texts made available. All of the students in module 2 also completed and returned feedback forms. In this module I distributed the feedback forms at the beginning of Unit 5 and asked students to return them before the end of the unit. The fact that the forms were completed during class time might have contributed to a higher return rate.

Table 20: Students' participation in module 2

Name	Sessions attended					Number of journal entries	Feedback form returned
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5		
Popo	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	4	✓
Chika	absent	✓	✓	absent	✓	2	✓
Jeon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	4	✓
Lilu	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	4	✓
Cathy	✓	✓	Absent	✓	✓	4	✓
Adhin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	3	✓
Tolib	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	3	✓
Tuahu		✓	✓	absent	✓	1	✓
Jae-ko	absent	✓	Absent	✓	✓	2	✓

*A shaded box indicates the student was not enrolled at the ELICOS centre at the time.

EXAMINING TASK AND UNIT OUTCOMES

Similar to the procedure I followed in module 1, in this module I distributed written copies of each task or sets of tasks to each student in class. I asked the students to initially discuss their responses to the tasks in their groups and then to give a brief summary of their discussions to the class. This not only gave the students in class access to the meanings made in other groups but also, along with the audio recordings, enabled me to triangulate my interpretation of students' responses. In

situations where I do not have access to recordings of in-group discussions, I draw on the notes I made of these group summaries. Again similar to module 1, the students formed groups with those sitting next to them, forming pairs or small groups of three or four students. A microphone was placed in front of each group.

Unit 1: Exploring conceptions of culture

As in module 1, the first unit of module 2 also served as an introduction to the module, aiming at encouraging students to examine concepts and ideas that underpin the module. The unit consisted of three sets of tasks. One of these tasks involved an analysis of Weaver's iceberg model of culture, a task I had used in the first unit of module 1. I decided to include this particular task in module 2 as I believed it had been successful in module 1 in creating a context for students to examine the complexity of the concept of culture. In addition to this task I designed two new tasks. In Table 21 I list the tasks I designed, the objectives I set out to achieve and student groupings. Five students participated in this unit, with two of these, Jeon and Popo, having already participated in Unit 1 of module 1.

Task 1: 1. Make a list of things that make cultural groups different to one another. 2. Make a list of things that are common to cultural groups.

With this task I aimed to draw students' attention to cultural similarities and differences. A focus on cultural differences I believed could encourage students to examine the normative practices available to them that produce the 'other', and a focus on cultural similarities, I assumed, could help to draw students' attention that what sets the norms for 'us' can also be the norm for the 'other'. I hoped that such a focus could encourage students to recognise that the divide between 'self' and 'other' categories cannot be clearly defined, that it is blurry and overlapping. With this task I wanted to emphasise that in times when bodies and knowledges are in constant flow across cultural and national borders, familiar and foreign cultural spaces are complex and hybrid. I hoped that a focus on differences as well as similarities across cultural groups could help to de-naturalise the 'self' and de-exoticise the 'other'.

Table 21: Objectives and tasks of Unit 1, module 2

Student groupings	- Adhin, Cathy, Jeon - Lilu, Popo	Absent: Chika, Jae-ko
Objectives	to explore: - the complexity of cultural differences and similarities, - visible and less visible cultural aspects, - existing assumptions of 'self' and 'other' and stereotypes.	
Task 1 1. Make a list of things that makes cultural groups different to one another. 2. Make a list of things that are common to cultural groups.		
Task 2 3. Weaver (1986) has tried to explain the concept of culture by using an iceberg image. a. What is the significance of an iceberg image? b. Which aspects of societies are visible and which are less visible? Write them down on the iceberg model c. These are Weaver's responses. Do you agree?		
Task 3 4. I will read out the names of several countries. Make a list of the things you think about when you hear these countries. 5. Discuss: a. Why did you come up with these ideas? How did you form them? b. Are any of these ideas stereotypical? If so, which ones? c. What does stereotypical mean? Does it provide a useful way of thinking about people and places?		

Both groups of students responded to this task by producing lists of what they perceived to make cultural groups different and similar. When discussing cultural differences, one group responded with the following list:

- 1 Cathy: Language... climate...environment
 - 2 Adhin: Kingdom or republic, how do we call it? [*checks dictionary*] ... government.
 - 3
 - 4 Cathy: Lifestyle
 - 5 Adhin: [*reads from dictionary*] traits.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

The other group of students produced a slightly different list. Popo summarised her group's list as: "food, language, country, government system, climate, environment, religion, education, appearance" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). Both

groups of students appeared to produce a range of items they believed distinguished cultural groups, which I recognise as exemplifying the variability of conceptualising cultural differences. However, students' responses did not appear to go beyond the production of lists of differences. After students had summarised their responses to each other, I asked the groups to discuss the reasons underpinning their choices. However, this was not responded to.

Students' discussions of cultural similarities initially started in students' respective groups, but gradually the task turned into a whole class activity as students overheard and commented on each other's responses in other groups. For example, while Lilu and Popo were discussing whether cultural groups have a particular "appearance" (Popo) in common, Cathy, who at the time was participating in another group, expressed her disagreement:

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Popo: | Appearance I think is similar |
| 2 | Lilu: | Maybe... because many people confuse me with |
| 3 | | Norwayan. They think I'm from Norway. [Swiss |
| 4 | Cathy: | [[<i>overhears the conversation</i>]] but African people are |
| 5 | | different. My appearance is not like African people. |
| 6 | Lilu: | Yes, but black people are all black, are same. |
- (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

Here Lilu appears to be constructing a self-inclusive northern European category (lines 2, 3) to exemplify the way this category shares a particular racial and/or physical appearance. Cathy appears to refute Lilu's construction of a universal homogenous appearance by suggesting that her racial and/or physical appearance is distinct from an African's (lines 4, 5). Cathy's refutation appears to be based on assumptions of an oppositional Black/White binary divide, which Lilu appears to take over to reinforce her argument of racial homogeneity ("but black people are all black" line 6). I recognise both students' readings of racial categories as problematic, as readings I intended to disrupt, as both appear to be essentialising racial and cultural groups.

In the other group, the students responded to the task by discussing whether they believed the same "food" (Cathy) is consumed by different cultural groups:

-
- 1 Cathy: Food is common.
 2 Adhin: No I don't think
 3 Cathy: [no because **you** [*pointing to Adhin*] eat rice, **you** [*pointing to Jeon*] eat rice, **I** eat rice
 4
 5 Jeon: But only rice is not our food
 6 Adhin: Yeah, but you eat=
 7 Jeon: =we eat rice but we cook differently
 (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

In this extract, Cathy appears to produce a different reading of racial groups. She appears to recognise a universal commonality between mankind, suggesting that in the consumption of rice, there is no divide between different racial and cultural groups (lines 3, 4). Her response is significant in suggesting that the self/other border is not intact, that the 'self' and the 'other' co-occupy particular spaces. I read Cathy's response as disrupting the assumption that the 'other' is different to the 'self'. This is a reading I had hoped the task would encourage. Jeon appears to disagree with Cathy's reading and suggests that there are variations in the consumption of rice in different cultural groups (line 7). I recognise his reading as also significant in that he appears to be drawing attention to the complexity and variability within categories of cultural groups.

The extract continues with Lilu joining the discussion:

- 1 Lilu: Ok, you cannot generalise about food because, I mean,
 2 Asian people, they eat almost same food. They eat rice
 3 [and European people
 4 Jeon: [Almost the same? Only rice? We cook different ways
 5 Adhin: We cook in different way
 6 Lilu: Yeah, I mean you use rice a lot and we use meat. You do
 7 not really eat a lot of meat. You [eat sea food
 8 Jeon: [we eat meat also. But in different way
 9 Lilu: Yeah I know, but you don't use meat as much as we use it.
 10 I mean we can eat it even for breakfast or lunch or dinner.
 11 Jeon: What I'm saying is that's different food. The food is made
 12 different.

 13 Lilu: What's the main food in Korea?
 14 Jeon: Rice
 15 Lilu: So, Japanese, they also eat rice. See?

 16 Adhin: Also, in my country we eat rice.
 17 Jeon: But, also I mean we eat in different ways. For example,

-
- 18 I'm living with Jae-ko [*a Japanese student*]. I can't eat his
 19 food, he can't eat mine because we have different tastes.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

Lilu responds by attempting to problematise transcultural generalisations about food (“you cannot generalise” line 1). However, throughout the extract she makes generalisations about the dietary practices of Asian groups, defining ‘Asianness’ as a homogenous category (line 2). She appears to be drawing on a mutually exclusive self/other binary divide, producing an ‘other’ category (“Asian people line 2; “you” lines 6, 7, 9) as distinct and different from a normative ‘self’ (“European people” line 3; “we” lines 6, 9, 10). Furthermore, her production of factual statements (“they eat almost ...” line 2; “you do not really eat ... You eat ...” lines 6, 7) suggests that she is confident and assertive in her construction of a singular, monolithic Asian category. She appears to assume that she has expert knowledge in this matter and has the authority to make judgements about the ‘other’. Lilu appears to take up the colonialist assumption that the ‘other’ is obvious, waiting to be defined and categorised (Said, 1978), appearing to assume that she knows Asians better than they know themselves.

Jeon, however, resists being defined and classified into Lilu’s construction of a monolithic collective Asian identity. He does not appear to respond to Lilu’s “hailing” (Davies, 2000c, p. 47), to the subject position she opens up for him by drawing attention to the variations and complexity within Asian dietary practices (lines 4, 11) and by exemplifying the distinctiveness of Japanese and Korean practices (lines 17-19). In this way Jeon appears to argue for recognition of the complexity within an Asian category and appears to refuse to take up Lilu’s objectification of him as ‘other’ (Fanon, 1967). Jeon’s resistance to being fixed into a stereotypical rice-eating Asian category could be seen as a possible sign of a critical cultural awareness in that he questions the essentialisation of Asians and argues for recognition of the cultural complexity and diversity within multiple Asian categories. This type of awareness is similar to what I had observed in Jeon’s responses to units in module 1.

Task 2: Weaver (1986) has tried to explain the concept of culture by using an iceberg image ...

This is the same task that I used in the introductory unit of module 1, a task in which Jeon and Popo had already participated. I told these two students that I could give them a different task to discuss or that they could choose to take a break while their classmates were working on the task. However, both appeared to be willing to do the task a second time. Popo said that she did not remember doing the task earlier in module 1 and Jeon said that he did not mind doing it again.

Similar to the outcomes I observed in module 1, the task appeared to achieve in this module the purpose of encouraging students to explore their conceptions of culture. The task succeeded in introducing a focus on cultural complexity, on cultural aspects that are displayed explicitly and those that are not externally observable.

Most of the students in class appeared to recognise the iceberg diagram as suggesting that not all aspects of cultural groups are obvious, observable to outsiders, a reading I had also made. Adhin, however, proposed a different reading. He suggested:

because the first time culture is all the same but then it is broken, just like ice. For example English. It is the same first, but when they came to Australia they develop their own English. In India they have own English.
(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

I read Adhin's response as suggesting that he is aware that cultural groups and practices are fragmented and varied. It seems that to Adhin the image of an iceberg exemplifies cultural diversity. Popo also produced a different reading of the iceberg imagery, appearing to recognise the model as illustrating cultural change. This is a reading different to what she had proposed in module 1:

1	Lilu:	Over the top is small part of the iceberg and under the
2		water is large part
3	Popo:	And this top one you can change shape. Culture is also like
4		this part, can be changed little bit.

(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

The task appears to have encouraged Popo to recognise that cultural groups and practices are not stable and static, but undergo changes and variation, in the same way that icebergs do. Both Popo and Adhin's readings were alternatives to the reading I had made and expected students to recognise. However, unlike the way I had handled alternative readings in module 1, here I recognised both as significant and relevant readings because I believed that both drew attention to the type of awareness I wanted to raise in students, that of cultural diversity and variability.

In this unit I wanted to include an explicit focus on students' existing conceptualisations of the concept of culture and, therefore, after Popo's response above, I asked the class to think about what they meant by the term culture. This appears to have created a context for several students to examine their understandings of the term:

- 1 Mehtap: So, when you say culture, what do you mean? What does
 2 the word culture mean to you? Think about it. ... [*Lilu*
 3 *raises hand*] Yes Lilu?
 4 Lilu: Ah, for me it's general. I mean like society. I mean it's big,
 5 something really big, and all these small pieces [*points to*
 6 *the four parts of iceberg diagram*] are parts of culture.
 7 Cathy: For me it's the same in French.
 8 Mehtap: So what do you mean when you say culture in French?
 9 Cathy: Like way of thinking, like in the mind of people living in
 10 the culture.
 11 Adhin: For me culture is behaviour accepted as same. I think it's
 12 the rules accepted by society in my country. You can't do
 13 something because of culture.

(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

These students appear to conceptualise culture in various ways. To Lilu (lines 4, 6), for example, culture appears to be an all-encompassing term, a generalisation of social practices. Adhin (lines 11-13) too links the concept of culture to society. He suggests that the concept refers to social rules which serve to govern and limit what individuals can and cannot do. In a journal entry submitted in the following unit, Adhin continued to explore his understanding of the concept. In his journal he wrote: "Culture is like the cloth. Every country has their own culture" (journal entry, module 2). Both Adhin and Lilu's responses appear to be based on the assumption that cultures are collective and shared, are all-encompassing. Cathy

(lines 9, 10) makes a different reading of the concept, linking it to mental processes. She appears to perceive the concept as including cognitive practices and processes.

Jeon also proposed his view of the concept, linking it to the iceberg diagram he had analysed in class: “We have different beliefs in each country. That’s culture. In this case, it’s unconscious, internal culture. I think we’re thinking internal culture is same as culture” (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). I read Jeon’s response as suggesting that he recognises only invisible aspects of cultural groups, like beliefs, as constituting the concept of culture. Although I recognised Jeon and the other students’ readings of the concept of culture as problematic, as underpinned with homogenous assumptions, or conceptualised as inner, mental, behavioural dispositions, I perceived this task as successful. I believe the task opened up spaces for students to reflect on and examine the ways that they and others conceptualised the concept of culture, which might later lead these students to take up alternative readings of the term. Also, in both Jeon and Cathy’s responses above, they used the word culture itself in their explanation of the term, which suggests that culture is, in fact, a difficult concept to discuss and explain. Nevertheless, I would argue that these students made a successful attempt at explicating their assumptions, at making their understandings available for scrutiny.

Task 3: 4. I will read out the names of several countries. Make a list of the things you think about when you hear these countries.

I read out the names of nine different countries to the students and asked students to write down three things that came to their mind as they heard each country. The countries I read out were: the USA, Russia, South Korea, Australia, Italy, Japan, France, Indonesia, England. The purpose of this task was to encourage students to examine and question the stereotypical assumptions they hold of various national groups and to reflect on the ways such assumptions underplay cultural diversity and variation. I had included students’ home countries in the list above so as to give students the opportunity to examine both ‘self’ national stereotypes as well as ‘other’.

The students appeared to enjoy doing this activity as they laughed and joked while producing their lists. After they had made individual lists, I asked students to share these lists with members of their group and then to discuss the following questions.

5a. Why did you come up with these ideas? How did you form them? 5b. Are any of these ideas stereotypical? If so, which ones?

The students in both groups appeared to recognise that most of their responses to the task were stereotypical. Lilu, for example, appeared to recognise that

kimchi is stereotype for Korea. And even with things about Russia, that it's really cold. But it's not really cold everywhere. It's very cold in the northern part and very hot in the southern part. But we never think about southern part, even I never think about it. (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

Lilu appears to question the way particular aspects of societies are generalised as representative of and common to all members of the society. She appears to be also questioning her own take up of a stereotypical 'self' ("even I never think about it"). Other students suggested "hamburgers" (Popo, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2) as a stereotype of the USA and "pizza" (Cathy, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2) for Italy. As to the sources of these stereotypes, one group identified "education and pictures and travel" (Cathy, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2) and the other group suggested "media, movies, magazines and from personal contacts with people" (Lilu, classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). These are the types of responses I had sought. I read these responses as suggesting that these students appear to be aware that the images of countries circulated around the world are not reflections of a truth about these countries, but are stereotypical constructions.

5c. What does stereotyping mean? Does it provide a useful way of thinking about people and places?

In this unit I decided to introduce an explicit examination of the concept of stereotyping. I perceived this to be important as the whole module is based on analysing and disrupting stereotypes. Therefore, I wanted to encourage students to reflect on their understanding of the concept. For this purpose I asked both groups

to define the concept of stereotyping. Cathy summarised her group's discussion as "stereotype is common idea almost all people have about country" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2), suggesting recognition that stereotypes are widespread and readily available to large groups of people. Lilu suggested that as a group they decided that the concept refers to "phrases or several words which can help us distinguish the difference between something. And always connected to feelings" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). She appears to draw attention to the emotional basis of stereotypes, to the ways stereotypes are not based on facts but on one's responses to difference.

The students in both groups appeared to focus more on the benefits of stereotyping rather than problems it causes. Adhin, for example, suggested that stereotyping might "have benefits for tourism" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2) while Popo claimed stereotypes "can help to understand the another country's culture" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). These students appear to recognise stereotypes as valuable in giving glimpses into difference, as quick and simple references to 'other' cultures.

Lilu appeared to be the only student who suggested that she perceived stereotyping to be problematic. After Popo and Adhin had listed the possible advantages of stereotypes, she responded: "but I think they [*stereotypes*] can also like lock, they can close the few on the other things, so just like you can see all the things you've learned before and not other things" (classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2). Lilu appears to recognise that stereotypes produce fixed, static constructions and shift one's focus away from the diversity and variability within cultural groups. With the intention of making this reading available to the other students in class, I asked Lilu to give an example:

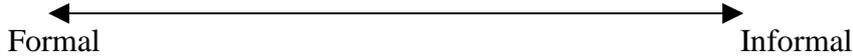
Like you learn that Australia is a very hot country and people are very lazy and lots of kangaroos. And when you come here in summer, it's wet and humidity here, and you think oh, you're disappointed. And you don't see kangaroos running around your house, so you're also very disappointed. And you find people working hard and you're like oh no, I thought they were lazy, so that's what I mean.(classroom transcript, Unit 1, module 2)

Lilu appears to recognise stereotypes as producing only one version of the world and as reducing cultural diversity. What is significant about Lilu's response is that earlier in the unit she had made generalisations about Asian dietary practices. I had read her responses as locking Asians into a particular way of being, as stereotyping. It seems that in theory she is aware of the limiting nature of stereotypes but in practice when negotiating with difference she seems to draw on stereotypes. Indeed, Lilu's shifting position suggests that assumptions of the 'self' as norm and the 'other' as deviant, with understandings of the 'other' grounded in stereotypes, are so ingrained in everyday life that they are readily available in attempts to cope with difference (Asher, 2005). It appears that in this unit whereas Lilu was stereotyping in her navigation between familiar and foreign spaces, she suggests recognition of the essentialising nature of stereotypes, and to some extent, examines and questions the use of them. I hoped that Lilu might extend such an awareness to her own use of stereotypes in other extracts in the module.

Unit 2: Analysing the construction of greetings

In Unit 2 I aimed to draw students' attention to the complexity and diversity underpinning everyday cultural practices. The text I chose for analysis was a learning/teaching unit introducing greetings in a pre-intermediate level ELT textbook (see Appendix H). I recognised this unit as constructing a static, stereotypical version of greetings, producing this everyday practice as being context-free and non-problematic. I read the text as drawing on an East/ West divide and as stabilising particular patterns of interaction within these categories. I perceived it problematic that a text produced for ELT learners, who are required to participate in times of increasing global and local fusion, increasing temporal and spatial flexibility, would underplay the complexity and diversity of the discourses these students are expected to master. To foreground the singularity of the version of greetings produced in the text and to problematise the simplistic binary logic underpinning this construction, I designed the tasks in Table 22.

