

T.C.  
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ  
YABANCI DİLLER EĞİTİMİ ANABİLİM DALI

DOKTORA TEZİ

CLASSROOM POWER RELATIONS IN AN  
ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE SETTING  
FROM A CRITICAL PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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İSTANBUL 2009

Bu çalışma İstanbul Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri  
Komisyonu tarafından desteklenmiştir.  
Proje no: 2862

## **ABSTRACT**

### **CLASSROOM POWER RELATIONS IN AN ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE SETTING FROM A CRITICAL PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE YASEMIN ORAL**

The present study basically aimed at exploring how power relations work and function at the micro-level of classroom interaction. Theoretically informed by the principles of critical pedagogy and Foucauldian understanding of power relations, this study investigated how power relations are constructed across various aspects of classroom interaction. Drawing on the methodological tools of critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis and classroom discourse analysis, the study collected data, consisting of ethnographic field notes, interviews with the teacher and 41-hour audio-recordings over a five-month period, from an English as a foreign language class in a private elementary school in İstanbul. The analysis focused on control of space and movement, interactional routines and participation rights, the workings of directing and questioning, and the use of students' first language. The results demonstrated how power relations are interactively constructed by all participants involved across the specifics of classroom interaction.

## **Öz**

### **ELEŞTİREL PEDAGOJİ ODAKLI BİR YAKLAŞIMLA BİR YABANCI DİL OLARAK İNGİLİZCE SINIFINDA GÜÇ İLİŞKİLERİ YASEMİN ORAL**

Bu çalışma, temel olarak güç ilişkilerinin mikro düzeyde sınıf içi etkileşim süreci içinde nasıl ve hangi biçimlerde kurulduğunu incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Kuramsal çıkış noktasını eleştirel pedagojinin ilkeleri ve Foucault'nun güç ilişkileri kavramsallaştırması oluşturan bu çalışmada, öğretmen ve öğrenciler arasındaki güç ilişkilerinin sınıf içi etkileşim sürecinin çeşitli bileşenleri aracılığıyla nasıl kurulduğu doğal ortamında gözlemlenerek betimlenmiştir. Eleştirel etnografi, eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi ve söylem çözümlemesinin yöntemsel ilke ve araçlarını kullanarak, İstanbul'daki bir özel ilköğretim okulunda, bir yabancı dil olarak İngilizce sınıfında beş aylık bir süreçte yapılan gözlem ve 41 saatlik ses-kaydı ile etnografik saha notları ve öğretmen görüşmeleri çalışmanın veri tabanını oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, sınıfın fiziksel alanının ve öğrenci hareketlerinin kontrolü, etkileşimsel rutinler ve katılım hakları, yönetme ve soru sorma süreçleri ile sınıf içinde ana dil kullanımına odaklanarak, güç ilişkilerinin sınıf içinde etkileşimsel olarak nasıl kurulduğu incelenmiş ve betimlenmiştir.

## PREFACE

Informed by the principles and concerns of critical pedagogy, the present study explores how power relations are constructed across various aspects of classroom interaction, employing the analytical tools of critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis and classroom discourse analysis, in an English-as-a-foreign-language setting.

This dissertation is not only a product of years-long PhD study but rather part of my passage through life. I have always believed in the possibility of another world in which everyone is the author of her own life. In the words of a mostly-forgotten 1970s song, I have ‘imagine’d ‘all the people living life in peace’ with ‘no need for greed or hunger’. And I wrote this dissertation first and foremost because I wanted to make at least a tiny contribution to the efforts for this possibility. Then I have believed that I can find a way out of the present reproductive conditions governing our lives, *a space* where I am not necessarily to socialize into them, where I can problematize them, where I can engage in different possibilities. This is how it started. And this is why I have studied the very workings of power relations. Many might find it too naïve. I can even be accused of utopianism or romanticism. Yet, Prof. Dr. Tülin Polat, my supervisor, has always believed in me. My foremost gratitude goes to her for sharing my political motives to pursue this study, and for supporting me, with trust and encouragement, in making this study *the space* I was striving for.