Table 22: Objectives and tasks of Unit 2, module 2

Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to recognise the multiplicity and complexity of greetings as a social practice - to question the essentialised version of greetings constructed in the text - to recognise alternative constructions
<p>Pre-text analysis</p> <p>1. Make a list of all the things you can say to greet someone in English.</p> <p>2. Are these expressions formal or informal? Try to put them on this continuum:</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>3. Think of situations where you would use these expressions.</p> <p>4. In each of these situations, how would you use your body? Think about posture, eye contact, space, kissing etc.</p> <p>5. Now answer questions 1-4 for greetings in your first language.</p> <p>While-text analysis</p> <p>6. Who produces ELT textbooks?</p> <p>7. Who are they produced for? For you?</p> <p>8. What are these pictures aimed at teaching?</p> <p>9. Do these pictures reflect the diversity of greetings that you have just been discussing?</p> <p>10. Why has the textbook producer included these pictures?</p> <p>Post-text analysis</p> <p>Scan through these textbooks. Do any of them capture the diversity of greetings?</p>	

In this unit, the students formed various groupings when responding to the tasks. In particular, in the pre-text analysis tasks, the students initially worked with those close by, then rearranged into groups based on their first languages, and then came together to form larger groups. To clarify which students worked together, I present student groupings in separate tables at the beginning of each section. In this unit, Tolib and Tuahu joined the class.

Pre-text analysis

With the pre-text analysis tasks I aimed to encourage students to reflect on the multiplicity and complexity of the everyday practice of greetings that are available to them. I asked students to carry out the tasks both in English and in their first languages, hence expecting an examination of ‘self’ and ‘other’ ways of greeting.

I distributed the pre-text analysis tasks to each of the three groups in class. I asked the students to write down their responses to the tasks on sheets of paper which I had also distributed. I had divided the sheets into four columns, with the headings verbal greeting, level of formality, example situation and accompanying body language, with each heading intended to match the four tasks I had set. I expected that a visual display of students' responses could help to draw their attention to the diversity of ways they each practised greetings.

Greetings in English

Table 23: Student groupings for the pre-text analysis task completed in English

Student groupings		
Jeon, Lilu, Popo	Cathy, Adhin, Tuahu	Chika, Tolib, Jea-ko

When analysing greetings in English, the students formed groups with those sitting close by (see Table 23). They appeared to respond with little hesitation, which I recognise as suggestive of the availability of the practice of greeting. In one group, for example, Tuahu, Cathy and Adhin engaged in the following discussion upon receiving the tasks:

- 1 Tuahu: Hi
- 2 Cathy: Ok. Hi. Informal or formal?
- 3 Tuahu: Formal
- 4 Adhin: Formal?
- 5 Cathy: Informal.
- 6 Tuahu: Really?
- 7 Cathy: I know. *[laughs]* Ok. Hi *[writes down the word]*
- 8 Adhin: Hello.
- 9 Cathy: Hello, hello, good morning. How are you going mate? ...
- 10 Between friends.
- 11 Adhin: How's life.
- 12 Tuahu: How's life? Do you say that?
- 13 Adhin: Of course.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

This is the type of discussion I had hoped the tasks would encourage, one in which students exemplify (lines 1, 8, 9, 11) and contextualise (lines 2-5, 10) various forms

of greetings available to them. The two other groups present in class also engaged in similar discussions. For instance, Jeon summarised his group's discussion as:

We divided two situations. For meeting people whom have met before and another one not met before. First, hi, hello, good morning, afternoon, good evening, hi, how are you going mate. And the behaviour is wave hand, wink, kiss, hug, shake hand and whatever you want. And second situation. Hello sir, hello madam, hello miss, nice to meet you. And behaviour is shake hand, nod. Must be formal because we haven't met. (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

Here I read Jeon as exemplifying the variability of greetings in English. In fact, I recognise all nine of the students present in class as producing extensive lists of possible ways of greeting in English, exploring the range of ways they practised greetings in Australia.

Greetings in home languages/dialects

The students then carried out the same set of tasks in their home languages. This time the students had the choice of completing this task on their own or in a self-selected group with those whom they shared a first language. I avoided putting students from the same country into a group myself, as I could not be sure that these students spoke the same language or dialect. I was aware, for instance, that the students from Indonesia spoke different local languages in addition to the official language of Indonesia. Therefore, I did not want to risk forcing these students to work on a language or dialect that they might perceive to be irrelevant to their everyday life in Indonesia. I was also aware that both Cathy and Tuahu spoke French, but that Tuahu came from Tahiti and also spoke a local Tahitian language. However, I could not presume which of these Tuahu perceived as his first language, and, therefore, asked him to choose which he would like to work on. The groups the students eventually formed are listed in Table 24.

Table 24: Student groupings for the pre-text analysis task completed in students' first languages (L1)

Student groupings	Language analysed
Chika, Jae-ko, Popo	Japanese
Cathy, Tuahu	French
Adhin, Tolib	Indonesian and local languages
Lilu	Russian
Jeon	Korean

The students again responded to these tasks with little hesitation, using both English and the languages listed in Table 24 in their group discussions. Each group then reported their discussions to the class, role-playing particular greeting scenarios with translations in English. The students seemed to be able to generate lists of examples of greetings they observed or practised and distinguished in which contexts each greeting might be appropriate.

I recognised this task as successful in creating opportunities for students to develop critical cultural awareness in that each student's analysis of 'self' greeting practices allowed other students in class access to alternative versions of greetings, to the diversity of 'other' greetings. As students were demonstrating and explaining ways of greetings familiar to them, other students in class asked questions, pointed out similarities and differences between the greetings practised in different languages and by different cultural groups. In this way, most students' bodily and verbal behaviour indicated interest in alternative forms of greetings. In one instance of the data, however, I recognise one student failing to acknowledge an 'other' greeting as legitimate and valid. This is during Lilu's summary of the ways greetings are practised in Russia:

- 1 Lilu: Sometimes girls, we shake hands with my friends,
- 2 sometimes we kiss=
- 3 Cathy: =Where kisses?

-
- 4 Lilu: Girls boys, boys girls, sometimes girls to girls and boys to
5 boys.
6 Cathy: You kiss where?
7 Lilu: Where? On the cheek.
8 Cathy: Cheek? Really?
9 Lilu: Yeah.
10 Cathy: I thought it was on the lips.
11 Lilu: Nooo.
12 Cathy: I saw that on the gym, when the Russian gymnast=
13 Lilu: Was it her coach?
14 Cathy: Yeah.
15 Lilu: Oh, that's ok. [*laughter from class*] That's weird for me
16 but that's ok.
17 Cathy: I don't know.
18 Lilu: They're like family because she spends most of her time
19 with him. Just because she express her feelings doesn't
20 mean she loves him.
21 Cathy: Do you kiss your father on the lips?
22 Lilu: No.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

Here I read Cathy as 'othering' a Russian greeting practice, as defining Russians as odd and unusual, as deviant to the norms available to her. In Cathy's negotiation of difference here, the us/them divide appears to remain undisturbed, with 'self' constituting what is normal and natural. I recognise Lilu in this data extract as refusing to take up the position of deviant 'other' created for her by Cathy. I recognise Lilu as doing so by disidentifying with the practice ("that's weird for me" line 15), but also by struggling to make what is familiar and normal to her, familiar to Cathy as well (lines 18-20). Lilu appears to be struggling to create a space in which Cathy can arrive at a meaningful synthesis of difference (Asher, 2005). I recognise this space that Cathy and Lilu try to create as an example of third space, a place in-between fixed categories, identifications, constructs. As I argue at the end of the chapter, these third spaces are not necessarily comfortable to negotiate in nor are they trouble-free and uncomplicated. Instead, as Bhabha (1994) puts it, they can be "antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable" (p. 2).

I perceived the pre-text analysis tasks of this unit as successful in creating spaces for students to examine the diversity of both familiar and foreign greetings. Moreover, the tasks appeared to introduce a focus on the complexity of practising greetings in New Times, in contexts where the local and the global merge. Tuahu,

for instance, drew attention to the way he practised both mainstream French greetings and traditional Tahitian greetings, and ways he has taken up new forms of verbal greetings in Australia, in particular, he said, colloquial expressions such as “G’day mate” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). I recognise Tuahu’s comments as significant in drawing attention to the way he is required to navigate between familiar and foreign practices.

Adhin too drew attention to his participation in intersecting local/global spaces. In the data excerpt I presented earlier, Adhin suggests that he uses the expression “How’s life?” (line 11) as a form of greeting in Australia. He later explained that this is, in fact, a translation of a common expression he uses in Indonesia. Here I recognise Adhin’s response as exemplifying a transfer of local knowledge to foreign spaces, exemplifying the transcultural nature of language and discourse in New Times (Luke, 2002). Adhin, Tuahu and other students’ responses suggested that this set of tasks had encouraged them to explore the variability of practising greetings in local/global contexts.

While Jae-ko, Chika and Popo were listing possible greetings in Japanese, Popo drew attention to the ways Japanese greetings are often contextualised as occurring only in formal situations. She suggested that she had previewed a textbook written for learners of Japanese and recognised that a stilted version of Japanese greetings was being constructed: “I read a Japanese textbook. It’s very strange for me. Japanese greeting was very polite, always very very polite in the book” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). Popo seems to be already aware of the failure of texts in capturing the diversity of greetings.

While-text analysis

My expectation with the while-text analysis tasks was that the students would draw on their earlier discussions of greetings to critique the construction produced in the text I had selected for analysis. I had assumed that these tasks could encourage students to question the ways stereotypical representations of cultural practices are taken up in the text and the ways this helps stereotypes become taken for granted and natural.

Table 25: Student groupings for while-text analysis tasks

Student groupings		
Jae-ko, Popo, Chika	Adhin, Cathy, Tuahu	Jeon, Lilu, Tolib

6. Who produces *ELT* textbooks? 7. Who are they produced for? For you? 8. What are these pictures aimed at teaching?

The first three while-text analysis tasks were intended to emphasise that texts are produced by particular groups of people to achieve particular effects, the view that texts are not natural or neutral. The students appeared to be familiar with producers of *ELT* textbooks, suggesting “Cambridge” (Adhin, classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2) and “Oxford” (Jae-ko, classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2) as possible publishers. I had anticipated such familiarity based on the assumption that these students had been learning English for a number of years in EFL contexts and had probably already been exposed to various *ELT* textbooks. The students also recognised that as EFL learners they might constitute the ideal audience of this unit:

- 1 Mehtap: Who are these texts produced for?
 - 2 Popo: Students.
 - 3 Adhin: Students.
 - 4 Mehtap: What kind of students?
 - 5 Cathy: International students.
 - 6 Mehtap: Yeah, maybe. So would you be the readers of these texts?
 - 7 Lilu: Yeah I would.
 - 8 Adhin: Yes, we are international students.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

Unlike some of the texts of module 1, this particular text appeared to be identified by the students as relevant to their learning, which suggests that students might have more investment in participating in its analysis.

The students identified the title of the text (“when we say hello”) as well as the images of people shaking hands and bowing as clues to what the textbook unit is aiming to teach. Cathy suggested recognition of the unit’s aim as teaching “the

different ways to say greeting somebody around the world” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). Other students suggested a similar recognition:

- 1 Popo: To teach the difference between=
 2 Chika: All culture different
 3 Popo: Culture
 4 Jae-ko: How different
 5 Chika: Different greeting?
 6 Jae-ko: Greeting?
 7 Chika: I think.
 8 Jae-ko: Greeting in the world.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

9. Do these pictures reflect the diversity of greetings that you have just been discussing?

I was particularly interested in students’ responses to this task as it was here that I intended to contrast the narrowness of the version of greetings produced in the textbook with the variety and complexity of greetings students had suggested earlier.

Most of the students in class responded to this task in ways that suggested that they recognised that the text did not capture the diversity of greetings. In one group, for instance, Popo, Chika and Jae-ko suggested that the text was producing a stereotypical (lines 2-5) and limited view of greetings (lines 8-10):

- 1 Jae-ko: [*reads the task out loud*]
 2 Popo: ... Just only typical scenes.
 3 Chika: Exactly what she [*referring to Popo*] said. Stereotype.
 4 Yeah, just stereotype in their life, what they do.
 5 Popo: Yeah just typical things.
 6 Chika: We can always add European situation kissing and
 7 hugging.
 8 Popo: ... It’s not all.
 9 Chika: Just it’s not enough
 10 Jae-ko: Not enough.
 11 Popo: ... and ... also for Japanese we said we sometimes shake
 12 hands.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

The students here appear to recognise that the text excludes particular constructions of realities: Chika suggests broadening the text’s definition of European (lines 6, 7)

and Popo appears to extend the practice of shaking hands beyond the text's German category (lines 11, 12). I recognise these responses as attempts to include more variability in the text's construction, which is precisely what I had hoped for. Also, Popo's use of "we said" (line 11) suggests to me that she is drawing on earlier class discussions.

Jae-ko contributes little to the discussion above, only appearing to agree that the text's construction of greetings is problematic (line 10). However, in a journal entry submitted the following week, Jae-ko presented a rather extensive reading of the text. He too appeared to recognise the failure of this construction to capture the diversity of greetings and appeared to argue for a more complex conceptualisation of Asian and western greetings:

Someone said about those pictures like this "a bow's picture is the Asia area and a handshake is the west area". I don't think so. I'm disagree because probably that person don't know all of Asians greetings and also the west too. ... I can't agree with it. It was a shallow thought. Anyway those pictures were not enough information. (journal entry, module 2)

In another group, I recognised Cathy and Adhin as also questioning the construction of greetings in mutually exclusive categories:

1	Cathy:	<i>[reads out loud the sentence 'In Germany we shake hands' in the text]</i> We can't identify the country because there are
2		many countries that shake hands
3		
4	Adhin:	Yes, these two pictures are different. One is western one's
5		Japan. For this one <i>[referring to the handshake]</i> I think not
6		only western people but also Asian do this.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

Both Cathy and Adhin appear to problematise the way the text has confined a particular greeting practice within particular borders. Their responses suggest that they recognise the fluidity and complexity of the practice of greeting. In this group Tuahu did not participate in the discussion.

The group in which the least discussion occurred was Jeon, Lilu and Tolib's group. Jeon appeared to focus exclusively on the construction of a stereotypical Asian

category. In his response in the excerpt below, he seems to put under scrutiny the homogeneity assumed in this construction:

- 1 Jeon: I want to say I don't know this picture Korea. I can't say
 2 this is Korea because they [*referring to the picture in the*
 3 *text*] keep their hands on their sides but whenever we bow
 4 we have hands on our stomach
 5 Lilu: But it says Japanese here anyway.
 6 Popo: [*overhears this conversation*] No, but ... sometimes we
 7 bow this like, but sometimes ... we bow with our hands in
 front of body.

(classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2)

Jeon appears to be trying to disrupt the stereotypical version of Asian greetings produced in the text. He constructs Korean greeting practices as distinct to Asian practices, which I recognise as an attempt to draw attention to the complexity and diversity within Asian practices. Lilu, on the other hand, points out to Jeon that it is not Koreans who are implicated in this construction. She does not seem to share Jeon's concern with the static representation of Asians. Meanwhile, Popo, who at the time was engaged in a discussion in her own group, overheard this exchange. I read Popo's response to Lilu here as another attempt to question the narrow version of bowing constructed in the text. The discussion in this group did not continue after Popo's comment.

In Lilu's response above I do not recognise an attempt to call for a broader, more complex construction of greetings. However, for at least some of the other students, I perceive this particular task as having created conceptual spaces to explore and question the ways cultural groups and their practices are stabilised in opposing categories, underplaying the complexity of cultural practices. I recognise this awareness as valuable in participating in times of temporal and spatial variability.

10. Why has the textbook producer included these pictures?

With this task I wanted to focus explicitly on the textbook producer's intentions in choosing to include this particular construction. I expected students to examine the discourses that might have been available to the textbook producer.

In order to provide students with the time to reflect on their responses and to work on any linguistic difficulties they might have when formulating these responses, I set this task as homework to be completed in their journals. Five students submitted journals with their responses recorded in them, while the remaining four students claimed they had forgotten to do it.

In the journal entries submitted, Popo and Jeon appeared to attribute the inclusion of a simplistic construction in this textbook to the lack of the textbook producer's knowledge and expertise. In their journal extracts below, both students identify western societies as the text's producers and appear to question the eurocentric assumptions of the west in assuming the authority to produce and circulate representations of others:

Maybe the textbooks are made by western people and they have an image but it is just an image. The greeting ways are changed depending on person or generations. (Popo, journal entry, module 2)

This textbook could be made by English people ... However, this textbook might give the students wrong information. Actually they [*textbook producers*] don't know what the exact character is about the people of another country. (Jeon, journal entry, module 2)

What is also significant in these two students' responses is that, as I argued in my analysis of module 1, they contest the misconception put forward in CDA literature by Fox, (1994), Warren (1996) and others that Asian students are obedient to all forms of authority. Jeon and Popo's responses suggest to me that they do not take as natural the truth produced in a text. These students do not seem to be at a cultural disadvantage that could prevent them from engaging in a critical dialogue with a text. To the contrary, here I recognise these students as challenging the knowledge produced in a text and the authority of its producers to do so. I recognise them as resisting taking up a submissive reader position (Kumaravadivelu, 2003), as possibly drawing on a critical cultural awareness.

Tolib had remained silent throughout class discussions. However, the journal task appears to have provided him with the space to reflect on the text's construction:

I think they just take a simple way to show the diversity. They suppose by two different pictures that represent two different cultures are enough to explain us the culture diversity. It was possible the authors expect our creativeness to look for and discuss other cultures. (journal entry, module 2)

Here it seems that Tolib questions the simplification of diversity in the text. However, rather than attribute this to the textbook producers' lack of knowledge and presumptuous attitude, as Popo and Jeon appeared to do, Tolib suggests it is the readers' responsibility to complement any possible gaps or faults in the text. In this way, he appears to partially relieve text producers of responsibility in mobilising particular discourses and circulating particular worldviews.

Tuahu had also not participated in class discussions but attempted to respond to the task in his journal. Here he appears to draw attention to the differences in the ages between the pairs practising greetings in the text. He wrote:

The paper [*referring to the text analysed*] shows just two ways of greeting. ... For the picture of westerners these two persons are old whereas the Asians are young. I don't know what it means but they take very bad examples. In fact, if you want to show different ways of greeting, first the same age for all people is more appropriate. In all countries the ways of greeting change compared with the age of people. (journal entry, module 2)

Tuahu appears to suggest that differences in greeting practices are not necessarily due to cultural differences but might also be because of differences in age. His use of "just two ways" and "they take very bad examples" suggests that he perceives the text's construction of greetings as problematic but he does not appear to be able to explain his argument ("I don't know what it means").

Drawing on students' responses to the tasks and journal entries, it seems that for most students the while-text analysis tasks in this unit encouraged an examination of the ways societies are locked into particular ways of performing. The tasks

appeared to highlight the contrast between static constructions of cultural practices and the ways students' relations and experiences are increasingly becoming more blended and complex. Most students also seemed to recognise that a binary construction of difference fails to capture the fluidity of 'self' and 'other' practices.

The only student who did not appear to find the text's construction problematic was Lilu. Her response to the final while-text analysis task was:

I think he [*textbook producer*] has put them there because he might have divided the world into two parts: European greetings and Asian greetings. He has done a lot of studies about that subject and just picked up the most common things on the greetings. I cannot agree with people who say that the author did not know enough about what he was writing about. (journal entry, module 2)

Lilu's entry suggests that she perceives a binary division of the world into "European" and "Asian" as natural and unproblematic. She does not appear to perceive any reason to doubt the text producer's knowledge or intentions, suggesting that she might assume text producers as unquestionable authorities in producing unquestionable truths. Lilu appears to be making sense of the text and the world it is producing by taking up a binary logic, the very discourse I had intended the unit to challenge.

Post-text analysis: Scan through these textbooks. Do any of them capture the diversity of greetings?

This task was responded to in a subsequent lesson, after students had had time to respond to the final while-analysis task in their journals. The purpose of the post-text analysis task was to provide students with the space to examine alternative constructions to that produced in the texts analysed and those available to them. I worked with the assumption that it is necessary to move beyond deconstruction of realities, beyond identifying gaps and faults, to exploring productive uses of power (Luke, 2002; Luke et al., 1996). That is, I wanted to emphasise that more equitable and complex constructions of realities and relations can be produced in textbooks.

For these purposes I distributed various ELT textbooks for students to analyse in groups and asked them to discuss whether they believed any of the pictures in these texts captured cultural diversity. My expectation here was not for students to reach a consensus about either of the textbooks analysed but rather to explore the possibility that other versions of greetings can be constructed, some of which might include more diversity and variability than others. The students continued to work in the same groups as in the while-text analysis tasks (see Table 25).

After students scanned through these textbooks, several of them identified the textbook *Handshake* (Viney & Viney, 1996) as one that attempted to capture diversity. Adhin suggested that “we have discussed all kind of greeting here just like these pictures” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). Tolib added “because all are here. Different kinds of greeting, shake hand, kiss, bow, nod head” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). Cathy too appeared to agree: “yep. We said number 4 [*referring to the textbook Handshake*] because it has just all we discussed, kissing, shaking hands, hugging, everything” (classroom transcript, Unit 2, module 2). It seems that for these students *Handshake* incorporated the range of greeting practices they illustrated earlier in the unit. Jeon, however, appeared to be ambivalent with this selection. He shrugged his shoulders, as if to suggest he was not content with the choice, but did not suggest an alternative text. Lilu and Tuahu remained silent too.

In module 1 I had asked students to complete the post-text analysis tasks of most of the units as homework, which had resulted in most appearing to forget to do it. Completing the post-text analysis tasks during class hours, as I did in this unit, appeared to be more successful in providing students with access to alternative constructions of the topic. This task was designed with the expectation that students would recognise the text they had analysed with the while-text analysis tasks as failing to capture diversity and hybridity and, therefore, that they would be interested in seeking alternative constructions. Therefore, for students like Lilu, who did not read the text’s construction as problematic, or like Tuahu, who responded to few of the tasks in the unit, seeking alternatives to the text might not have been relevant.

I have limited data on the meanings Tuahu made of the text, tasks and his classmates' readings in this unit as he voiced his opinions only in a journal entry. At the end of module 2 in the feedback form I distributed, however, Tuahu expressed his view about the unit. He wrote: "The topic [*of Unit 2*] was original and how other people are greeting interested me very much. I had never asked me how the other person's greeted" (feedback form, module 2). I read this comment as suggesting that this unit had encouraged Tuahu to reflect on his existing assumptions of an everyday cultural practice. It appears to have raised his interest in exploring an everyday practice like greetings, which might also raise an awareness of the hybridity, complexity and heterogeneity of familiar and foreign, local and global cultural practices. What is significant about Tuahu's comment is that I had made sense of his silence in group and class discussions as a sign of non-participation, as suggesting lack of interest. Without the feedback form I might have continued to construct him as an indifferent learner.

Unit 2 was one of the units in the program that I enjoyed teaching the most. I perceive this unit as having achieved most of the aims I had set. For instance, in this unit I believe that the pre-while-post text analysis sequence achieved for most students the intended shift from exploring the complexity and variability of practices that one experiences, to contrasting this with a stereotypical version constructed in a text, and finally to exploring alternatives to this construction. What might have contributed to the success of the unit could be the relevance of the topic to students' everyday experiences and their familiarity with the type of text I had selected. In this unit I recognise some students questioning the essentialisation of greetings and arguing for diversity and complexity. In this sense, I would argue that the unit had the potential to open up spaces for the development of critical cultural awareness for many of the students.

Unit 3: Analysing the construction of 'Australianness' in *Crocodile Dundee*

In Unit 3 I chose for analysis the construction of Australian men in the film *Crocodile Dundee*. In module 1 I had designed Units 2 and 3 with the intention of encouraging students to examine the ways Australians were being defined in two

different texts. However, as I claimed in my analyses of these units, it seemed that the students did not recognise the stereotypic underpinnings of these texts. As I argued then, one possible reason for students' failure to recognise the narrow and static construction of Australian men and women in the two texts might have been that these two texts were produced for the consumption of an Australian audience. In other words, these students did not constitute the ideal readership of the texts and, hence, the texts and the realities they produced might have been of little relevance and interest to students.

This unit of module 2 is another attempt to encourage students to analyse versions of Australians produced in texts. I recognised *Crocodile Dundee* as a film produced for an international audience, and assumed that the students might be members of this global entertainment market. I hoped that with the tasks I had selected (see Table 26 below) students would be able to recognise and question the way the film circulated and reinforced 'Australianness' as rough and tough and as existing in outback Australia.

Pre-text analysis

I was aware that some of the students might have already watched this film whereas others might not have even heard its name. Therefore, I included this task with the intention of encouraging those familiar with the film to reflect on what they already know about it, and for those who had not watched it before, to familiarise them with the theme of the film. I asked the students to respond to this task as a whole class to avoid those not familiar with the film being in the same group and not being able to respond to the task.

Chika, Popo and Tolib suggested that they were familiar with the name of the film but had not watched it ("I don't know. I just heard the film", Tolib, classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2). In an attempt to provide information about the film Lilu suggested "it's like Indiana Jones" (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2), suggesting possible recognition of the way both Indiana Jones and *Crocodile Dundee* equate masculinity with physical strength, courage and adventure. Tuahu proposed another reading of the film, suggesting that the main character in the film

“is like Don Juan” (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2). Tuahu’s response suggests that he recognises a flirtatious, sexually desired Australian masculinity being produced in the film *Crocodile Dundee*. The students, however, did not appear to recognise the analogy Tuahu was making. The task appeared to succeed in providing introductory information about the film to some students, and for other students seemed to initiate reflection of they already knew about it.

Table 26: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 3, module 2

Student groupings	- Adhin, Tolib, Tuahu - Chika, Popo - Jeon, Lilu	Absent: Cathy Jae-ko
Objectives	- to question the mass circulation of a particular construction of Australian men, - to recognise alternative constructions of Australian men.	
Pre-text analysis		
1. What do you know about <i>Crocodile Dundee</i> ?		
While-text analysis		
2. As you watch the episode from <i>Crocodile Dundee</i> make a list of Mick Dundee’s characteristics under these headings: - Appearance - Behaviour - Language - Hobbies/Pastime		
3. Does Mick Dundee reflect your observations of Australian men in Sunny Hill? Is so, in what ways? If not, what information has been excluded?		
4. Why did the film producers choose to use this particular image in the film?		
5. Think about a viewer of <i>Crocodile Dundee</i> who has never been to Australia or met an Australian. What effect could the film have on the viewer?		
Post-text analysis		
6. Imagine that the Ministry of Tourism in your home country has asked you to produce a brochure to introduce Australia. a. Would you include images of <i>Crocodile Dundee</i> ? Why/Why not? b. What kind of pictures and information would you include about Australia and Australians in the brochure?		

While-text analysis

In the recording of the while-text analysis tasks, a problem appears to have occurred with the microphone recording Popo and Chika’s responses. The data I have of Popo consist of classroom notes I took during the unit as well as Popo’s responses which were picked up by the other two microphones placed around the classroom.

Even though these are limited data, it has given me some insights into the meanings Popo made of the unit, the text and the tasks. With Chika, however, I do not have records of any of her responses to the tasks. I do not seem to have recorded any of her responses in my classroom notes, nor have her responses been recorded by another microphone. Chika often spoke with a very soft voice, which means that neither the electronic equipment in class nor I were able to hear her responses.

2. As you watch the episode from *Crocodile Dundee* make a list of Mick Dundee's characteristics under these headings: - Appearance - Behaviour - Language - Hobbies/ Pastime

The students watched a 20 minute episode of *Crocodile Dundee*. I asked them to take notes under the four categories I listed in the task as they watched the film and then to share their responses with group members. All the students appeared to respond to the task, with some taking notes as they watched the film and others completing the task after viewing the film.

In one group, Adhin, Tolib and Tuahu responded to the task in the following way:

- 1 Adhin: Appearance?
 - 2 Tuahu: Blonde, white, blonde hair.
 - 3 Adhin: And strong, big
 - 4 Tolib: Yes, he is strong [*curls his arm and points to his biceps*]
 - 5 Adhin: Behaviour? I didn't write this one.
 - 6 Tolib: What does it mean, behaviour?
 - 7 Adhin: Maybe I thought like lazy, he is lazy. I don't know...
 - 8 Tolib: Language I think is slang, Australian slang.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

These three students appear to recognise that a “white”, “strong” version of Australian men is produced in the film. In another group, Popo and Chika suggest a similar recognition, identifying Mick Dundee as a “white” (Popo) “strong” (Chika) man who “drinks beer” (Chika). These are the responses I expected, responses which suggest recognition of whiteness and physical strength being associated with Australian men. I hoped that in later tasks this recognition could lead to students' awareness that the text's construction of Australian men is not the only version available.

Although I had observed both Lilu and Jeon taking notes in response to this task, they did not discuss their responses:

- 1 Lilu: What do you think Jeon?
 2 Jeon: No idea.
 3 Lilu: No idea? ... [*speaks into the microphone*] He says no idea.
 4 Jeon: I don't know Crocodile Dundee. Who is he?
 (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

Jeon (line 4) seems to be claiming that he is not familiar with Crocodile Dundee, although to me he had appeared to watch 20 minutes of it and had written down what I perceived to be responses to the task. Jeon's response here can be read in a number of ways. It can suggest that Jeon might not be aware that the task he is asked to respond to is based on his viewing of the film. Or, with this response Jeon might be suggesting that he has not gained enough insights into this film to be able to produce a response about it. Or, in fact, Jeon might be sarcastic here, implying that he has no interest in responding to the task. Whatever the reason is, Jeon does not respond to the task and neither does Lilu.

3. Does Mick Dundee reflect your observations of Australian men in Sunny Hill? Is so, in what ways? If not, what information has been excluded?

In this task I expected students to recognise that the variety of Australian men in Sunny Hill is not captured by the character Mick Dundee. For this purpose I asked the students to compare their recognition of the version of Australian men produced in the film with their observations of Australian men in Sunny Hill. I realised that students might not have observations or experiences to draw on to respond to this task, which is what I had observed in module 1. In module 1, I had asked students to make similar comparisons before they analysed the texts. Therefore, in this unit, I asked students to make comparisons after they viewed the film, hoping that seeing and hearing versions of Australia and Australians in the film might help them notice familiar aspects as well as the differences between their lived realities of Australia and that constructed in the film.

In Popo and Chika's group, Popo responded: "he [*Mick Dundee*] likes look bloke" (classroom notes, Unit 3, module 2). Popo appears to be drawing on the analysis of

Australian men the students had carried out in Unit 2 of module 1, where some students had suggested recognition that Australian men were being constructed as dominant over women, as lazy and interested only in alcohol and sports. Her response here in this particular task of module 2 suggests that she recognises a similar construction of Australian men being produced in *Crocodile Dundee*. She appears to recognise that a similar stereotype underpins the construction of Australia and Australians in the film.

In another group, Adhin, Tolib and Tuahu appeared to make comparisons between what they observed in the film and their observations of everyday life in Sunny Hill and suggested several differences and similarities:

- 1 Adhin: Beer foot is excluded I think
 - 2 Tuahu: Beer foot? What is that?
 - 3 Adhin: [*after asking me for linguistic help*] Bare foot. Bare foot.
 - 4 Tuahu: Ahh, ok.
 - 5 Tolib: In Sunny Hill always men wear slipper or sandals.
 - 6 Adhin: Sandals yes. Not slipper, it's different.
 - 7 Tolib: Also white. In the film *Crocodile Dundee* also is white.
 - 8 Adhin: And young?
 - 9 Tuahu: Not young. He's not young [*laughs*]
 - 10 Tolib: And the language is same, always slang. Aussie English.
 - 11 Adhin: Having fun. Friendly
 - 12 Tolib: But he [*Mick Dundee*] is not friendly.
 - 13 Adhin: Maybe fishing. Does he like fishing? I don't know.
- (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

I read these students' list of observations as suggesting recognition that while the film captures some of their observations of Australian men in Sunny Hill, such as whiteness (line 7) and language (line 10), it fails to include other characteristics these students seem to have observed, such as style of clothing (lines 3, 6) and personality (line 12). I read these students' responses as significant in suggesting their awareness that *Crocodile Dundee* is not the only possible version of Australian men and that there are alternative ways of being an Australian man.

Jeon and Lilu responded to the task by suggesting a similar observation of men walking bare feet in Sunny Hill:

-
- 1 Lilu: Australian men like walking with bare feet but=
 2 Jeon: Bare feet? What does that mean?
 3 Lilu: Ahh bare, it means without shoes on your feet
 4 Jeon: Ahh, yes, you're right. Like naked. ... also Australian men
 5 wear short pants and short shirt.
 6 Lilu: Yeah, many people wear shorts because it's so hot.
 7 Jeon: And long, long
 8 Lilu: Tall, you mean tall?
 9 Jeon: Tall and wide body.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

These students continue the discussion in the extract above by listing more of their observations of Australian male bodies. While the task appeared to encourage Jeon and Lilu to reflect on their existing assumptions and observations of Australians, it does not seem to have created a context for them to compare these observations with the versions of Australians produced in the film. Their discussion appeared to focus solely on their perceptions of the appearance of Australian men without any explicit comparisons made with *Crocodile Dundee*. In the previous task Jeon had suggested unfamiliarity with *Crocodile Dundee* ("I don't know *Crocodile Dundee*. Who is he?"), which might help explain why this group does not appear to make references to the film in their responses.

4. Why did the film producers choose to use this particular image in the film?

With this task I intended to introduce a focus on the interests underlying text production. I wanted students to examine the motives underpinning the film producers' choice in including this particular construction of Australia and Australian men.

In one group, the students appeared to perceive the circulation of a white, primitive, outback Australia as neutral and beneficial:

- 1 Adhin: Because this stereotype is general, I mean that person, the
 2 Australian stereotype in general ...
 3 Tuahu: Maybe to make advise for Australian
 4 Adhin: To show the world Because in general Australian like
 5 that
 6 Tuahu: To represent
 7 Adhin: To represent the stereotype... to show the world.
 8 Tuahu: The whole world will know the Australian culture

- 9 Adhin: Yeah. They try to imitate the person, the Australian.
(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

Here Adhin (lines 2, 4, 5) appears to recognise stereotypical constructions as representative of Australians, as reflecting a truth about Australians while Tuahu (line 8) seems to assume that the film will quite innocently introduce and provide neutral information about Australia and Australians. These two students appear to be aware that the text is drawing on stereotypes but I do not recognise any of their responses as suggesting that they perceive this take up as problematic. Tolib did not respond to this task.

In Jeon and Lilu's group, Jeon was called out of the classroom by an ELICOS administrative staff member before he could respond to the task. I told Lilu that she could join another group for this task but she preferred to wait for Jeon to return. Jeon returned towards the end of the task when the students were reporting summaries of their answers to each other. Although Lilu had not had the opportunity to discuss her response to the task with anyone in class, she reported to the class that she believed that the film producers' sole interest in choosing to include this particular construction of Australian men was: "I just thought of it that main idea was money, could be. They [*text producers*] didn't think about anything else". Lilu did not provide further explanation for her response but it seems that she recognises the material interests underlying text production. In Unit 2 of this module Lilu had suggested an awareness that texts are natural and neutral productions whereas in this unit she appears to be aware that texts are produced to achieve particular purposes. In the module she appears to shift between various meaning-making positions, from taking up the position of a naïve consumer of texts, as in Unit 2, to interrogating text producers' intents, as in this unit. With different texts, different discourses appear to be available to her.

In Chika and Popo's group, Popo proposed her reading of the text producers' intentions as: "I thought the film *Crocodile Dundee* looks like cowboys. ... American cowboy films are famous, so Australian cowboy can be famous too" (classroom notes, Unit 3, module 2). Similar to my reading of Lilu's response, here I recognise Popo as aware that the film's production of Australian men as tough

country men is intentionally done for financial gains. Popo appears to suggest that the text producers wanted to capitalise on the American western film industry, which had already been established and proved successful. She implies that the producers of *Crocodile Dundee* imitated north American films with the assumption that it will be to their financial benefit. Popo's recognition exemplifies Hall's (1997) description of "the new kind of globalization ... [being] American" (p. 178), a globalisation dominated by visual and graphic images of north America. Popo appears to be already participating in such a global context.

5. Think about a viewer of Crocodile Dundee who has never been to Australia or met an Australian. What effect could the film have on the viewer?

The purpose of this task was to draw students' attention to the way the film helped to circulate and naturalise assumptions of Australian men as white, tough and adventurous. I was aware that discussing the implications of texts' productions of reality was responded to the least in module 1 and, therefore, asked the class to respond to this task as a whole class. I assumed that discussions could die out in groups where none of the students can respond to a task and, therefore, to encourage more students to participate, I asked the class to respond altogether. However, again the task of discussing the real life implications of texts generated few responses from students, with only two students responding to the task.

Tolib was the first student to speculate on the effects that the text's version of reality might have on viewers. He suggested awareness that the text produces a limited view of Australia and Australians:

- | | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 1 | Tolib: | Maybe the person who never came here to Australia he |
| 2 | | thinks Australians is like <i>Crocodile Dundee</i> . They never |
| 3 | | assume that an Australian is have rich continent and maybe |
| 4 | | they don't think in Australia have aborigine so they only |
| 5 | | think Australians is like not far from America maybe. |
| 6 | Lilu: | Actually, the first time I seen it I knew only a little bit |
| 7 | | about Australia. But when I saw this movie I wanted to |
| 8 | | watch it again because it doesn't show big cities because |
| 9 | | they are so similar. And because it shows the outback, the |
| 10 | | nature. |
| 11 | | ... |
| 12 | | and because it shows aboriginals and what they eat and |

13 how white people, European people, how do they behave
 14 when they put in that conditions, like how does the girl [*the*
 15 *journalist from New York*] behave when she is put in that
 16 condition. She is afraid of everything. So I watched it over
 17 and over again because I liked to see how the people, they
 18 are both white people and from outback.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

These two students produce different readings of the possible real-life effects of *Crocodile Dundee* on viewers. Tolib appears to recognise that the text fails to capture the diversity of Australians (line 4), which can lead viewers to assume a homogenous Australian population. He appears to recognise that viewers of the film would be misled with the reality produced in the film (lines 3, 5). This is a reading I perceived to be desirable in that it suggests recognition that the circulation of essentialised realities can help to naturalise them.