It has been a tough journey, though. There were those moments of weakness, of pessimism, of frustration, of doubt and not knowing, and of desperation. My special thanks go to the teacher, the students, and the administrators for welcoming me in their communities and making this study possible. It would have been an impossible undertaking without their willing cooperation. Further, I am more than grateful to Assist. Prof. Dr. Özlem İlker Etuş for her stable presence through all those innumerable unstable events and also suffering my half-baked ideas. Her thought-provoking questions and insightful comments gave them life. I am also indebted beyond measure to

Assist. Prof. Dr. Dilek İnal for removing many obstacles of all kinds that I have encountered throughout this journey and pulling me out whenever I hit rock bottom. To Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alev Bulut, I owe the debt of knowledge and stimulus to inquiry. Since my undergraduate years, she has been with me, holding my hand unconditionally. There were also those moments when I felt lost, and even when I lost my faith in what I was doing. But my dear friends, Aysel, Ayşe, Ayberk, Bahar, Elif, Ersin, Esra, Fatih, Işıl, Janset, Mustafa, Okan, Özhan, Sally, and Yasemin; they were all there to illuminate my way. What is more, they all put up with my moodiness, my forgetfulness, my often reluctance to go out with them- even for a cup of coffee, because I had to study, my unending complaints, and my copious tears all through the way, and words simply cannot express my gratitude to them. My heartfelt gratitude also goes to my dear sister Fatoş and my dear brother Fatih for their unconditional love and for always having supported me in every possible way. I cannot imagine going through this journey without them. I would like to extend my special thanks to all my colleagues in Hasan Ali Yücel Faculty of Education, at İstanbul University, for their continuous support and helping hands.

Most of all, I am so grateful to my beloved parents, Kıymet and Mustafa Oral, who sowed in me the seeds of critical inquiry and have sacrificed so much so that I can follow the path I have chosen, that I want to dedicate this study to them. To them, I owe the debt of myself.

On a final note, an inspiration for everyone who is to analyze power relations, Michel Foucault deserves a very special word of gratitude. Without his stimulating and illuminating works, this study would have been ill-founded.

Now, I'd like to welcome you to the outcome of my journey.

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## **LIST of ABBREVIATIONS**

ELT: English Language Teaching

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ESL: English as a Second Language

## **INTRODUCTION**

One primary function of language is to serve as a means of communication and interaction. Thus, classroom interaction is one specific type of language-in-use situation with its own distinctive particularities. An understanding of these particularities requires integration of theory into practice in the sense that theoretical perspectives should be backed up through the investigation of how social phenomena works in its natural settings. Informed by such an understanding of theory-practice integration, the present study aims to explore the workings of power relations operating at the micro level of classroom interaction in an EFL setting. In this respect this study takes critical pedagogy and Foucault's conception of power relations as its theoretical basis. As is criticized by Pennycook (2001: 115), EFL/ESL classrooms are often construed as fairly neutral sites of pedagogical transaction in much of applied linguistics. Yet, this study has been informed by a political understanding of ELT profession. Since one of the key challenges for critical applied linguistics is thus to find ways of understanding how power circulates at multiple levels (Ibid. p.114), the present study is concerned with the description of how power relations operate across various aspects of classroom interaction in an EFL class.

The first chapter, named 'Critical Pedagogy and English Language Teaching', will initially present the theoretical framework underlying the study. Critical pedagogy, as a field of study and practice, and its attendant theoretical principles will be discussed. With a broad educational vision of transforming present inequalities and injustices that characterizes the society and the educational systems on macro- and micro-levels, critical pedagogy is concerned with different possibilities that would challenge and change them, while at the same time criticizing and exposing them. In this respect, the chapter will present the theoretical foundations of critical pedagogy as well as its underlying conceptions and practice-related issues. The chapter then proceeds with the intersection between critical pedagogy and the teaching of English. Given the

unprecedented status of English as a global language, Pennycook (1995: 49) argues that “English today is the language of the global panopticon”. With an attempt to understand implications of the global spread of English, critical approaches to ELT concern with the issues of power and of inequality in this particular field. Accordingly, the chapter will continue with a brief discussion on both macro- and micro-level issues offered by critical approaches to ELT.