Lilu, on the other hand, appears to draw on her own experiences of being a viewer of the film and the effects it had on her assumptions of Australia and Australians. Lilu's response suggests that she recognises the film as incorporating the diversity of urban and rural life in Australia by avoiding city scenes and focusing on the Australian outback (lines 8-10). She appears to recognise the racial diversity of Australians being captured in the film (lines 17, 18). With this response Lilu does not appear to have taken up assumptions of Australians and life in Australia as homogenous, as rough and primitive as a result of watching the film, which is the effect I had assumed the film could have on first time viewers. Instead, she appears to have been attracted to the complexity and variability of life in Australia, which she argues, is produced by the film. This is a reading I had not anticipated.

Earlier in a journal entry, Lilu had written about her perceptions of Australians and English speaking people. She wrote that the reason why she decided to study English in Australia is because

I just like very much, no would even say, I love listening to people speaking English. ... All these things create the magnetic world of English. ... I know the reason why I like so much to listen to the people: because I admire them and I hope I will be able to speak English one day in that way. (journal entry, module 2)

It appears that Lilu's fascination with and admiration of life in Australia, or any other English speaking country, might have contributed to her gaining an understanding of the diversity and complexity of life in Australia upon viewing the film. In other words, the film might have reinforced her appreciation of Australia and Australians, reiterating her bias in favour of Australians. What is significant in Lilu's response to this task is that she exemplifies that in the same way that the meanings made of any text cannot be homogenous, neither are the effects of texts on viewers. This is, however, an awareness I gained only after analysing the data.

Jeon brought a different focus to the task. Both Tolib and Lilu mentioned Australian Aboriginals in their responses to the task. Jeon appears to pick up on their comments and adds his view on the status of Australian Aboriginals in mainstream Australian society:

- | | | |
|----|--------|--|
| 1 | Jeon: | I don't think Aboriginals are Australian. |
| 2 | Lilu: | They are, they are [<i>other students repeat "they are"</i>] |
| 3 | Jeon: | I know they are but= |
| 4 | Adhin: | =Maybe Indonesia and Australian one land but they |
| 5 | | separate [<i>Adhin explains how a group of people in</i> |
| 6 | | <i>Indonesia look alike Australian Aboriginals.</i>] |
| 7 | Jeon: | I know, but I thought most white Australians, English |
| 8 | | Australians. They say original people. Original Australians |
| 9 | | they mention. They don't say actually Aborigine |
| 10 | | Australians, they say just Aborigine people. |
- (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

Although this is not a response to the task, I recognise Jeon's comments above as significant in that here Jeon appears to be examining the implications of the choice of a particular phrase ("Aborigine people", line 10) in reference to a group of people ("Aborigine Australians", lines 9, 10). He appears to be aware that the exclusion of the word "Australians" when referring to Australian Aboriginals serves to marginalise this group of people as 'other' to Australian and helps to naturalise assumptions that Australians are exclusively white (line 7). I recognise Jeon as aware that the choice to include a particular word or image in a text has real effects on real people. This is the type of awareness I had hoped the task would encourage, and although Jeon does not respond directly to the task, I recognise him as suggesting such an awareness. Jeon's comment here is significant in that it is the

first instance in the data I have analysed so far of module 1 and module 2 where I recognise Jeon as questioning the essentialisation of an ‘other’ cultural group.

Post-text analysis: Imagine that the Ministry of Tourism in your home country has asked you to produce a brochure to introduce Australia ...

The post-text analysis task was aimed at providing students with a context to reconstruct Australian realities, to produce an alternative version of ‘Australianness’ to that in the film. I asked the students to initially discuss their responses in groups, to decide if they could jointly produce such a brochure and then to commence designing their posters. I distributed sheets of coloured paper to each student for the brochures. The task, however, did not appear to achieve the purpose I had aimed for. In fact, other than Jeon’s one line response to the task below (line 1), the task was not responded to.

After giving the task instructions to the students, Jeon was the first student to respond. It appears that this is the only task in the unit which Jeon responded to. In his response below he appears to construct Australians as lazy and inactive, a categorisation Lilu does not appear to agree with.

- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 1 | Jeon: | Australian is lying on bed or lying on chair or lie on beach |
| 2 | Lilu: | Jeon, they work sometimes . |
| 3 | Jeon: | I know but= |
| 4 | Lilu: | =like every night. |
| 5 | Jeon: | But they don’t keep the promise. |
| 6 | Lilu: | Really. |
| 7 | Jeon; | If I made a promise to do something for 3 o’clock, they do |
| 8 | | it normally half past three. They don’t keep their word |
| 9 | Lilu: | But just because some people |
| 10 | Jeon: | Almost all do like this. |

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

In this extract, Jeon appears to be producing an essentialised, monolithic construction of Australians, one which I recognise as based on stereotypical assumptions. He appears to be defining Australians as lazy (line 1) and untrustworthy (lines 5, 8), and appears to recognise no variation from this definition (line 10). I read Lilu as attempting to draw to Jeon’s attention that his construction might be only one of several versions of Australians (line 9).

Adhin appears to support Lilu's argument by adding that "maybe some Australians like that, like lazy or something, but not all Australians lazy. This is only my opinion. I don't want people to generalise" (classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2). Adhin too appears to recognise that the category of Australians is multiple and complex, and that it is not fair to generalise into a collective mass. However, Jeon resumes his initial construction of Australians as lazy and argues:

- 1 Jeon: I have bad experiences about the Aussie guy.
 2 Lilu: Really? I like them. I do not agree that they are lazy. They
 3 just know how to relax.
- 4 So I don't think they are lazy. Just a stereotype.
 5 Jeon: Just the stereotype? It's lazy, Australians are lazy.
 6 Lilu: No. it's just because you come here and you've learned
 7 that they are all lazy, that they don't do anything, so you go
 8 on the streets=
 9 Jeon: =lazy not mean that they do not anything. That's not lazy.
 10 Work=
 11 Lilu: =so what?
 12 Jeon: Work here is from 9 o'clock to 2 o'clock. They spend
 13 almost 6 hours. They work for 6 hours, after that they stop
 14 it. They don't care.
- 15 That's my belief about Aussie guy, very slow compared to
 16 another country, very slow. If you were in Korea or, I don't
 17 know, any place, you can buy something any time, 24
 18 hours.

(classroom transcript, Unit 3, module 2)

Lilu appears to recognise that Jeon is making a generalisation based on a stereotype available to him (lines 6-8). She attempts to point out to him that this is a stereotype and not a fact (line 4). However, Jeon appears to assume that his construction of Australians, his experiences and observations, are normal, are a reflection of a truth (line 5). Here it seems that 'self' practices and assumptions about work and leisure familiar to Jeon set the norm (lines 16-18), marking the 'other' as defective and abnormal. The awareness Jeon suggested of the 'othering' of Australian Aboriginals in the previous task does not appear to be available to Jeon in this task. So far in this module, Jeon suggested awareness of the complexity and diversity of 'self' and of Australian Aboriginals, a minority like himself in Australia. However, mainstream

Australians appear to remain different and deviant to him. I do not so far recognise a critical cultural awareness being available to Jeon.

Unit 4: Analysing constructions of men in fathers' day catalogues

The text type I chose for analysis in Unit 4 was fathers' day junk mail catalogues. In these catalogues I recognised Australia being constructed as a homogenous, white, middle class society, giving the impression that non-mainstream bodies, practices and interests are non-existent. I perceive these texts to be problematic in that the complexity of the make-up of Australian society – the cultural and ethnic hybridity and diversity experienced due to migration, social and economic globalisation – is ignored. With the list of tasks in Table 27, I aimed to encourage students to recognise this construction as representing a particular section of society and to question the messages the text produces about what constitutes normal and natural in Australia.

Table 27: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 4, module 2

Student groupings	- Jeon, Lilu, Popo - Cathy, Jae-ko, Adhin, Tolib	Absent: Tuahu, Chika
Objectives	- to question a homogenous, Anglo-ethnic construction of Australia, - to recognise the plurality of cultural practices, identities, relations that make up Australia.	
Pre-text analysis		
1. What is a fathers' day catalogue?		
2. What would you expect to see in these catalogues?		
While-text analysis		
3. Look at these catalogues. What do these men look like? Describe them in terms of:		
-Appearance -Age -Skin colour -Interests		
4. Describe the men who are not included in these catalogues. Why are they not included?		
5. If you had seen Australian men only through these catalogues, what would be your impression of them?		
Post-text analysis		
I have arranged for you to interview a person to find out their views on Australians. Brainstorm the questions you would like to ask.		

Pre-text analysis

I had anticipated that the distribution of junk mail in relation to fathers' day might not be a familiar practice to all the students, and had assumed that, in such cases, the pre-text analysis tasks could familiarise students with these texts. The first task appeared to achieve the purpose of encouraging students to reflect on what they already know about the type of text to be analysed. It appeared that the phrase "fathers' day catalogue" (task 1) was not available to any of the students in class. However, upon browsing through the cover pages of samples of such catalogues, several students recognised these texts as "advertising material" (Popo, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2), suggesting "you can see these when it is mothers' day" (Cathy, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2). The availability of mothers' day practices, it appeared, was significant in helping some students make sense of fathers' day and related printed texts.

The second task also appeared to encourage exploration of the meanings students made of fathers' day and fathers' day catalogues. In one group, Jeon, Lilu and Popo focused on both mothers' and fathers' day practices and all three appeared to associate gift giving with these occasions. Popo and Lilu, for example, suggested that they might buy "flowers" (Popo, Lilu, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2) and "cards" (Lilu, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2) as gifts for their parents on mothers'/fathers' day. Jeon also suggested possible gifts he might give to his parents, but gave examples of possible non-commercial gifts he might make or buy: "I make food, massage and theatre tickets for my parents" (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2). He also added "but these gifts they cannot sell in these catalogue", suggesting recognition that fathers'/mothers' day catalogues are produced for the financial gains of text producers. Popo, Lilu and Jeon's responses suggested that these students were exploring and reflecting on the range of possible meanings and practices available to them in relation to the topic. Dialogue of this sort is what I expected the task to encourage.

The same task appeared to also encourage students in the other group to examine the readings they made of fathers' day practices. However, instead of listing a range of possible gifts they might find in the catalogues, as Jeon, Lilu and Popo did, the

students in this group appeared to question the take up of the practice of fathers' day and the relevance of analysing fathers' day:

- 1 Jae-ko: [*reads task 2 out loud*] I don't care about fathers' day.
 2 Cathy: What is it for? Just for presents? [Just once a year, thank
 3 you papa. ...
 4 Adhin: [... just for business.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

In this extract Jae-ko suggests that he is not interested in the study of fathers' day practices and Cathy seems to question the financial interests underlying the take up of fathers' day ("what is it for?", line 2). She suggests awareness of the consumerist discourses underpinning fathers' day practices ("just for presents?", line 2), which Adhin too appears to recognise ("just for business", line 4). I read their responses as disrupting the naturalness of the capitalist consumerist assumptions circulated around fathers' day. Perhaps due to these students' lack of interest in the topic, they did not further respond to this task. Tolib did not respond to the task.

In a journal entry submitted the following lesson, Adhin drew attention to the regional and familial variation in the practice of fathers' day in Indonesia, claiming that "not everyone knows it. For example, in Indonesia, depends on region, maybe the families" (journal entry, module 2). He exemplified this variability by suggesting that while fathers' day was a practice familiar to him, it was not practised by Tolib, who was also from Indonesia. I read Adhin's response as questioning assumptions of homogeneity in the practice of fathers' day.

What I recognise as significant in Adhin, Cathy and Jae-ko's responses to this task is that they situated the practice of fathers' day in a social and economic context and questioned the various discourses at play in its circulation. I read their responses as suggesting that they do not take as natural or neutral the practice of fathers' day. On the contrary, it appears that the practice was natural to me. I recognise now that when designing the tasks of this unit, I had assumed that the increasing take up of fathers' day practices around the world, a practice underpinned with western consumerist norms and expectations, was non-problematic. I had assumed that the practice of fathers' day or mothers' day was common and normal to all. I aimed to

disrupt the circulation of mainstream bodies and values through this particular practice, but did not aim to question the practice itself. Adhin, Cathy and Jae-ko, however, appear to be more aware than I was of a global mass consumerist culture (S. Hall, 1997). I recognise them as questioning the ways the practice of fathers' day is becoming normative in the world and resisting the ways the practice and associated texts position them as willing and naïve consumers.

While-text analysis

Students analysed four different fathers' day catalogues. The tasks were designed with the intention of encouraging students to recognise the texts' normative construction of Australians as an ethnically and socio-economically homogenous group and to question the implications of the mass circulation of this construction.

1. Look at these catalogues. What do these men look like? Describe them in terms of: Appearance, Age, Skin colour, Interests

For both groups of students, the task appeared to make visible the construction of Australian men as Anglo-ethnic, able-bodied, physically active and healthy. Upon receiving the task, one group responded:

- 1 Cathy: Appearance?
- 2 Jae-ko: They are tall, skinny, powerful
- 3 Cathy: Good looking
- 4 Jae-ko: Mostly young
- 5 Cathy: Yeah, normal
- 6 Adhin: General appearance, normal, normal man.
- 7 Cathy: They are pretty good looking.
- 8 Tolib: Well groomed, slender
- 9 Cathy; What about age?
- 10 Tolib: 20 to 60.
- 11 Cathy: I think younger, maybe 25-35 [*takes notes*]. Ok. And skin colour?
- 12
- 13 Jae-ko: White, American.
- 14 Cathy: Interests?
- 15 Jae-ko: Sport, work, fishing, camping.

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

These students' responses suggest that they were able to identify the way a particular image of Australian men was being created by the text. In this extract,

Cathy, Jae-ko and Tolib appear to recognise the text's construction of masculinity as fit (lines 2, 15), physically attractive (lines 3, 8), young (line 4) and white (line 13), a construction I had hoped students would recognise. Jeon, Lilu and Popo in the other group also suggested a similar recognition of the men as "white, clean and healthy" (Lilu, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2) and "young" (Jeon, classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2).

What remained vague in the extract above was Cathy and Adhin's use of the word "normal" (lines 5, 6). When asked to clarify what they meant by the use of this word, Cathy remained silent while Adhin repeated "normal". He appeared to be unable to supply a synonym or an equivalent expression that could express his understanding of the word. I read students' use of this word as suggesting that they might take for granted that able-bodied, fit, white men constitute the norm in Australia, an assumption I intended to investigate and disrupt by asking these students' to reflect on their use of this word. Their inability to clarify their use of the word, however, can also suggest that linguistic difficulties may have impeded their explication of this word. They might be aware of the variability of male bodies in Australia but may not have been able to linguistically perform this awareness. This draws attention to the difficulty of conducting research in foreign language contexts, where participants are expected to spontaneously verbalise their thoughts and feelings in a foreign language.

2. Describe the men who are not included in these catalogues. Why are they not included?

The purpose of this task was to draw students' attention to the invisibility of non-mainstream social groups in the text and the way this invisibility can serve to marginalise them further. I also anticipated that the task could encourage students to reflect on whose interests these exclusions might serve.

In one group, Popo and Jeon identified the Aboriginal population of Australia as absent in the text:

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Jeon: | <i>[reads the task out loud]</i> ... Which men are not included? |
| 2 | Popo: | ... Aboriginal. |

-
- 3 Jeon: No, I saw one.
 4 Popo: No, that one is not Aboriginal.
 5 Jeon: [*reads the task out loud*] Why are they not included?
 6 Popo: Discrimination
 7 Jeon: Yeah, I think this kind of thing.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

Popo and Jeon seem to be aware of the circulation of racist discourses in relation to indigenous affairs in Australia. Popo's identification of "discrimination" (line 6) as a possible reason for the exclusion of indigenous people suggests she is drawing on assumptions that it is a racist trajectory that has constructed an imagined white Australian community.

In the other group, Cathy appeared to recognise that "disabled people" (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2) were absent in the texts. She also added that "Australian man has beer belly and I didn't see big guys here with beer belly" (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2). Adhin too suggested "the big fat Aussie not here" (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2). In both groups, several students appeared to recognise that particular sections of Australian society, those that they appear to have observed in Sunny Hill, are not included in these advertisements. This is the type of reflection I had hoped the task would encourage.

With the intention of introducing other absences in the texts I asked the class:

- 1 Mehtap: What about Indonesian Australians, Asian Australians?
 2 Chinese migrants? Are they included?
 3 Adhin: No.
 4 Mehtap: Why not?
 5 Adhin: Maybe the number of consumers here [*referring to Sunny*
 6 *Hill*] determined by Anglo-Saxon. Asian people not so
 7 much here maybe.
 8 Mehtap: Maybe... What about ... older fathers then?
 9 Jeon: They only need **good looking** guys and they need **money!**
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

Adhin (lines 5-7) appears to be aware that texts are produced for the consumption of an ideal audience, and appears to account for the invisibility of particular social groups in the text by suggesting that these groups might not make up the readership of these texts. Jeon's description of the selection of men in the text as "good looking

guys” (line 9) suggests that he recognises that advertising texts work with the assumption that beauty fades with age, and therefore, include younger age groups. Both students seem to recognise the marketing discourses underpinning the text and the text producer’s desire to gain material profit (“they need money”, line 9). Tolib had remained silent during most of this task. However, he frequently nodded his head, suggesting agreement with and approval of what Jeon and Adhin said.

Drawing on students’ responses to this task, it seems that the task might have encouraged recognition that the text producer could have produced alternative constructions of Australian men, and this recognition might have encouraged students to reflect on the multiple ways of being Australian, opening up spaces for the development of critical cultural awareness for some students. Popo, Adhin and Jeon’s responses also suggest that they associated the circulation of white Australia politics with discourses of advertising.

It appears, then, that Lilu was the only student for whom the task did not encourage reflection of the diversity of Australian bodies that was not captured in the text. Lilu was in the same group with Jeon and Popo but did not participate in their discussions. Instead, she responded to this task on the sheet of while-text analysis tasks I had distributed. The response she had written down was “they are all included” (classroom notes, Unit 4, module 2), which suggests to me that those invisible in the text also remained invisible to her.

4. If you had seen Australian men only through these catalogues what would be your impression of them?

The task was based on the assumption that texts send powerful messages about what constitutes normal and natural. It was aimed at encouraging students to question the particular meanings and identities the text might make available about Australian men and Australian society, such as naturalising the view that Australian men are white, middle class, able-bodied, healthy and active.

Two students initially responded to this task. In one group Jeon suggested “I imagine good, kind father for their family” (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

and in the other group, Cathy responded “I would think they enjoy and they are white” (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2). Both students appear to recognise the text’s construction of fatherhood as loving and caring. Moreover, Cathy appears to recognise that a monoracial reality of Australia is being produced (“they are white”). No other student responded to the task or commented on Jeon or Cathy’s responses.

In an attempt to explore other students’ responses, I asked them to compare their observations of men in Sunny Hill with the men they could see in the texts. Some of the students had earlier identified people of particular races, weights and appearances as invisible in the text. Therefore, my assumption here was that students’ recognition of exclusions in the text might also help them recognise the ways these groups of people were being left out of the text’s definition of Australian.

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1 | Mehtap: | Do these men look like the people you see in Sunny Hill? |
| 2 | Cathy: | No. No beer belly [<i>laughs</i>] |
| 3 | Tolib: | No |
| 4 | Mehtap: | Why not? What does this mean? |
| 5 | Jeon: | Because we don’t know these guys are Australian. |
| 6 | Mehtap: | ... I mean if you had learned about Australians only |
| 7 | | through these catalogues what would you think? |
| 8 | Tolib: | We think they look like relaxed, their skin is white |
| 9 | Jeon: | I don’t agree because this is commercial. They can even |
| 10 | | hire people from another country. |
| 11 | Popo: | Also in Japan we use western people in these |
| 12 | | advertisements. |

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

Cathy (line 2) and Tolib (line 3) respond in ways I had expected, suggesting the invisibility of their observations of Australian men in the texts. Jeon (line 5) appears to attempt to explain the reason underlying the absence of such bodies, but, similar to the way I treated Jeon’s alternative readings of texts in module 1, I ignore his response as irrelevant (line 6). At the time of this extract, I recognised Tolib (line 8) as producing a response that I desired, as suggesting an awareness of the way fathers’ day texts send a particular message about Australians. I pay attention to the reading Jeon and Popo make of the production of the text later when Jeon disagrees

with Tolib's response ("I don't agree", line 9) and Popo (lines 11, 12) refers to advertising texts in Japan as supportive of what Jeon suggested.

Jeon and Popo appear to be drawing on discourses of globalisation, situating the production and consumption of advertisements within a global context. It seems that while I had assumed fathers' day catalogues as a straightforward local production, Jeon and Popo were already operating with an awareness of the increasing transnational/transcultural flows of images and bodies. I recognise that while I was assuming that the production of a text should be stabilised within particular national borders, these two students' responses suggest that they were blurring the boundaries I was enclosing around meanings, identities and texts. I read their responses as drawing attention to the hybridity and complexity of producing texts in New Times. To gain further insights into their reading of the text, I asked:

- 1 Mehtap: Why is that so? Why would they use western people?
- 2 Popo: ... Because Japanese people they envy that western people
- 3 or society maybe

(classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

Popo's explanation suggests that she recognises a eurocentric binary divide of the world where the West not only assumes its superiority but where the 'other' take up the colonialist assumption of accepting that they are deviant and different (Fanon, 1967) and assume that it will be to their benefit to follow the norms set by the West ("they envy that western people" line 2). What seems to be available to Popo is an understanding of globalised capitalism where the West is assumed to embody privilege and status.

Popo and Jeon's understanding of fathers' day catalogues as grounded in views of globalisation is significant in pointing out that students come to classrooms having already participated in what Robertson (1995) terms glocal spaces, times and texts. In fact, most students come to class already equipped with understandings and experiences of hybrid forms of reality and identity, which are more alien to teachers than to students (Luke, 1998b). In this sense, the task and the unit failed to provide more spaces for these students to critique or question advertising texts as global commodities, or to disrupt the mobilisation of white bodies in advertisements.

Nevertheless, I am content that the unit provided a context for students to examine and question essentialised constructions of Australian men and society and to reflect on the role of texts in their mobilisation and naturalisation.

Popo's and Jeon's reading of the text as a global production did not appear to be shared by Tolib. It seemed that he was not content with the shift in focus to issues of global advertising and attempted to bring the discussion back to the task:

But the question is, if the person who came from Asia or Africa came here, Australia, for one year, this could make the person think Australian are just stereotype, just white or something. (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

Tolib seems to recognise texts as playing a powerful role in shaping public perceptions and worldviews. He reiterates his awareness of the ways 'Australianness' and whiteness are constructed as mutually constitutive in the text and questions the way an Anglo-ethnic, stereotypical construction is gaining material reality by being produced and circulated by this particular text. This is a reading I had made and, hence, immediately recognised as relevant and legitimate.

Post-text analysis

I have arranged for you to interview a person to find out their views on Australians. Brainstorm the questions you would like to ask.

The purpose of the post-text analysis tasks of both modules was to encourage students to explore alternatives to the realities constructed in the texts, to reflect on the diversity within cultural groups, and the multiplicity and complexity of cultural practices and identities. However, in both modules, I had observed that the post-text analysis tasks, except for that of Unit 2 of module 2 (where students had analysed to what extent various ELT textbooks succeeded in capturing the diversity of greeting practices), produced the least participation and discussion in class. For some students it had appeared that observations and experiences relevant to completing the tasks were unavailable. Moreover, when assigned as homework, several students complained about not having the linguistic resources, confidence or time to complete the tasks. Therefore, in this unit, I intended the post-text analysis task to

act as a brainstorming and reflection session, as preparation for Unit 5. I wanted this task to provide students with the chance to prepare for the interviews I arranged for them to conduct in Unit 5, and to help them build confidence and raise their interest in exploring the ‘other’. That is, with this task I aimed to encourage students to reflect on what they would like to learn, on what they are interested in exploring about ‘other’ practices.

The task appeared to be successful in encouraging a number of students to reflect on the issues they would like to investigate regarding Australian societies and practices. In one group, Jeon, Lilu and Popo, for instance, suggested various questions they hoped to raise in the interviews. This group did not respond to the task individually but appeared to prefer to brainstorm questions together:

- 1 Popo: [*reads task out loud*] Maybe what do you think about
 2 Australian stereotype.
 3 Jeon: Yeah, about Aussie guy. Are you Aussie guy? [*laughs*]
 4 Lilu: Maybe, it’s a girl.
 5 Jeon: Ohh!
 6 Popo: Yes, and I want to know what do, what Australians think
 7 about Australian stereotype and what is woman stereotype
 8 in Australia.
 9 Jeon: Also why do you, why do you hate aborigine people.
 10 I think this is the most important question.
 (classroom transcript, Unit 4, module 2)

I recognise some of the topics Popo and Jeon raise in this extract as those that had been brought up in class. Stereotypical constructions of Australians (line 2, 7), for instance, were analysed in this module as well as in module 1, in which both Popo and Jeon had participated. The Australian female stereotype (line 6) was also examined in Unit 3 of module 1 and was a topic that Popo had suggested in her journal as one that she was interested in analysing. Moreover, in module 1, both students had drawn on racist discourses in making sense of the ways they believe they were positioned as ‘other’ in Australian mainstream society, and it appears that Jeon is interested in further exploring the take up of racist discourses (lines 9, 10). From these responses it seems that the task encouraged Popo and Jeon to examine issues and assumptions that they believed were relevant to their participation in the

local and global communities of language learning. Lili did not give any indication of the topics she wanted to investigate.

The other group of students in class responded to the task by making individual lists of possible questions they could ask. Tolib listed six questions:

1. Are you Australian?
2. What do you think about Australian culture?
3. Is Australian culture different with Europe culture or Asian countries?
4. What do you think about Australian stereotype?
5. Do you think that stereotypes are created by Australian character or nature character?
6. Are you proud with the stereotype?

(classroom notes, Unit 4, module 2)

With this list of questions, Tolib too suggests an interest in investigating conceptions of Australian societies and stereotypes. While Tolib focused exclusively on the ‘other’ in his list of questions, Cathy’s list of questions below suggested her interest in investigating both the ‘self’ (question 2) as well as the ‘other’ (question 3):

1. What do you think about what did the French a few years ago with atomic test in the sea?
2. What is the basic French?
3. Do you know crocodile Dundee?

(classroom notes, Unit 4, module 2)

I do not have data on Adhin and Jae-ko’s response to this task as I did not have the opportunity to review the questions they had brainstormed.

I believe that this post-text analysis task was successful in that it appeared to achieve the purpose of providing students with the time and space to reflect on what they wanted to investigate about Australians and Australia. The task also appeared to give students the opportunity to predict the possible linguistic structures that they might use in the interviews and to receive feedback from me on the accuracy of these structures, hence, aiding some students in building linguistic confidence.

Unit 5: Analysing interviews

The final unit of module 2 was devoted to students conducting and analysing interviews. The students conducted these interviews individually with undergraduate and postgraduate students, several of whom I had randomly approached on the university campus and several with whom I was acquainted. I had told the interviewees that they would be interviewed by an international student on topics related to Australia and Australians. I had initially intended the interviewee group to comprise of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, which I believed could reinforce the idea that Australian cultures are hybrid and plural. However, later I decided that I should not make intentional choices about who to include in the interviewee cohort and who to exclude, and, therefore, selected the interviewees on the basis of whether they expressed an interest in being interviewed and whether they identified themselves as Australian. The interviewee group consisted of eight white males and females, with ages ranging from the early 20s to the early 40s.

Each student in the study interviewed one of these interviewees without my supervision in the first half hour of class time either in the interviewee's office or in the campus cafeteria. I told the students to take notes of the interview and to bring the data collected to class for analysis. In these interviews I expected various constructions of Australian bodies, practices and norms to be produced, which I thought I could use to draw attention to the multiple ways one can conceptualise and perform 'Australianness'.

After students had conducted the interviews and returned to the classroom, I asked them to analyse the data they had collected in small groups using the questions I list in Table 28.

Table 28: Student groupings, objectives and tasks of Unit 5, module 2

Student groupings	- Jeon, Lilu, Popo - Chika, Jae-ko, Tolib - Adhin, Cathy, Tuahu
Objectives	- to explore and examine the multiple ways 'Australianness' can be constructed and performed
Tasks	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who did you interview? Give brief information. 2. Did your interviewee respond to all of your questions? 3. What was the most interesting response you received? 4. Look at your notes. Which words or phrases did the interviewee use to describe Australians? 	

The first two questions were intended to familiarise group members with the people they had each interviewed. Most of the students suggested that their interviewees had answered almost all of the questions they had posed. Most appeared to have added questions to those they had brainstormed at the end of the previous unit.

With the third task my interest was in investigating what students perceived to be significant regarding conceptions of Australians, and my aim in including the fourth task was to encourage students to do linguistic analyses of their interviewee's constructions of 'Australianness', to examine the ways the interviewees' choices of particular words and phrases helped to create particular meanings about being Australian. Such deconstructive practice I assumed would be familiar to the students as in the previous units of the module I had been asking them to deconstruct texts I had selected for analysis. This time I was asking them to put under scrutiny texts they brought to class. Below I examine responses to these two tasks, investigating the meanings students made of their interviewees' constructions of Australia and Australians.

3. What was the most interesting response you received?

In Adhin, Cathy and Tuahu's group, Cathy and Tuahu had not done the interviews as they were late for class that morning. Both students joined the class as the other students were returning from their interviews, which gave me the impression that they too had done interviews. For this reason I put them together in a group. When I

realised that they had not completed the interview task and that only Adhin had data to analyse in the group, the other groups had already started their discussions. To avoid moving students around and breaking up group interactions, I told this group to respond to the tasks using Adhin's data.

What Adhin appeared to perceive as the most significant about his data was the overlap between classroom texts and concepts and his interviewee's responses. He suggested that it was surprising that his interviewee had made references to the stereotype of Australian men and beer and to Crocodile Dundee, and questioned whether I had informed the interviewees of the questions the students would ask. Adhin's concern was overheard by others in class who joined the discussion:

- 1 Adhin: But I think they already knew what we were going to ask.
 2 Popo: Yes, it's interesting because I didn't mention Crocodile
 3 Dundee but at first she said Crocodile Dundee is believed
 4 typical Australian man.
 5 Lilu: No, but I didn't ask her about that. I didn't even mention
 6 Crocodile Dundee. I asked her about stereotypes of
 7 Australian men and she said generally Crocodile Dundee.
 8 Tolib: Yes, just like that in my interview too.

(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2)

Popo appears to share Adhin's uncertainty about the authenticity of the interviews. Lilu and Tolib, on the other hand, seem to disagree and suggest that their interviewees brought up topics that they had not mentioned. After this extract I explained to the students that I had informed the interviewees that the topic of the interviews would be about Australia and that the interviewees had not had access to any of the tasks or texts we analysed in class. I told the students that the interviewees were not aware of any of the details of the research I was conducting.

After the extract above, Adhin, Cathy and Tuahu did not respond further to this question or the following, and instead, appeared to prefer to listen to other groups' discussions. In a journal entry Cathy submitted a few days later, she wrote about an interview she conducted with her cousins living in Australia. She wrote:

I didn't do the interview on Friday but I asked some questions about the Australian stereotype to my cousins. For her it is a big man who drinks too

much beer, is really lazy, however is really welcoming and curious. Crocodile Dundee is a good example but we can't meet that kind of people everywhere in Australia. (journal entry, module 2)

It seems that Cathy conducted the interview after Unit 5 ended. In other words, even though the module had ended and she was not required to fulfil any obligations related to the module any more, she was willing and motivated to complete the task in her own time. The meaning I make of Cathy's entry is that she appears to be aware that all men in Australia do not fit into the stereotype, suggesting recognition of the diversity of Australians.

A similar awareness is suggested by Tolib in his group analysis of the data he collected. In Tolib, Jae-ko and Chika's group, although all three students had data to analyse, Jae-ko and Chika did not draw on their interviewees' responses to complete the task. Instead, the focus of this group's discussion appeared to be on Tolib's interview, analysing his interviewee's views on Australian stereotypes:

- 1 Tolib: What was the most interesting?
 2 Jae-ko: Ahh, I can't answer it. How about you?
 3 Tolib: I think most interesting I find out that Australian stereotype
 4 is not all Australian. Especially for the interviewee, he said
 5 he has activity that many Australians do, like relaxing, go
 6 to beach, taking some beer, and also other things. How
 7 about you?
 8 Chika: Me? I asked why stereotypical type of Aussie men but they
 9 didn't know.
 10 Tolib: My interviewee said about the stereotype, stereotype is
 11 male but culture is general. Not all Aussie men have the
 12 stereotype.
 13 Chika: Yes, some, they live in very busy city, of course they are
 14 different.

(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2)

The interview appears to be significant in raising Tolib's awareness that Australians cannot be generalised to fit into a stereotype (lines 3, 4, 11, 12) and that even though the stereotype captures some of the practices of some Australian men, ways of performing 'Australianness' are more varied than what the stereotype includes (lines 5, 6). Chika (lines 13, 14) appears to exemplify this diversity of ways of being Australian by drawing attention to geographical variations in the practices and

norms Australians take up. Her response suggests recognition that different lifestyles resulting from living in different geographical areas can lead to different practices being taken up, all of which will not necessarily be captured by national stereotypes.

In another group, drawing on his interviewee's responses, Jeon also appeared to question stereotypes as all-encompassing, monolithic categorisations:

- 1 Popo: So what do you think was the most interesting about the
2 interview?
3 Jeon: Most interesting? It was she's got a different idea about the
4 kind of =
5 Lilu: = so she doesn't agree with=
6 Jeon: No, no. Another idea. She has another idea. I haven't heard
7 that idea before from another person.
8 Popo: What's the idea?
9 Lilu: What's the idea?
10 Jeon: She mentioned that individual. So we cannot say **this** is,
11 **this** is Australian. We cannot say like Jeon is only
12 Australian, something like that. She said depend on person.
(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2)

The interview appears to have made available to Jeon a new understanding about Australians ("I haven't heard that idea before" lines 6, 7). Drawing on his interviewee's responses Jeon suggests the impossibility of producing a singular definition of Australians ("we cannot say this is Australian" lines 10, 11), of enclosing borders around being Australian. He appears to recognise that ways of being Australian are multiple and varied. This type of awareness is significant as it is the first time in the program where I recognise Jeon as being open to taking up a broader, more fluid definition of Australians.

Later in this group's discussion Jeon also suggested that in times of increasing global interaction the self/other divide cannot be clearly separated (lines 1-4), that the 'other' can take up the same practices as the 'self' and vice versa:

- 1 Jeon: We are living in the same situation in everywhere in the
2 world. You use TV. I use TV. We have same thing
3 everywhere. Everywhere the same. You can even drink
4 beer in Korea

- 5 Jeon: So I changed my ideas about the Australian.
 6 Popo: So she said there is no stereotype all over the world.
 7 Jeon: Actually, yes.

(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2)

Here I read Jeon as de-exoticising the ‘other’, as recognising that in New Times it is not possible to enclose clear cut boundaries around ‘self’ and ‘other’ practices. His recognition of the fluidity of the self/other border appears to have been significant in encouraging him to take up an alternative conceptualisation of Australians to the ones available to him (“I changed my ideas about the Australian” line 5). Jeon does not tell his group members what his newly defined conceptualisation is.

Lilu did not participate in Popo and Jeon’s discussion above. However, she analysed some of her interviewee’s responses in her journal. She wrote:

The interviewee had their own opinion about typical Aussie man and woman. I think it is common for every country. We have a some kind of stereotype. It is something with what everyone can agree for some extent. But at the same time everyone has something to add to that character.
 (journal entry, module 2)

The message Lilu appears to have drawn from her interview is that stereotypes are not all-encompassing categories, and that individuals are more complex and varied than that captured by a stereotype. Popo too did not analyse her interviewee’s responses in class but in her journal entry suggested a similar recognition of the ways stereotypes produce a limited view of the world. She wrote: “I thought a stereotype came from natural way but it’s not true. Stereotypes are made by people” (journal entry, module 2), suggesting an awareness that stereotypes are social constructions.

It appears that the interview was significant in encouraging students to recognise that stereotyping underplays diversity and complexity. The interview appears to have succeeded in broadening students’ repertoires of understandings of Australians, in making available to students the view that ‘Australianness’ can be performed in a multitude of ways. Moreover, as Jeon’s response above suggests, the interviews appeared to encourage some students to question their existing

assumptions of Australians and to take up alternative understandings. The recognition that stereotypes produce only one version of the world and fail to include diversity and complexity is what I had aimed each unit of module 2 to encourage. However, it seems that the interview was a more effective way of raising this awareness.

4. Look at your notes. Which words or phrases did the interviewee use to describe Australians?

In Jeon and Popo's extract above, the other groups in class had stopped discussing and turned to listen to these two students. Therefore, with this task, the students continued to respond as a whole class. Three students responded to this task:

- 1 Adhin: He said they have no colour. It depends on the person.
 2 How we see the person. Do we think that aboriginal is
 3 Australian? So we can't say Australian is blonde because
 4 there is other colour. Also there is immigrants. So we can't
 5 say Australians blonde hair or white because some of them
 6 black skin.
 7 Cathy: You can't generalise
 8 Jae-ko: My interview never said about Aborigine. Everythings
 9 about white people. This meaning was Aboriginal people is
 10 not Australian. I think this is strange because white people
 11 was invaded however Aboriginal is the original. Why he
 12 didn't think about Aborigine?

(classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2)

By focusing on the way the linguistic selections of the interviewees help to create a particular view of the world, Adhin and Jae-ko exemplify two different definitions of Australians being produced by their interviewees. Adhin appears to draw attention to the multiplicity and variability of Australian bodies by suggesting that 'Australianness' is not a racially defined category. Cathy too appears to agree that it is not possible to generalise Australians into a particular way of being. In the texts the students had analysed in the first four units of module 2, some of the students had recognised a white Australia being constructed; however, I did not recognise them explicitly problematising this construction in the way that these two students do here.

Jae-ko appears to recognise the absence of references to Australian Aboriginal groups in his interviewee's responses. He appears to be aware that the implication of this absence in constructing Australians is that "Aboriginal people is not Australian" (lines 9, 10). In both module 1 and module 2 discussing the real life implications of the realities produced in texts proved to be one of the most difficult tasks for most of the students. However, here Jae-ko appears to recognise the effects of exclusions on creating a particular view of the world quite easily. Analysing texts that one has selected, that one is familiar with, might have contributed to such recognition.

I recognise the interview as a significant contribution to the program. Most of the students in module 2 commented favourably on this task either in their journals or in the feedback forms. Most appeared to recognise it as a step towards learning more about the 'other'. Tolib, for instance, wrote:

By this interview and some lessons from you I've got some perspectives and pictures of Australian culture. I am conscious that I am not know all Australian culture yet. However, this step has encouraged me to know more about Australia.(journal entry, module 2)

Tolib appears to recognise the complexity of Australian cultures and appears to have gained an interest in extending his repertoire of observations and experiences of life in Australia. In the feedback form, he explains why he perceives this to be important:

I feel it [*the interview*] challenged me to find out something that I do not know before. I'll study here in Australia so I think it is important to know about Australia.(feedback form, module 2)

Tolib was planning to pursue a postgraduate course in Australia and it seems that he recognises that broadening his understandings of the category Australian can aid him in his negotiations with Australians and his navigations into 'other' territories.