The second chapter, named ‘Investigating Power Relations through Classroom Interaction’, will introduce the methodological framework of the study. Initially the particular purposes of the study will be presented, listing the preliminary research questions asked at the beginning of the study. The study will methodologically draw upon critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis and classroom discourse analysis. Key methodological perspectives and tools offered by these methods will be presented together with the procedures for data collection and data analysis.

The third chapter, named ‘Construction of Power Relations across Classroom Interaction’, will present and discuss the findings obtained in the study. It is basically the chapter that will describe the workings of power relations across various aspects of classroom interaction, building on the findings gathered. Particular theoretical constructs offered by the underlying methodological framework will also be used as a frame of reference for the interpretation of data in this chapter. The concluding chapter will present a summary of findings with particular reference to the theoretical and methodological perspectives informing the study. Then, the conclusions and implications for critical practice and research will be discussed.

## **1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL PEDAGOGY and ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING**

*A society without power relations can only be an abstraction...For to say that there cannot be a society without power relations is not say either that those which are established are necessary, or that power in any event, constitutes an inescapable fatality at the heart of societies, such that it cannot be undermined. Instead, I would say that the analysis, elaboration, and bringing into question of power relations and the “agonism” between power relations and the intransivity of freedom is an increasingly political task—even, the political task that is inherent in all social existence (Foucault, 1994:343; in Fabion & Rabinow (Eds.)*

### **1.1. Critical Pedagogy**

Critical pedagogy, as both a field of study and a set of practices, is concerned with criticizing, resisting and engaging any educational practices that (re)produce existing social inequalities and injustices. Although critical pedagogy emerged as early as in the 1960s with the studies by Freire, it is around the late 1980s and early 1990s that we begin to see excessive studies on critical pedagogy regarding both mainstream education with Shor (1992), Giroux (1988, 1991, 1992, 1997), McLaren (1989, 1996, 2003), and foreign language education with Pennycook (1989, 1994, 1999, 2001), Auerbach (1995), and Canagarajah (1999). Diverse forms of counter-education, under the banner of critical pedagogy, concern with the social embeddedness and political character of education in contemporary society. The fields of critical pedagogy are complex and fragmented. Although they have a lot in common, critical pedagogy has many versions today. Through an analysis of contemporary academic literature that claims for itself the label critical pedagogy, Gore (1992:55) identifies two main discursive strands: the first

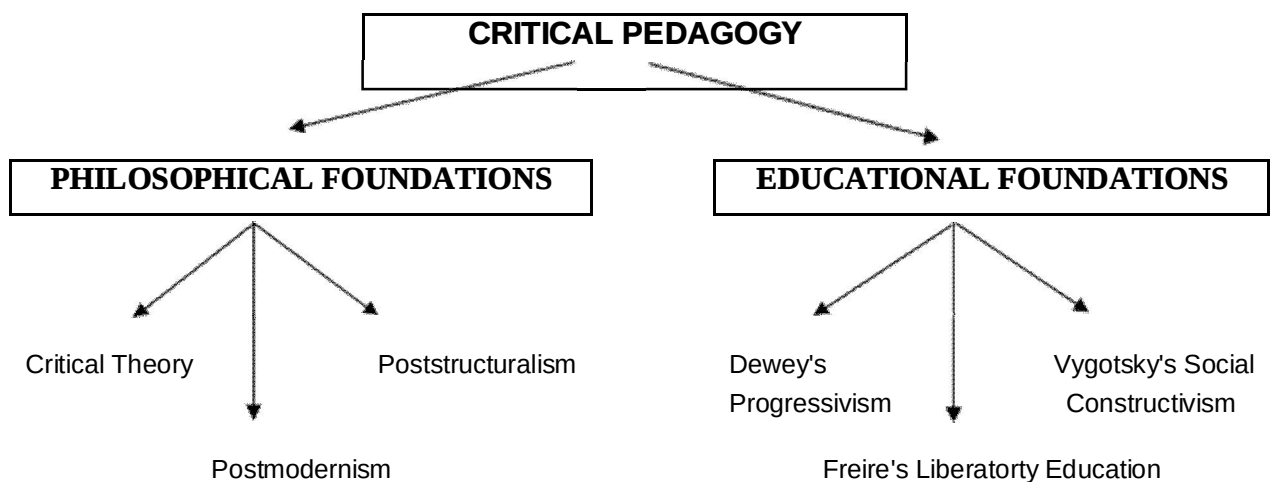
line of thought emphasizes the articulation of a broad social and educational vision with the studies of Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren as key advocates while the other deals with more instructional practices in specific contexts with the works of Paulo Freire and Ira Shor as the major representatives. Despite all their differences the present study employs a synthesis of these two discourses in order to present a more cohesive portrait of critical pedagogy.

This multiple and flexible nature of critical pedagogy makes even the often simple task of defining it very complex. Critical pedagogy can thus best be defined as an ever-evolving movement without a monolithic body of theory and practice. It is a pedagogy entailing a vision for the present and the future within and beyond the boundaries of school. It is a way of life which we perceive as teachers, learners, citizens and human beings (Guilherme, 2002: 17-19). It is primarily concerned with the centrality of power and politics in our understanding of how schools work. It is often defined by its deliberate attempts to question and deconstruct educational structures and practices that have become naturalized. Critical pedagogy aims to open up possibilities for identifying, criticizing, resisting and engaging the normalizing practices in traditional educational contexts. Critical pedagogy challenges teachers and students to rethink the purpose and meaning of education. It is an invitation to create an educational system based on mutual exchange between teacher and students, and mutual authority, arranging curricula, classroom practices, materials and assessment through dialogue and negotiation (Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992; Auerbach, 1995). For this to happen, it is necessary that we transcend the elitist traditionalism where the teacher knows everything and students know nothing. "Critical pedagogy proposes defining education as a multilateral relationship in which authority and responsibilities are shared between teacher and students, and where students and teacher negotiate the class procedures, structure, content, assessment, textbooks, and their own roles in relation to each other" (Moreno-Lopez, 2005: 12).

### 1.1.1. Theoretical Foundations

Theoretical foundations of critical pedagogy cannot be ascribed to a particular single theory. It stemmed from an effective synthesis of elements from several theoretical standpoints with a clear critique of socio-political conditions of education. With respect to its philosophical roots, critical pedagogy primarily espoused Critical Theory, Postmodernism and French Poststructuralism. As far as education is concerned, critical pedagogy made use of Dewey's progressivism, Social Constructivism and Freire's liberatory education. These theories will be explored here in relation to their direct relevance to critical pedagogy.

**Figure 1. Theoretical Foundations of Critical Pedagogy**



#### 1.1.1.1. Philosophical Foundations

Postmodernism is a broad rubric for contemporary intellectual movements or perspectives. It has been attached to so many diverse kinds of intellectual, social, and

artistic phenomena that it is a mistake to seek a single, essential definition. Perhaps the very idea of definition is antithetical to postmodernism. Grounded on the idea that “whatever else it means, ‘postmodernism’ is intended to announce that ‘modernity’ – the ‘age of reason’ to which the Enlightenment gave birth- has now given way to a ‘postmodern condition’” (Carr, 1995: 122). As the term postmodern, at minimum, is understood as distinguishing the contemporary scene from the modern (Cahoone, 1996: 3), it is also necessary to gain some understanding of what is meant by modernity. While the term modernism refers to the philosophy or culture of the modern period as a whole, the term modern simply means “of today” or what is current (Ibid. p. 11-13). It has been used to distinguish the current and contemporary from the earlier, traditional ways.