Adhin too suggested in a journal entry that interviewing gave him a wider perspective on Australians:

Interviewing an Australian gave a better idea about Australian culture and Australian stereotype. Because before I had no idea about Australia. (journal entry, module 2)

Here I read Adhin as suggesting that the four units of module 2 he had participated in had not helped to raise his awareness of Australia or Australians. He seems to recognise the interview, in particular, as being significant in giving him insights into an ‘other’ category. The purpose of the interviews or of the program in general was not for students to develop a fondness for Australians. Rather, it was to encourage them to recognise the diversity and multiplicity of ways of being Australian, and it seems that for Adhin and Tolib this is what the interview achieved.

In a journal entry Jae-ko also suggested that the interview had encouraged him to explore further conceptions of Australians. He appears to recognise that Australians can be constructed and conceptualised in multiple ways:

I just asked one person. I couldn’t decide about Australian stereotypes and culture just one person. I ought to ask more people because opinion is different from each other. (journal entry, module 2)

Jae-ko appears to be willing to pursue his explorations of Australians in his own time.

For some students it appears that the interview was the first opportunity they had had of interacting with a local Australian. At the end of Unit 5, as students were leaving the class, Tolib told me: “Thank you for this chance. This was the first time I interviewed a native speaker” (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 2). For Jeon too the interview appeared to have provided a context for interaction with Australians, a purpose in exploring the ‘other’. Jeon commented on this in the feedback form: “Interview was great. We could talk about some thing naturally” (feedback form, module 2).

One possible reason why the interview and the meanings the interviewees made were perceived to be so significant by several of the students might have been that it had provided students with the opportunity to interact with a local ‘other’. That is, it had provided students with a relatively safe space – safe in that students had linguistically and conceptually prepared for these interviews – in which to explore the ‘other’ as human, rather than as a character in print or visual text.

TRACING SIGNS OF CRITICAL CULTURAL AWARENESS

In my search for signs of critical cultural awareness in students’ responses in module 2, I work with the same view of critical cultural awareness I described earlier in the thesis. In chapter 7 I defined critical cultural awareness as involving a disruption of any subject position or discourse that stabilises one into a fixed category, that restricts what a person can say, do, think, feel, value and act. Drawing on Soja’s (1996) description of third space, I argue that critical cultural awareness involves moving “beyond the established limits of our understanding of the world” (p. 126), involving a continuous deconstruction of hierarchical categories and their reconstitution.

I believe the units of module 2 created more spaces than module 1 for students to develop a critical cultural awareness. I argue that the texts I selected in this module and the tasks I designed encouraged several students to problematise the mobilisation of essentialised versions of various social groups and practices in texts and to argue for the complexity and fluidity within, across and in-between binary categories. As I argued in my analysis of module 1, critical cultural awareness is not an end point which I expected students to reach. Rather, it is a repertoire of discourses, assumptions, subject positions which I recognise some students appearing to draw on at various times in the module.

The student who I believe provided me with the most interesting and significant data in both module 1 and module 2 is Jeon. In module 1 Jeon had proposed alternative readings of texts and had questioned the way I was positioning him as a learner who had to work with concepts that I perceived to be important. In this way

I recognised him as challenging the subject positions I was making available to students. Jeon also had suggested recognition of the complexity of ‘self’ practices, all of which can suggest the availability of a critical cultural awareness. However, I had argued, there was no instant in the data where I recognised Jeon as suggesting an awareness of the complexity, diversity and variability of the ‘other’, of Australians, and for this reason I did not believe he was drawing on critical cultural awareness.

In this module, I read Jeon as troubling various essentialised categories. First, I recognise him as reconstituting both sides of the binaries of East/West, self/other. For instance, in Unit 1 in his discussion with Lilu about Asian dietary practices, and in Unit 2 in his analyses of the way an ELT textbook constructs greetings, Jeon argues for recognition of the complexity within an Asian category. I read Jeon in these instances as disidentifying with the stereotypical constructions set up for him by Lilu in Unit 1 – the assumption that all Asians eat rice – and the textbook in Unit 2 – the expectation that Asians only and always bow when greeting – and as reconstituting the categories of East or Asia as multiple, varied and hybrid.

This type of awareness is not, in fact, surprising because Jeon had suggested similar recognition of the complexity of ‘self’ categorisations in module 1. However, in module 2 I recognise Jeon as also recognising the complexity of the other side of the binary divide, of the ‘other’ category. In Unit 4 Jeon appears to recognise that the absence of Australian Aboriginals in fathers’ day catalogues and in the everyday speech of people he appears to have observed serves to marginalise these groups further, stabilising them as deviant and different to mainstream Australian society. This suggests to me that Jeon is reconstructing the ‘other’ category to include both mainstream and non-mainstream social groups, appearing to recognise its complexity.

More significantly, in Unit 5, while students were analysing their interviewee’s responses to the questions they had prepared, Jeon claimed “I changed my ideas about the Australian” (classroom transcript, Unit 5, module 2) but had not told his

group members what this change was. In a journal entry Jeon submitted a few days after Unit 5, Jeon wrote about this new conceptualisation:

Before, as you know, I had only had points of Australians according to my experiences here, but after the interviewing I had to change my mind. They were also human same as me, and they could want to enjoy their life same as me. (journal entry, module 2)

I recognise this entry as suggesting that Jeon de-exoticises Australians, that he blurs the boundary that locates Australians as ‘other’ to himself, as different. Jeon appears to be disordering a binary view of difference, transforming the self/other boundaries. I recognise Jeon as exemplifying an “intercultural speaker” (Byram, 1997, p. 32; Kramsch, 1998, p. 17), as communicating within the spaces he creates in the interstices of ‘self’ and ‘other’, a hybrid space in which both ‘self’ and ‘other’ appear to conceptually and discursively fit. Jeon’s response in the journal entry is significant in that it suggests that for Jeon the program had achieved the purpose of raising a critical cultural awareness, in encouraging him to take up discourses with which he recognises the complexity and hybridity of meanings, practices and identities.

I acknowledge that I cannot be certain that Jeon re-conceptualises Australians. I recognise that Jeon might simply be “giv[ing] the lecturer what he or she wants and expects” (Harrison, 2004, p. 376). Harrison argues that the group of indigenous Australian students he observed became skilled in monitoring what their lecturer expected of them and in constituting themselves as the type of learner that met the lecturer’s qualifications. In the same way, this international student might have already deciphered the type of awareness I wanted to raise in the students and responded accordingly.

I also recognise that Jeon’s construction of a complex Australian category in which both ‘us’ and ‘them’ are merged does not necessarily suggest a final stage in Jeon’s understandings of Australians. Earlier in module 2, in Unit 3 in a discussion with Lilu, Jeon had generalised Australians as lazy and untrustworthy. He had appeared to be stereotyping Australians, producing a limiting and monolithic construction of

Australians. In this discussion Jeon did not appear to be open to reconsider the way he was defining Australians. Instead, he appeared to be drawing on assumptions that the norms available to him are natural and normal and anything that does not fit in with these norms is unacceptable. Jeon's construction of Australians here in contrast to his conceptualisation in Unit 5 exemplifies the way he takes up competing and contrasting sets of discourses, and that he might take up the same stereotypical assumptions about Australians again later. Nevertheless, I was content that at least in one instant of module 2, I could read Jeon as displaying an awareness of the diversity of both 'self' and 'other' groups and practices.

Other signs I recognise of Jeon drawing on critical cultural awareness is that he troubles the binary hierarchy of teacher/student. In Unit 3, for instance, when analysing the way Australians are constructed in the film *Crocodile Dundee*, he avoids answering all of the tasks I had set. He produces a one sentence response to only the post text-analysis task and then proceeds to discuss non-task related issues. In this unit Jeon subverts the purpose of the tasks to fit in with what he perceives to be interesting and significant, such as the marginalisation of Australian Aboriginals in mainstream Australian society. Jeon appears to refuse to take up the position of the good student (Davies, 1994) complying with the norms set by the teacher. Instead, he appears to take up an alternative student subject position – alternative to that traditionally associated with classrooms, teacher and student relations – and re-shifts the focus of the tasks. He does not appear to be inhibited by the authority of a teacher to invest in particular meanings and responses. Here I recognise Jeon as exemplifying Foucault's claims that power can be positive, that it not only inhibits but also produces pleasure, knowledge and discourse. Here Jeon appears to be taking up subject positions that enable him to live out particular meanings and worldviews and contest and replace others.

In Unit 4 Jeon also questions my take up of a local/global divide in my reading of fathers' day catalogues, suggesting recognition that in New Times advertising texts are grounded in discourses of globalisation in which it is not possible to expect local contexts to be detached from global markets and global flows of bodies and capital. Jeon's recognition of hierarchical categories as complex, his awareness of the

spaces in-between such categories and his take up of alternative ways of being to that made available to him by classmates or by me, suggest that at times in module 2 he might have been drawing on a critical cultural awareness.

In the meanings Popo made of the texts and tasks in module 2, I also recognise signs of a critical cultural awareness. Like Jeon, Popo too appeared to be aware of the spaces in-between a local/global divide, suggesting that such a categorisation of the world simplifies the complexity and hybridity individuals live out. Moreover, Popo appeared to recognise the diversity within an Asian category (Unit 2) and questioned the marginalisation of Australian Aboriginals as ‘other’ to mainstream Australians (Unit 4). She also appeared to be aware that stereotypes of Australians fail to capture the diversity and complexity of Australian bodies and practices (Unit 5), all of which I recognise as signs that a critical awareness of cultural complexity and diversity is available to her.

Furthermore, Popo appeared to question the way I was positioning students to arrive at meanings that I deemed desirable. In a conversation we had at the end of Unit 5, she said: “You said to us that we can give any answer we want. But actually you waited for us to give answers that you wanted. You accepted only answers that you wanted” (classroom notes, Unit 5, module 2). I read Popo here as questioning the way I celebrated the production of certain meanings, those that were in line with the assumptions available to me, and inhibited the production of others. Her comment suggests a disruption of the authority of the teacher to assign to students a place in which their knowledge is not as legitimate and valuable as the teacher’s. Popo’s resistance to take up subject positions and discourses which delimit what one can say and do also signal critical cultural awareness.

At various times in the module Cathy too suggested an awareness of cultural diversity and complexity. For instance, in Unit 2 I recognised her as problematising the textbook’s construction of Asian and western greetings as stereotyping and limited, and in Unit 4 as questioning the ways fathers’ day catalogues help to naturalise assumptions of a racially homogenous, white Australia. Also in Unit 5 she suggested recognition that stereotypes of Australia produce only one, rather

limited version of Australians. Similar to the other students in the study, Cathy too at times shifted to taking up stereotypical views of 'others', such as in Unit 1 when she exoticised and 'othered' a particular Russian greeting. However, I believe Cathy provided me with enough data to find signs of a critical cultural awareness.

I recognised Cathy as one of the most motivated students in the module. As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Cathy often asked me questions about the research I was doing, about my postgraduate studies and often talked about a study on cross-cultural communication she had taken part in when in France. In fact, at the end of the module, on the feedback form she wrote: "I like to talk about your course with my Australian family... I regret that we won't have a course like yours next term" (feedback form, module 2).

Tolib and Adhin too suggested some signs of critical cultural awareness. Either during discussions of their responses to tasks in class or in their journals they appeared to question the limiting nature of stereotypes and suggested recognition of the diversity of bodies and practices that make up Australians.

One of the reasons why I am able to perceive a critical cultural awareness in Popo's, Cathy's, Adhin's or Tolib's responses might be that I had already constructed these students as motivated and willing to participate in the study. Therefore, I might be interpreting their responses in ways that fit in with what I hoped to find. Another reason might be their desire to please the teacher, to produce meanings that they believed I would sanction and praise. They too might have learned to predict and produce the meanings I was searching for. I recognise that this might be possible but cannot be certain if it is. Nevertheless, whatever the reasons are for these students' responses, I argue that these students produced meanings that I read as suggesting a problematisation of essentialised categories and a recognition of cultural hybridity and complexity, and in my search for signs of critical cultural awareness I can only draw on the meanings students make available to me.

Lilu appeared to shift between taking up positions that suggested that she is drawing on critical cultural awareness and positions that I recognised as assuming as natural

a stereotypical and binary divide of the world. For example, in Unit 1, I recognised her as locking Asians into a stereotypical category, not appearing to recognise the diversity of an Asian category. However, in the same unit she also questioned the circulation of stereotypes in texts, and in Unit 5 also suggested recognition that stereotypes restrict the diversity of meanings and identities. On the other hand, in Unit 2 she did not seem to question the textbook's construction of greetings as drawing on a binary divide of the world, not appearing to recognise it as problematic that stereotypical versions of greetings were being reproduced in the textbook. Likewise, in Unit 4 she did not appear to recognise that Australian bodies include more diversity than that captured by fathers' day catalogues. However, in Unit 3 she had suggested recognition that defining 'Australianness' is complex, and that it is made up of diverse practices and bodies. This shifting of positions from stereotyping the 'other' to recognising its diversity exemplifies the way individuals move in and out of multiple, competing and contradictory discourses. She exemplifies the way there can never be a total fit into one identity, into an essence. Rather, Lilu appears to take up different subject positions depending on the discourses the texts, tasks and members of the class made available.

With Lilu it seems that her questioning of a self/other divide and her recognition of the complexity of the 'other' depends on who constitutes the 'other' category. It seems that if the 'other' refers to Asians, then the divide appears to remain intact, with the 'other' assumed to be deviant and exotic. She does not appear to allow any variation or diversity within an Asian category. If, however, the 'other' refers to Australians, then Lilu appears to recognise the complexity of this category, questioning the take up of stereotypes to make sense of Australians. This dual line of thinking suggests that in her negotiations of difference Lilu maintains an East/West divide with the West assuming superiority over the East.

Chika had participated in both module 1 and module 2 and had remained silent throughout most of the units. In neither of the modules did she appear to have much investment in responding to the tasks or engaging in class discussions. In the final journal entry she submitted she questioned what the purpose of the program is:

I'm not sure what is the aim of this class. Yes, we could know Australian stereotype but how can we use that knowledge? Anyway, that classes were fun for me but to be honest sometimes I feel bored. (journal entry, module 2)

Moreover, in the feedback form Chika wrote that the purpose of the program is “we should learn and respect each country’s stereotype” (feedback form, module 2). It seems that the units of the program did not encourage her to recognise the ways stereotypes lock individuals and groups into particular ways of being and doing. Rather than encourage her to question texts’ take up of stereotypical realities, the tasks and texts appear to have reinforced the naturalness and validity of stereotypes.

Both Jae-ko and Tuahu suggested some disruption of stereotyping and essentialising discourses and appeared to be aware in some instances of the complexity and hybridity of cultural groups and practices. However, both of these students were silent in many of the tasks, and, therefore, I do not believe I have enough data to make claims about critical cultural awareness.

It seems that in module 2 several students displayed signs of critical cultural awareness whereas in module 1 only a few had. I do not believe that it is coincidence that more students suggested such an awareness; nor do I believe that these students produced these meanings intentionally because they were aware that these were the meanings I sought. Instead, I would argue that it is partially the changes I made to the tasks and texts of module 2, drawing on the insights I had gained from the classroom application of module 1, that led to these results. In module 2 I chose texts of which I expected students might be readers, with which they might be familiar, such as ELT textbooks (Unit 2), movies (Unit 3) and junk mail (Unit 4). This could have facilitated students’ recognition and problematisation of the discourses underpinning these texts.

Moreover, the changes I made in module 2 to the pre-while-post sequence I had adopted in module 1 seemed to contribute to creating opportunities for raising students’ awareness of cultural diversity and complexity. In some units of module 2 I used the pre-text analysis tasks to simply provide students with background information on the text to be analysed, and I used the post-text analysis tasks to

prepare students for a following unit. I also asked the students to complete most of the tasks within class hours, such as the interview in Unit 5, which appears to have encouraged more student participation.

I believe that these changes might have helped me in reaching my program objectives to some extent, but I would argue that it is, in particular, the addition of an ethnographic element to the tools of CDA that helped to create spaces for students to develop critical cultural awareness in module 2. I perceive my adoption of the tools of CDA as aiding students in their deconstruction of the realities produced in texts and in facilitating students' recognition of more complex alternative realities. However, it seemed that the 'other', the stereotypical construction, the Australian in these texts remained fictional to students. That is, the tools of CDA did not seem to help students form bridges between the realities and identities constructed in the texts and local people and lived local realities. Here I believe the interview helped students make this link. The interview, I would argue, provided a context for students to meet and interact with local Australians. It included Australians as living, as real into the program. It allowed students to investigate issues that they perceived to be relevant or interesting about Australians and life in Australia.

I advocate the use of ethnography in conjunction with the tools of CDA. One of my concerns with using solely ethnographic means to raise students' critical cultural awareness would be that students might assume that what their interviewees say are facts. That is, without tools of deconstruction available to students, they might assume that the world their interviewees create is the only one possible. In this study, however, the students had had practice using the tools of CDA to interrogate the ways texts produce realities and most suggested recognition that texts are not natural or neutral but are produced by people or groups of people to achieve particular effects. In fact, most of the students appeared to want to compare the realities of Australians produced by the texts with an alternative view, that of their interviewees. Most of them appeared to want to further investigate the stereotypical constructions of Australians produced in texts. I believe it is the combination of

CDA with ethnography that helped create spaces for the development of critical cultural awareness.

TRACING SIGNS OF HYBRID SPACES

Developing a critical cultural awareness entails creating spaces in-between fixed identities, meanings and discourses, opening up third spaces that allow one to move beyond hierarchical, essentialising categorisations (Soja, 1996). The term third space is in fact misleading as it is not necessarily a third identity or meaning that one takes up, but could be fourth, fifth or sixth or multiple spaces in which one makes meanings. The term hybrid space I believe better captures the in-betweenness that the concept refers to.

In tracing signs of the hybrid spaces students create, I analyse the ways students handle difference, the ways they negotiate different assumptions and expectations. I theorise three ways that students create these spaces. First, hybrid spaces can be thought of as comfortable positions that one creates between newly available and existing views. I use the word comfortable to emphasise that this is a place free of conflicts and disputes, a place where interlocutors negotiate an acceptable mode of communication (Crozet et al., 1999; Kramsch, 1993). I recognise Jeon as exemplifying the creation of such a space in his final journal entry when he claims that he has reconstituted his understanding of Australians, that he has gained the awareness that “they were also human same as me, and that they could want to enjoy their life same as me” (journal entry, module 2). Here I recognise Jeon as suggesting that he is making sense of Australians beyond an us/them binary divide, from a space in which the ‘other’ is no longer unusual and bizarre. He appears to have taken up a space in-between his normative assumptions and his understandings of the ‘other’ as exotic. I recognise this space as comfortable in that Jeon does not appear to be in conflict with his existing assumptions or with someone else. Moreover, I believe this type of hybrid space can facilitate Jeon’s movement between foreign and familiar territories.