Modernity, in a general sense, refers to the new civilization evolved in Europe and North America, fully evident by the early twentieth century. This civilization is considered to be modern in the strong sense that the Western combination of science, technology, industry, free market, liberalism, etc., as a package, is unique in human history. As Cahoone (Ibid.) highlighted, what makes the Western civilization modern is the development of new machine technologies and modes of industrial production that have led to unprecedentedly advanced living conditions along with such other traits as capitalism, secular culture, liberal democracy, rationalism and humanism. From a philosophical perspective, modernity is closely associated with the eighteenth century Enlightenment tradition. The central intellectual project of the Enlightenment was to provide the philosophical foundations for universal principles of rational justification that exhibit the capacity of all human beings for rational objectivity and truth, and thus to develop in all individuals the universal power of reason, which would illuminate the darkness of ignorance and superstition created by the religious and political institutions of the old despotic social order (Carr, 1995: 121). Embedded in this Enlightenment tradition, the modern Western culture is founded on scientific knowledge of the world and rational knowledge of value, with the highest premium on individual human life and freedom which is believed to lead social progress (Cahoone, 1996: 12). According to the

modernist notion of positivism, which “makes claims to objectivity, truth, and certainty in defense of a scientific basis for the study of culture” (Greene, 1996: 13), knowledge and reason are accepted as neutral and universal. The Western modernity is, thus, characterized by the combination of such philosophical, social and political traits as science, reason, rationalism, objective truth, individualism, freedom, capitalism and social progress.

The actualization of modernity has, however, provoked severe criticism and reactions from intellectuals and artists especially since the late twentieth century. Starting from the mid-1900s the term postmodern appeared in literary criticism, architecture and philosophy. At the same time, society was undergoing radical changes all over the world: the end of European colonialism after World War II, the development of mass communications technologies and a media culture, the rapid modernization of much of the non-Western world, the rise of international marketing, and the political explosion of students against authority (Cahoone, 1996: 8-9). It was in this highly complex social context that postmodernism in the strongest sense was born in France in the 1960s. Therefore, in philosophy, the term postmodernism is usually used to refer to primarily to French poststructuralism. However, the influence of poststructuralism remained limited to literature and philosophical circles and postmodernism came into expanded use in the 1970s.

Postmodernism is generally seen either an outgrowth of or a reaction to modernist thought rooted in the Enlightenment period. It cannot be understood as a monolithic body of thoughts but as a form of questioning. A useful distinction to start with, as Pennycook (2001: 133) stated, is between postmodernism and postmodernity, “the latter referring to the state of the world as we enter the new millennium, the former to a crisis in the project of modernity”. While postmodernity refers to a real state of affairs brought about by increased complexity in our lives, postmodernism is more of a philosophical questioning of the foundational concepts of received canons of knowledge (Ibid. p. 134).

In a similar vein, Lyotard (1992: 138) uses the term postmodernism to describe the condition of knowledge in the most highly developed societies, following the transformations which have altered the game rules for science, literature, and the arts since the end of the eighteenth century. One useful way to think about postmodernism may be to look at the ways how it differs from the basics of modernism although the tendency to see things in binary, contrasting categories is usually associated with modernism. This is the reason why the present study tries to outline postmodernism in a contrastive manner despite its own philosophy. The contrastive characteristics of postmodernism with the modernist ones can be presented as follows:

**Table 1. Modernism vs. Postmodernism**

(adapted from Pennycook, 1994; Pennycook, 2001; Santos, 2001; Giroux & McLaren, 1994; Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999)

| <b>MODERNISM</b>                                                                                                   | <b>POSTMODERNISM</b>                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Master narratives and metanarratives of history, culture and identity                                              | Suspicion and rejection of master narratives, local narratives                          |
| Grand totalizing theory to represent all knowledge and explain everything, knowledge mastery to embrace a totality | Rejection of totalizing theories, pursuit of localizing and contingent theories         |
| Centering/centeredness, centralized knowledge                                                                      | Dissemination, distributed knowledge                                                    |
| Determinancy, essentialism, foundationalism                                                                        | Indeterminancy, contingency, anti-foundationalism                                       |
| Mass culture, dichotomy of high/low culture                                                                        | Demassified culture, hybrid cultural forms                                              |
| Social and cultural unity, hierarchies of social class and ethnic/national values, seemingly clear bases for unity | Social and cultural pluralism, disunity, unclear bases for social/national/ethnic unity |

|                                                                  |                                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sense of unified, centered self, individualism, unified identity | Sense of fragmentation and decentred self; multiple, conflicting identities |
| Hierarchy, order, centralized control                            | Subverted order, loss of centralized control, fragmentation                 |

While modernism attempted to describe the world in rational, empirical and objective terms, postmodernism has questioned this confidence, perceiving the world where there can be no one truth, no one correct narrative, no one accurate form of knowledge or way of knowing. Postmodernism is a philosophical questioning of many of the foundational concepts of modernism. It is antiessentialist and opposed to grand narratives of modernism. It rejects unity and totalisation (Pennycook, 2001: 134). “Thus, the postmodern condition is seen as decentred, destabilized, fragmented, indeterminate, incongruent, highlighted by difference, and open to question (*problematization*) and challenge (*contestation*) because there is no ascertainable truth but rather just truth claims about reality” (Santos, 2001: 174; emphasis in original). Postmodernism, in this sense, can be considered as the latest wave in the critique of characteristic principles of modern society that trace their legacy to the eighteenth century Enlightenment. From postmodernism comes the critique and rejection of the ideals of the modern period in Western civilization including, at the very least, rationalism, individualism, liberalism and objectivity. Postmodernists claim that, as Santos (Ibid.) points out:

The radically changed conditions of the present – postindustrialism, postcolonialism, multiculturalism, transnational capitalism, global communication, consumerism, and virtual and hyper-reality – have caused an irreparable rupture with the past that makes the guiding principles of the modern age no longer viable, meaningful, or believable. Modernity has broken apart, and the postmodern world is left to deal with the pieces.

This is perhaps why the postmodern world is seen as decentred, fragmented and indeterminate. These new intellectual movements signifying a shift from Enlightenment

to anti-Enlightenment philosophies and from modernism to postmodernism, thus, requires the questioning of modern educational assumptions and practices that perpetuate racism, sexism, objectivity, universalism, and the like. Contemporary educators are urged to engage with the issues raised by postmodern accounts of society: What counts as legitimate knowledge? How is this knowledge constructed? Who benefits from this knowledge? Whose experience is valid? Whose reality is represented? As Giroux (1996: 61) emphasized, postmodernism is fundamentally important in assisting educators in understanding the modernist character of schooling in contemporary society. It is useful to comprehend how schools are creating new generations between the borders of modernist world of certainty, order, mass culture and grand narratives, and a postmodern world of hybridized identities, localized cultural practices, plurality and multiple narratives. While it does not offer a complete pedagogical framework, postmodernist perspectives provide a great potential for educational practices in the era of postmodernity. Under postmodern conditions where no stable structures of society exists, critical pedagogy may help us to become more skeptical toward commonly accepted norms in education and enlarge the scope of human possibilities through education.