Another example of students' creations of comfortable, harmonious hybrid spaces is that of students' recognition of the blurring of boundaries that divide local and global contexts. In module 2 Adhin, Jeon and Popo were some of the students who suggested an awareness that in times of increasing global networking, texts cannot be assumed to be produced as relevant only to local contexts, as if free of traces of globalisation (see, for example, Unit 4 of module 2). These students appeared to be making sense of text, discourse and difference in spaces where they recognise that global markets infiltrate local contexts and where local practices and expectations underpin global commerce. Some of these students appeared to be already participating in in-between spaces. Making sense of the world within such glocal spaces can aid these students in their navigations between the new worldviews that learning a foreign language makes available to them and their existing views of the world.

The second type of hybrid space I theorise drawing on the meanings and readings students' made in module 2 is what I describe as uncomfortable spaces, those in which I recognise students in conflict and contestation in their negotiations with different meanings. For example, I recognise Jeon and Lili's discussion about whether all Asians eat rice in Unit 1, Cathy and Lili's discussion about whether Russians kiss on the lips in Unit 2, and in Unit 3 Jeon and Lili's dialogue about whether Australians are lazy as illustrating this type of hybrid space being created in students' negotiations. All of these students appear to be attempting to make sense of a different practice underpinned with different sets of assumptions. I recognise them as creating spaces where they can accommodate this new worldview alongside their existing assumptions. In the spaces in-between 'self' and 'other' and East and West, spaces that can be full of conflict, contradiction and contestation (Bhabha, 1994), they seem to struggle to find a way to make what is familiar to them meaningful to the others. I argue that despite appearing to be disorderly and even anarchic spaces, the creation of such hybrid spaces is required in suggesting that students are not simply disregarding what is new and different, but are trying to locate an available discourse in their existing repertoires with which they can make sense of this difference.

I conceptualise silence as a possible third type of hybrid space that students create in their negotiations of difference. Silence is a space in which none of the meanings one is exploring is made available for external scrutiny, which suggests that one can experiment with meanings in any way they want to without any interference from the outside. In Unit 3, for example, after Jeon claims that he does not know who Crocodile Dundee is and, therefore, does not respond to the while-text analysis tasks, Jeon remains silent and so does his group partner Lilo. It is possible that these students might be reflecting on an off-task topic in their silent spaces, or might not be thinking about anything in particular, perhaps just observing and listening to other groups of students. I cannot describe with any certainty what happens in these spaces but I argue that it is equally possible that Lilo might be examining and trying to make sense of Jeon's claim of not being familiar with Crocodile Dundee. Jeon too might be drawing on available discourses to make sense of the film. My argument here is that silence need not suggest lack of cognitive activities accompanying lack of speech, but that it might be a secure, private space in which one moves in and out of various discursive realities in an attempt to understand different and new discourses.

CONCEPTUALISING SILENCE

In CDA pedagogy silence is unwanted (Zembylas & Michaelides, 2004). Silence appears to have a negative connotation, implying one's lack of agency. Silence is assumed to signal the perpetuation of marginalisation and oppression, suggesting that one does not question or resist taking up particular meanings. In this sense, silence is contrasted with talk, with only the latter suggesting subversion of marginalisation. Indeed, in the present research, I recognise that I did not allow silence. Rather, I required explicit language production and based my analyses of what I perceived students to be learning and doing, of whether they suggested development of critical cultural awareness, of their creations of hybrid spaces, on the vocalisation of their ideas. I conceptualised silence in terms of what the students were not doing – not participating in a task, not knowing the answer, not being interested, not recognising a reading – and did not recognise that the reasons underpinning silence might be more complex than this. As I discussed in the

previous section, for instance, the creation of hybrid spaces might be one explanation for students' silences in module 2, which suggests a conceptualisation of silence in more positive terms, as spaces in which students explore, examine and reflect on meanings in private.

I recognise that one of the reasons why students were silent in their journals or in the classroom might be due to a lack of motivation or willingness to respond. For instance, in students' feedback forms, in response to what they disliked about the module or individual units, several of them wrote that they thought that some of the units were "boring" (Lilu, Cathy), that they had "no interest" in, for instance, fathers' day (Adhin), that they "didn't like the character of Crocodile Dundee" (Tuahu) and that in Unit 2, for instance, they "were not challenged" (Tolib). All of these suggest that it is possible that in some units some students lacked the motivation to respond to tasks and their silence then might have resulted from their boredom. While this may account for some students' silences in some instances, it does not help me understand why Tuahu, for instance, was silent throughout most of Unit 2 but in his journal entry wrote that he thought this unit was interesting and useful.

Prior to the study, I had assumed that these students would be highly motivated learners as they had spent the time, effort and money to enrol in a course overseas, away from family and friends. However, I recognised later through interviews I conducted with the students that what seemed to have brought them to Australia was not simply to learn English. Instead, it was their expectations of finding high paying jobs upon their return home, or their needs to keep up with research in science, or it was their perceptions of English as a tool that would be of use when travelling. In other words, their decisions to study English in Australia appeared to be underpinned by the awareness of the global hegemonic influence of English in communications, travel and commerce. With such a group of learners it is not surprising, then, that some had little investment in verbally explicating their meanings.

As a CDA practitioner I had assumed that the spaces CDA pedagogy provides for students to interrogate the meanings of text producers is one where they can be open and uninhibited about explicating their assumptions and understandings. What I had not realised is that I would be asking students to do so before the gaze of classroom members and the teacher. Moreover, I had assumed that the multilingual and multicultural classroom I would be conducting the study in could be an ideal environment for CDA work as students from different social and cultural backgrounds can produce different meanings, which can highlight to students the multiplicity of worldviews and identities. I recognise that this happened to some extent. However, I also recognise that the multiplicity of difference that made up the classroom cohort might have been intimidating for some students.

Janks (2001) claims that the dynamics of educational contexts are often complex and politically motivated. Drawing on the responses of one group of students in South Africa, she draws attention to the possible tensions and conflicts resulting from encouraging students to articulate a diverse range of meanings. She argues that the students in this particular context had invested in particular readings in order to gain recognition for their own meanings as well as to gain access to more powerful subject positions within the classroom, the school and the wider society, and, therefore, did not appear to value the meanings of others.

Jank's description of her research context raises the question of whether there were any students in my research context who preferred not to make their views available to others either to hold on to a particular powerful subject position or with the concern that those in powerful subject positions might ridicule their responses. For instance, Jeon might have insisted on generalising Australians as lazy in order to create for himself a subject position of dominance, authority and normalcy, one in which he can 'other' Australians as unusual. On the other hand, Tuahu and Jae-ko might have preferred not to contribute to group discussions to avoid being challenged by others who were possibly more vocal or more fluent than them. Kramer-Dahl (1996) raises the question of how much confidence students need to have to participate in a CDA classroom. She asks:

how can we assume that a pedagogical practice which asks students to make public information about their experiences and cultures in the presence of others, could ever grant them a safe, egalitarian place in which to speak? (p. 258)

Indeed, when students are asked to make explicit their understandings and assumptions in a foreign language, such as in the present research, the classroom atmosphere might become even less safe and egalitarian, hence, contributing to students' silences.

CONCLUSION

With this chapter I conclude my analyses of the meanings two groups of international students made of the CDA-based teaching program I designed. I intended my analyses to relive and reinscribe events (Denzin, 1998), giving readers of the thesis glimpses into the dynamics of the research and classroom context. I believe the insights I have gained in my analyses of students' perspectives of using CDA, my investigation of the meanings students make of cultural diversity and hybridity can contribute to further understandings of teaching and learning language and culture in increasingly glocalised times and spaces.

CHAPTER 9

REFLECTIONS ON FUTURE IMPLICATIONS OF TEACHING LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

This thesis is based on the premise that the learning of English as a foreign language entails the learning of new cultural repertoires. The related assumption is that learners of English as a foreign language often engage with ‘other’ meanings and practices through texts that construct mainstream practices as the norm (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). A further assumption is that learners are required to make sense of difference in intercultural spaces as they navigate between familiar and ‘other’ spatial and temporal relations (Byram & Fleming, 1998; Crozet et al., 1999).

The present research is an exploration of these assumptions through the classroom implementation of a CDA-based teaching program I designed drawing on the tenets of CDA (Fairclough, 1989) and its classroom applications (Luke et al., 1996; Wallace, 1992).

EXPLORING STUDENTS’ DISRUPTIONS OF NORMATIVITY

The present research explored the claim that CDA offers the means to raise learners’ awareness of the circulation and naturalisation of mainstream norms in texts (Carr, 1999; Hyde, 1994). I argue from my data that the particular CDA toolkit I designed provided students with practical tools to deconstruct the realities created in texts. I have argued that the use of tools of textual deconstruction led many of the students in the research cohort to recognise the ways texts stereotype cultural groups into particular ways of being and doing. Moreover, some students questioned the ways particular norms are circulated by texts as representative of and relevant to all members of society and argued for more complex and diverse representations of cultural groups and practices. In this sense, the adoption of a CDA-based teaching program in the language classroom was effective in

encouraging students to problematise the essentialisation of cultural groups and practices and in raising a critical awareness of culture.

EXPLORING STUDENTS' NAVIGATIONS THROUGH INTERCULTURAL SPACES

The present research also explored the assumption that an awareness of cultural diversity and complexity can facilitate language learners' negotiations of new and existing cultural repertoires, that it can assist in their participation in New Times. To investigate this claim I examined the spaces of meaning-making that students created in their interactions with difference.

The data suggest that the CDA-based teaching program created opportunities for some students to recognise the inherent multiplicity of bodies, practices and identities. The awareness of the essentialisation of cultural groups in texts that some students developed led to their recognition that cultural groups and practices are more varied and complex than those captured by texts. Such recognition encouraged some students to make sense of differences in-between familiar and foreign spaces where the 'self' and 'other' merge. Making meanings in these interstitial spaces was effective in assisting these students to recognise the legitimacy of 'other' meanings, making it possibly easier for them to work with difference.

However, I have also presented evidence that for other students in the research cohort the recognition of cultural diversity and complexity did not necessarily create comfortable zones for managing difference. These students negotiated with new and different meanings and identities in spaces of conflict and contestation. I argued that the creation of such hybrid spaces is also significant in suggesting that here students attempt to denaturalise 'self' norms and de-exoticise difference, and that this could be a step towards effective participation in global/local spaces.

I have also theorised that students' silences exemplifies the creation of a third type of hybrid space, one in which students make sense of difference in private. My theorisations of the creation of hybrid spaces as comfortable meaning-making

spaces, as spaces of tension and conflict and as zones of silence extend descriptions of hybrid spaces and identities proposed in the literature.

A REVIEW OF THE OUTCOMES OF INTRODUCING STUDENTS TO A CDA TOOLKIT

Findings of this research support the claim that teaching should not be assumed to have some form of impact on learners' ideas, assumptions and practices (Skehan, 1996). I have argued from my data that students demonstrated an awareness of the constructed nature of textual realities. However, such an awareness did not necessarily lead to changes in their meaning-making practices. I have presented instances in my data of students disrupting assumptions of homogeneity produced in the texts analysed in class. At the same time, however, there was evidence that on other occasions these students were producing stereotypical constructions of both 'self' and 'other' in the oral and written texts they produced.

I do not perceive this to be a failure of CDA itself. Rather, the take up by students of contradictory practices and contesting assumptions exemplifies the ways individuals take up multiple discourses and subject positions. What I recognise as significant about the CDA toolkit I used is that it seemed to create spaces for students to reflect on assumptions of homogeneity – their own and others. That is, while these students were essentialising 'self' and/or 'other' into stereotypical categories, they were at the same time questioning themselves in doing so as well as questioning the take up of stereotypes by classroom members, others outside the classroom and their teacher. This is significant in suggesting that a CDA toolkit could have encouraged some students to extend the classroom use of deconstructive tools to everyday life.

What this CDA toolkit failed to achieve in the classroom was to encourage a focus on possible alternative ways of constructing the realities created in texts. The tools of reconstruction proposed in the literature (Luke et al., 1996; Wallace, 1992) did not appear to encourage students to reconceptualise topics. In other words, students did not actively apply their awareness of cultural multiplicity to recreating the texts analysed in class. Moreover, in the literature it is assumed that students doing CDA

will be able to draw on an already existing repertoire of assumptions and expectations to propose complex reconstructions. However, most of the students in this study did not appear to have available a repertoire of observations of Australians or experiences in interacting with Australians. They did not appear to have an existing body of knowledge to draw on. In fact, some students claimed that they had not yet met any local Australians. It seems that CDA overestimates what EFL students, in particular, might bring to the classroom. Here the addition of ethnographic methods to the CDA toolkit proved effective.

ETHNOGRAPHY AS AN ADDITIONAL TOOL TO CDA-BASED TEACHING

The integration of the ethnographic method of interviewing into the CDA-based teaching program appeared to be effective in raising learners' critical awareness of culture. It was significant in creating opportunities for students to meet and interact with members of the 'other' cultural group and in encouraging recognition of the multiplicity and complexity of 'other' practices. It is my contention that the use of ethnographic methods in conjunction with a CDA toolkit is what led to the creation of such spaces and meanings.

Some language practitioners claim that ethnographic methods in themselves can encourage in learners an awareness of 'other' practices, that through techniques of observation and elicitation learners can gain insights into foreign cultural repertoires (Byram & Cain, 1998; Byram & Fleming, 1998; Roberts, 1993). The data from this research suggest, however, that by itself ethnography did not provide students with the means to access or interrogate 'other' meanings. This thesis questions the assumption that provided that learners inhabit the same spaces as members of the 'other' culture, they will not have any difficulty in observing and approaching 'others' to explore. As was evident in module 1 of the program, not all students had the confidence, the linguistic ability or the time and space to engage in ethnographic interactions with local members of the foreign culture. However, when given guidance and support in conducting ethnographies, as in module 2, students demonstrated that they can successfully enter into and interrogate 'other' spaces.

Such support can include the provision of time for linguistic preparation, assistance from the teacher in selecting interviewees and collaborative class work on preparation of an interview protocol. I have presented evidence that it was the combination of the tools of CDA and ethnography – where students drew on the deconstructive tools of CDA in interrogating the discursive realities produced by their interviewees – that was effective in drawing to students’ attention the multiplicity and complexity of realities of the ‘other’.

In the CDA-based teaching program I designed, ethnographic methods were integrated in the post-analysis tasks of units. Another way of including ethnography into the program could have been in the pre-text analysis tasks. An ethnographic focus prior to text analysis could have created opportunities for students to expand their knowledge of ‘other’ bodies, practices and norms. This could have facilitated the recognition that there are alternatives to a text’s version of ‘otherness’. I argue from my data that incorporating a constant shift between ethnography and CDA in future applications of the teaching program can be effective in encouraging a critical awareness of cultural complexity. For instance, students can use ethnography to gain access to alternative worldviews and then employ the tools of CDA to investigate the assumptions underpinning these ethnographic realities.

TRACING STUDENTS’ PRODUCTIVE USES OF POWER

I share the scepticism put forward in CDA literature (Janks, 1999, 2002; Lankshear et al., 1997) about the assumption that the use of CDA can empower learners to challenge and change the conditions that serve to racially, socially or economically marginalise them. In the present research while there was evidence that a CDA toolkit could provide students with tools that led them to recognise their own and others’ racial marginalisation and oppression in texts and in mainstream Australian society, such awareness was not accompanied by the practical means to enable these students to cope with and make changes to racial marginalisation.

In my judgement students’ inability to make changes to the conditions of racial marginalisation is not necessarily an inherent failing of CDA. Rather, the way I

designed the CDA-based teaching program could have contributed to it. Modifying the program to include an explicit exploration of racism in the classroom as well as a longer period of exposure to the program might have been effective in making available to the students alternatives to the victim-of-racial-abuse subject position they appeared to be taking up.

Another way of addressing this highly complex issue could have been to present more ethnographic opportunities to students where they explore local perceptions of themselves as 'other' in Sunny Hill. Another variation could have been to employ the CDA toolkit to identify the take up of anti-racist practices and meanings in texts. The interrogation and documentation of counter-hegemonic discourses can open up to students alternative ways of dealing with racial marginalisation. Identifying instances of positive power/knowledge configurations produced in texts can highlight to students that marginalising discourses can be rewritten so that individuals can escape from being the victims and objects of their domination (Luke, 2002). For instance, students can be asked to bring to class for analysis texts that they recognise as constructing racial categories as inherently complex and as producing racial differences that transgress a hierarchical binary divide. Students' identification of textual uptakes of productive power may help to make available to them discourses and subject positions to counter marginalising conditions. This would be one area for exploration in future research.

The present research responds to Luke's (2002) calls for CDA practitioners to document productive uses of power in times of economic and cultural globalisation, to offer insights into navigations between New Times and spaces. In this thesis, I have exemplified the ways some students were already participating in spaces between the local and global, recognising the hybridity of meanings and identities. Some students, for example, demonstrated recognition of the production and interpretation of advertising texts as transcending local spaces, as aiming to target audiences at a global scale. I have also documented the various ways students took up, resisted or subverted the subject positions the texts were making available to them. I have traced, for example, the intricate ways Jeon took up identities that were alternative to those made available in texts, such as in the assumptions that all

Asians eat rice or that all Asians only and always bow when greeting. My exemplification of students' participation in glocal spaces (Robertson, 1995) and their use of strategies of interruption and resistance to being implicated in essentialising discourses contributes to broadening CDA's research agenda to meet the challenges of New Times: These examples give insights into the emergence of hybrid forms of identity and representation as students encounter a proliferation of difference in their everyday lives and explore new definitions of discourse and culture as situated in transcultural spaces.

The data suggest that as competent navigators between familiar and foreign spaces, some of the students in the present research might have already been critically aware of cultural complexity and multiplicity prior to their participation in the program. Early in the program Thomas and Popo, for instance, questioned cultural essentialism and suggested awareness of the complexity of cultural groups. These students' might have been drawing on an already existing critical cultural awareness, on which I had not collected data. Data on the types of competencies the students brought to this CDA-based teaching program could have allowed me to incorporate what students already know into the design of the program. This could have been significant as the present research suggests that lessons in which students drew on their existing knowledge of the topic to be discussed were more likely to create spaces for the development of critical cultural awareness. Moreover, gaining access to the knowledge students brought to the program could have enabled me to make available to students subject positions in which they could use their existing knowledge to shape classroom practices. I could have used the take up of such positions to exemplify the exercise of productive power relations in the classroom. The investigation of students' levels of critical awareness before their engagement with the tools of CDA is another area that needs further research.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CLASSROOM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CDA-BASED TEACHING PROGRAM

The literature on teaching and learning language and culture theorises and describes various teaching approaches but only rarely offers insights into the practical

classroom application of these approaches. This thesis will add to the body of work on teaching and learning language and culture by documenting both the design of a CDA-based teaching program and its implementation in two existing EFL classrooms.

My documentation of the classroom implementation of the CDA-based teaching program has implications for teacher development programs in TESOL. TESOL students are at the centre of the effects of New Times as their bodies, capital and knowledge shift across local and global spaces and times. TESOL pedagogy, then, needs to address these new conditions and contexts of learning, ensuring that students are equipped with the skills and practices to participate in the global flows of texts and discourses that surround them. The present research offers insights into students' engagements with hybrid spaces and identities and the practices they take up in their negotiations with difference. The understandings gained here offer TESOL pedagogy a basis for preparing students to participate effectively in New Times.

The selection of texts

The selection of texts which had some relevance to students' lives, of which students might be readers, were successful in encouraging students' recognition of cultural diversity. The involvement of students in the selection of texts can increase their investment in the analysis of the texts and the production of alternative realities. Including students in the process of program design can give teachers/researchers insights into what students perceive to be relevant to their learning and their everyday lives. In this way it challenges the authoritarian role of the teacher in deciding on behalf of the students the forms of learning that will be of benefit to them. In the first module of this program Jeon raised this issue in class, questioning the way I was positioning him to contribute to a program in the development of which he was not involved. The involvement of the students in this research cohort in the design stage of the CDA-based program could have introduced a focus on discourses students could use to challenge their 'othering' in

mainstream Australian society, thereby giving them the tools to make changes to inequitable social conditions.

Integrating a CDA toolkit in task-based learning methodology

There was evidence in the data that in the implementation of the CDA-based teaching program a task-based methodology was appropriate (Willis, 1996). In particular, the adoption of a task-planning-report sequence allowed for a shift from private group discussions to making these discussions public to others in class. The report stage gave students access to the range of meanings that were being made in other groups. It also proved to be an alternative data collection technique in that it made available to me students' responses that were not picked up by microphones. These pedagogical elements could form the basis of future designs and implementations of the program.

AN EXAMINATION OF TEACHING/LEARNING FROM STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

The present research explores the teaching program from the perspective of the participants, providing insights into the diverse meanings students make of such programs, which has until now remained largely unexplored in the literature. In the present research, student journals were a valuable source for gaining access to the diversity of students' readings. As the data suggest, the journals created a non-threatening, private space for students to raise issues they perceived to be significant. The journals gave students the time and space to reflect on and further explore concepts and topics raised in class, providing me with additional meanings to the ones students produced in class. This was significant in building student confidence in this particular research/teaching context where the students were expected to voice their ideas in a foreign language.

Students' journals also allowed access to the meanings made by the quiet students who did not participate in class or group discussions, such as Chika and Tuahu. As Davies (2001) notes, quiet students often form "part of the backdrop to the talk and action in the classroom, rather than part of the action" (p. 336). They often go

unnoticed by the researcher and because they have no verbal production in the research, are not included in classroom analyses. Student journals, then, contributed to ensuring that these students were also analysed as part of classroom action.

I integrated student journals into the teaching program as a task to be completed outside class hours. I guided students on possible themes they could discuss in their journals but did not impose the analysis of any particular topic. I would argue that encouraging students to make their own decisions about completing the journal task contributed to the effectiveness of the journal as a pedagogical and research tool in that it allowed students to examine topics that they perceived to be relevant and significant in times and spaces that they believed were appropriate.

INCORPORATING CDA-BASED TEACHING IN TEACHER EDUCATION

As TESOL students shift between local and global meanings and identities, taking up new literacies and competencies demanded by new information and communication technologies, teachers are required to make decisions about how they can prepare students to successfully negotiate these new meanings and identities. In these New Times teachers as well as students need to familiarise themselves with the tools of CDA. Teachers need to learn about ways they can adopt the tools of CDA in their classrooms, making available to students discourses of cultural hybridity and complexity. Here pre- and in-service teacher education programs are faced with the goal of preparing teachers to embody and implement the tenets and tools of CDA in their everyday teaching.

The present research can be followed up by introducing TESOL teachers to CDA toolkits that they can then use with their students. An investigation of the meanings a group of teachers make of the CDA-based teaching program I have described and analysed in this thesis, for example, can contribute to the development in teachers of understandings of ways they could negotiate multiple readings of texts in the CDA classroom. As I have argued earlier in the thesis, the complexity and diversity of meaning-making practices has the potential to enrich the processes of textual deconstruction and reconceptualisation. However, at the same time, negotiating

these diverse, at times competing and conflicting perspectives in class can be a challenging task for the teacher. In the present research, for example, the meanings some of the students made were not obvious to me, which led to some of these readings being ignored and unexplored. Furthermore, I intentionally privileged some students' responses and not others with the purpose of making available to students a particular worldview, the view that cultural groups and their practices are hybrid and varied. Tracing the ways a group of teachers interpret and respond to the variety of readings produced in their classrooms can highlight practical strategies and suggestions for recognising, acknowledging and incorporating into teaching the diversity of worldviews produced by students.

Furthermore, teachers can also be involved in the design of CDA-based teaching programs, in making decisions about which discursive representations to problematise and reconstruct. This can give teachers the opportunity to reflect on the discourses and literate practices that they believe can facilitate students' participation in New Times and to examine ways that CDA can make available these meanings. Such research on teachers' interpretations of CDA as a pedagogical framework and the various CDA toolkits that they adopt in their classrooms can broaden understandings of the practice of using CDA in teaching language and culture.

If the goal of teaching today is to broaden students' existing repertoires of practices so that they can engage effectively with global flows of information, discourse and text (Luke, 2003), then not only students' but also teachers' literate practices need to be reshaped. In these New Times both students and teachers need to have at their disposal the tools of textual and discursive deconstruction and reconstitution with which they can navigate successfully between new and old cultural spaces, identities and meanings and with which they can successfully negotiate cultural differences.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ACRONYMS USED IN THESIS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELICOS: English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students

ELT: English Language Teaching

ESL: English as a Second Language

IELTS: International English Language Testing System

LOTE: Languages other than English

TESOL: Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following transcription conventions were adapted from Eggin (2000, pp. 138-139):

[<i>italics</i>]	My comments about the interaction
[word?]	My best guess of a word
[???	Indecipherable speech
[Interruption/overlap in speech
=	At the end of a turn and at the beginning of the following module indicates no appreciable break
...	Short pause
.....	Longer pause/ silence
Bold	Emphatic stress
?	Question and/or rising intonation
!	Strong expression
,	Slight break within a turn
.	Finality/falling intonation
No final punctuation	Implies speaker did not indicate finality
New line in transcript	Part of transcript not included
' '	Indicates the speaker is quoting from a printed text

APPENDIX C: STUDENTS' ATTENDANCE SCHEDULE IN EACH MODULE

Table 1: The list of students who participated in each unit of module 1

Module 1				
Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5
Popo	Popo	Popo	Popo	Popo
Jeon	Jeon	Jeon	Jeon	Jeon
Asami	Asami	Asami	Asami	Asami
Thomas	Thomas	Thomas	Thomas	Thomas
	Eric	Eric	Eric	Eric
	Chika	Yui	Chika	Chika
	Yui		Lilu	Lilu

Table 2: The list of students who participated in each unit of module 2

Module 2				
Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5
Popo	Popo	Popo	Popo	Popo
Jeon	Jeon	Jeon	Jeon	Jeon
Lilu	Lilu	Lilu	Lilu	Lilu
Cathy	Cathy	Adhin	Cathy	Cathy
Adhin	Adhin	Chika	Adhin	Adhin
	Chika	Tolib	Tolib	Chika
	Tolib	Tuahu	Jae-ko	Tolib
	Tuahu			Tuahu
	Jae-ko			Jae-ko

APPENDIX D: AN ICEBERG MODEL OF CULTURE

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(C. Morgan, 1998, p. 237)

APPENDIX E: BLOKE

Bloke (by Christopher Franklin)

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APPENDIX F: SHEILA

There was this mob a sheilas... Bunch a screamers...

An American psychologist, Mrs Graham Bell, said she wondered how Australian men and women ever got together enough to get married. But it is not true that Ordinary Australians fail to recognise the value of women. Any man will tell you they are indispensable for packing picnic-baskets, and for keeping other women company while you are drinking with their husbands

Cyril Pearl, So, you want to be an Australian (1959)

Who's that dog of a woman? She must be someone's girlfriend to be in that job.

Head of the ABC, Jonathan Shier, commenting on an ABC presenter, Sydney Morning Herald, October 20 2001

At the weekend I was watching ladies' beach volleyball with my old [mate](#) Gazza.... Pointing at the television with his beer, Gazza remarked: "[Mate](#), this is one game that should be played in the nude". Who was I to disagree?

Go Anna [Kournikova], Aussies are behind you to a man, Courier Mail, 16 Jan 2003

Australian women, women in the land of [mateship](#), the 'Ocker', keg-culture, come pretty close to top rating as the 'Doormats of the Western World'

Miriam Dixson, Historian, University of New England, 1976

War historian Gavin Long wrote: "Australians have always treated their women a little worse than dogs" - but the Americans also bought flowers for mothers, cigars for fathers, candybars for children. Such "poofter" tenderness was utterly unacceptable to the diggers and relations in Townsville, Brisbane and Melbourne were marred by fights, stabbings and sometimes death.

Review of *The Battle of Brisbane: Australians and the Yanks at War*, Sydney Morning Herald, January 20, 2001

Youngsters on an excursion to study democracy heard Lord Mayor Jim Soorley call an opposition councillor a "wanker" and a "boofhead" and tell a female councillor to "shut up, you stupid woman" One

student said the Lord Mayor needed "his mouth washed out with soap"

Clean up Your Act, Brisbane Sunday Mail,
September 7, 2002

In mid 1999 a European marketing campaign for an international company focused around a picture of a woman wearing cleaning garb with a cigarette in one hand and a mop in the other. The page was clearly marked "Australian Domestic Appliance".

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Enjoying a beer on Rotto, Western Australia

Naturally, Australian women kicked up a stink back in the land of oz. But as some journalists stated, where there is smoke, there is often fire.

Flirt, fribble, and shrew as she was, Julia Vickers had displayed, in times of emergency, that glowing courage which women of her nature at times possess. Although she would yawn over any book over the level of a genteel love story; attempt to fascinate, with ludicrous assumption of girlishness, boys young enough to be her sons; shudder at a frog, and scream at a spider, she could sit throughout a quarter of an hour of such suspense as she had just undergone with as much courage as if she had been the strongest woman that ever denied her sex.

For the Term of His Natural Life, 1867

Young women today forget that their sex has only been liberated in the last generation or two. As late as the early seventies, a woman

had to resign from the Queensland education department upon getting married. And when applying for a home loan, only the man's income was taken into account when processing the application. A woman's place was in the home.

Despite the relaxed social mores the pub is no place for a woman... Concessions may exist in the statute book but women are not wanted in Australians public bars. My wife was forcibly removed from a pub in the main street of Beechworth in 1975.

Jonathan King, *Waltzing Maternalism*, 1976

[Politician] Norton had a great affection for his dog, except when was drunk, when he treated it as badly as he treated his wife.

Cyril Pearl, *Wild Men of Sydney*, 1958

A Department of Trade minute from March 13, 1963, begins: "It is difficult to find reasons to support the appointment of women Trade Commissioners" and goes on to list reasons against it. "A spinster at work, can, and very often does, turn into something of a battleaxe with the passing years. A man usually mellows," wrote A.R. Taysom to K.L. Le Rossignol, director of Trade Commissioner Services. He did concede that in some cases: "A relatively young attractive woman could operate with some effectiveness, in a subordinate capacity." But "such an appointee would not stay young and attractive for ever and later on could well become a problem".

All mouth but no way with words, *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 17 2005

A woman had five choices:

- She could become a hairdresser;
- She could become a teacher (until she married, after which she had to resign);
- She could work in retail;
- She could become a nurse; or
- She could be a housewife.

And that was pretty well it. On top of this, of course, was the enduring notion of [mateship](#), which tended to exclude women, merely as the culture had developed without them (this is discussed further [here](#)). The scene painted by Cyril Perl in the quote above was certainly true of the 60s, and, to a lesser extent, has a ring of truth about it in the 90s.

The nationalism of the 1890's was focussed on the notion of [mateship](#), and excluded women, confining their role to a lesser one of domestic drudgery. While nationalism popularly propounded mateship, Lawson [Henry Lawson's mother] advocated a counter-force - the sisterhood.

Margaret Cunningham, *That Nonsensical Idea: Louisa Lawson's Literary Experiment for Australian Society*, 1996.

"For women, wine is not an intellectual pursuit," Foster Wine Estate's marketing director, Trevor Croker announced in the press release [after developing a new wine for women]... "Apparently, we need our very own wine because we are all a little simple and don't need too much mental stimulation thinking about wine," came the riposte from one of Mr Croker's fellow wine marketers, Annie Rankin, at Chalice Bridge in the Margaret River region.

Vintage sexism sours a new wine, Sydney Morning Herald, 6 August 2005

However, as with attitudes towards homosexuality and race, attitudes towards women have changed enormously in the last generation or two. Most young women today have little or no appreciation of the fact that only 50 years ago, they would have had little choice but to spend their lives in a domestic role. So what role, then, does an Australian woman play today?

A pretty English girl I knew was bluntly told by her Australian boy-friend that he could not take her out on Friday as that was the night he always got drunk with the boys

John Pringle, *Australian Accent* (1958)

Other dilemmas that come to mind include.. how to deliver the great Australian line in sexual foreplay,

"You awake?", so that the required results are guaranteed.

No manners at all, Sydney Morning Herald, March 23, 2002

It appears that just as Australian women are slowly moving out of their homes and into the workplace, so too they are moving into the social mainstream. They are performing less and less domestically, and expect to be included in traditionally male activities, such as a night out on the [piss](#). In fact it is true to say that a lot of women are adapting traditionally male Australian characteristics. For example, foreigners often comment about how much Australian women drink and swear. Male Europeans have been known to get embarrassingly drunk on a small amount of alcohol, leaving their calm experienced Australian female companion to look after them despite having consumed much more alcohol themselves.

She is drunk, no, plastered - a truer description for that state of inebriation so profound that even a slight shift of a hip does strange things to the centre of gravity.... They play raucous drinking games. They skol with panache. They perform origami and lame magic tricks with beer coasters, fall off bar stools, spill beer, flash their breasts out of car windows, start fights, wolf whistle, heckle attractive men.... Women in Australia, she says, drink more, and they drink beer - not a beverage of choice among American women.... The older ones.. drink more than the men - far more - and they get really rowdy." So what's the average alcohol consumption for the typical young woman on a Friday night? "Well, in a four-hour stint, most of them will drink six schooners." She pauses, laughs, then mimes lifting a huge glass. "I mean, a schooner - that's a lot of beer."

Sydney Woman on the Prowl, Sydney Morning Herald, 8 Jan 2003

Mr Crosbie says there are two troubling trends: people are starting to binge drink younger; and women, in particular, are stepping up their drinking.

Binge drinking a consuming passion for young, The Age, November 27 2004

DRUNKEN teenage girls have been blamed for setting the standard in bad behaviour at Schoolies. The warning comes after The Sunday Mail last month revealed young women were binge drinking

more than men, with 12.3 per cent of girls aged 14-19 drinking at levels likely to cause chronic damage, compared with 7.7 per cent of males.... "I would say girls are definitely the barometer that sets the standards for the event," an experienced Schoolies volunteer said. "Some of them are walking around with these tiny tops on . . . they're drunk.

Binge girls lead Schoolie strife, *The Sunday Mail*,
13 November 2005

We live in an age when women feel confident drinking to excess and demanding sex

Of men and mortgages, *Sydney Morning Herald*,
Jan 14 2006

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Aussie enjoying her beer in the RE, Brisbane

How then are men coping with this social invasion? This cultural clash? As stated elsewhere on this site, it is very difficult to overcome strongly held cultural beliefs. Rightly or wrongly, blokes still enjoy having a quiet beer with their mates. And they love it.

Companionship with women is not rated so highly; indeed, the man who spends too much time with a woman is likely to be regarded with some suspicion as not much of a man at all, a mere sissy or skirt-chaser

Craig McGerger, *Profile of Australia*, London,
1966

Do not our men habitually desert their women at social gatherings and crowd around the beer keg, swapping yarns, laughing raucously, literally wallowing in the rituals of mateship?

Ronald Conway, *The Great Australian Stupor*,
1976.

But - and there is no sense denying it - Australian mateship is mainly for men. It was - and is - difficult to be mates with a woman.... At parties and dances, the men stood at one end of the room and drank beers out of a barrel.. and talked about sport. The women stood or sat at the other end of the room, and talked about babies and spoke only to men to tell them it was time to go home. A woman who joined the men's group was considered to have loose morals. A man who joined the woman's group was considered to be effeminate, probably a homosexual, or a 'poofster', whatever that was.

Phillip Knightley, *Australia: A Biography of a Nation*, 2000

Of course, the women don't always love it, and it is often a constant battle for honest aussie blokes to find a quiet few hours away every now and again.

A Cricket Australia sub-committee has heard claims that Australia's Ashes squad never bonded as it should have as players repeatedly went in different directions due to the presence of wives and children throughout the tour. "There's 14 other players here and I can't find anyone to have a beer with," said one player in the closing weeks of the tour.

Ashes Loss blamed on wives, News.com.au,
November 13 2005

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'Shelia's Dunny' on the left in a Perth Pub

Finally, shelia is an old Australian word for woman. A quick word of advice: unless you are an Australian male aged 70 or above, it would be very difficult to use this word in a shelia's presence without causing offence. While it was just a word a generation or so ago, it is generally considered sexist. Alas.

There is something delightful about the Australian vernacular. 'He's flat out like a lizard drinking' and 'He's a few bricks short of a load' are distinctly Australian. Sadly, phrases such as those and words such as 'bonzer' and 'cobber' and, dare one say it, 'sheila' have all but disappeared from everyday speech. One of the joys of a visit to outback Australia is to hear some of those all too readily forgotten Australianisms. Why have those words and phrases gone? Is it because they are unfashionable? Is it that, as a nation, we have become more sophisticated? Or is it because of our growing reliance on America for food, films, fashion, culture and sports?

Hon. LH Davis, South Australian Legislative Council, 19 July
1995

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'Sheila' being used in a WA outback Pub

Red Slaven can now be found working in a hardware store in Main Street, Lithgow. He loves Roy Slaven. "I'd chat up the sheilas, say I was Roy's brother."

Sydney Morning Herald, October 7, 2000

Sheila is an Australian colloquialism that's been around . . . I'm one of those Australians who are sick and tired of all these Yankees who get on our television and our radio . . . let's have a bit of Australianism . Let's get a little bit less American crap on our TV.

Queensland Premier Peter Beattie, Spitting chips (not french fries),
Courier Mail, 9 March 2003

I am a Sheila

Member for Clayfield Liddy Clark, Spitting chips (not french fries),
Courier Mail, 9 March 2003

The world knows us for g'day mate, [Anzacs](#), wallabies and kangaroo... we've got top sheilas and good blokes, [utes](#) and we have a coldie around the [barbie](#). We don't need diapers, candy, ketchup, trash cans and fries – we've got nappies, lollies, tomato sauce, rubbish tins and chips.

Queensland Premier Peter Beattie, Spitting chips (not french fries),
Courier Mail, 9 March 2003

When farmers in the hamlet of Harrow talk about the drought, they're not talking about the weather. They're talking about the shortage of sheilas.

These blokes want sheilas, 2003

It was just bizarre, it was like a game of tennis. One of the boys after the game said if it was a sheila you wouldn't ask her out, that game. It was terrible.

Dragons assistant coach Kurt Wrigley, after his side beat Cronulla.
Sydney Morning Herald, 31 July 2004

If this seemed slightly below the bum-crack, Labor MP Steve Gibbons was happy to destroy any semblance of decorum. As Kelly walked across the chamber to answer a question on dodgy regional grants, Gibbons's thunderous interjection echoed through the house "I suppose a rort's out of the question," he roared. Remarkably, Kelly did not hear

the gibe, but her colleagues did. Tony Abbott was soon up on his feet: "It was a crude and demeaning interjection, most inappropriate on International Women's Day."

The Sketch: A hormonal day in the house, The Australian, March 9 2005

Convicted drug smuggler Schapelle Corby would probably refuse to be transferred from Bali to an Australian women's prison because of "big butch sheilas", her mother says.

'Big butch sheila' fear for Corby, SMH.com.au, 24 Jan 2006

APPENDIX G: IT'S A SMALL WORLD

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(Leo, 1997, p. 167)

APPENDIX H: GREETINGS

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