The idea of critical pedagogy is also rooted in the neo-Marxian literature on critical theory (Burbules & Berk, 1999: 50; Miedema & Wardekker, 1999: 68). However, what is the sense of critical which is being used in the literatures of critical pedagogy? Critical theory, as introduced by the works of diverse scholars who made up the Frankfurt School, “was an attempt to encounter objectivist and instrumental rationality in attempts to overcome the ‘is/ought’ dichotomy and the split between theory and practice” (Marshall, 2003: 296). The early critical theorists believed that Marxism had underemphasized the significance of cultural and media influences for the persistence of capitalism (Burbules & Berk, 1999: 50). However, as educational systems and media are among the institutions that perpetuate the existing social order, it is assumed that the task of critical theory is to make these perspectives visible and to criticize them and, thus, to

contribute to rationalization. Jürgen Habermas, as the current best-known heir to neo-Marxist critical theory, has called for the need that every human being must be given possibility, by way of analysis, criticism and self-reflection, to develop into a freely self-determining and rationally acting person (Miedema & Wardekker, 1999: 74). Thus, the critical person becomes the one who seeks emancipation. Grounded on modernist thought, emancipation is only realizable through objective inquiry, universal reason and absolute truth. This version of critical theory suggests “a call for democratic renewal, highlighting the importance of emancipator social movements to democracy in contemporary capitalist societies” (Torres, 1999: 92). Critical theory is, thus, defined as a reflection on the relation between individual and society toward a rational and organized society of modernism (Miedema & Wardekker, 1999: 68). Critical pedagogy, however, puts emphasis on change, transformation. For critical pedagogy, critical person is not only aware of social injustice but is also moved to change it. This view of critical theory with its particular focus on such modernist grand narratives as emancipation, rationality, objectivity and individualism reproduces the products of the same system that gives rise to those very problems that critical pedagogy aims to critique (Pennycook, 1999; 2004). There is clearly a problem if critical theory does only offer a modernist approach that seeks to emancipate people through a greater awareness of the truth of their conditions.

What critical pedagogy requires is “a form of Critical Theory, a broader view than the more traditional approaches, that permits the new linguistic dimension of social interaction, to be decoded in order to become part of any theoretical reconstruction and description of social and cultural life” (Marshall, 2003: 298). Foucault’s notion of problematization is of significance here as it advances toward a form of critical theory, having implications for critical pedagogy. The notion of problematization is not a theory which provides solutions but it is the taking of an object as an object of ‘thought’<sup>1</sup> which

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<sup>1</sup> Foucault does not use the term thought in its normal sense but it is conceived as a history of general assumptions which permitted utterances to be considered true or false at a particular historical moment (Marshall, 2003: 291).

requires one to consider questions of meaning, the conditions of its applications and the aims of people who use those objects in the world (Ibid.). In a similar vein, Pennycook (2001, 2004) offers to view the notion of critical as “a form of problematising practice, a perspective that insists on casting far more doubt on the categories we employ to understand the social world”. Critical theory as a problematizing practice, thus, implies always turning a skeptical eye towards assumptions and ideas that have become naturalized. It is only from this perspective critical educators can develop a critique of conventional wisdom, knowledge, and practices.

Poststructuralism refers to the intellectual movement developed in France in the 1960s. It is often called the theoretical side of postmodern culture. It was basically derived from some critiques of structuralism. Structuralism maintained that the study of abstract relations within systems of codes of cultural signs is the key to understanding human existence, while retaining objective, scientific methods. Poststructuralist thinkers, schooled by structuralism, rejected the scientific pretensions of structuralism, while accepting its refusal to focus on the self. This is why they are best named “poststructuralists” (Cahoone, 1996: 5). Poststructuralism rejected the “principles of universalism and consensus formation, together with the defunct narratives of rationality, legitimacy, and normative justification” (Hanssen, 2004: 280). Poststructuralist thinkers were, thus, considered to embrace an anti-Enlightenment irrationalism. In other words, they seemed to announce the end of rational inquiry. Methodologically, they refused the belief that the study of humanity could be reduced to physical sciences; hence, they avoided behaviorism and naturalism (Cahoone, 1996: 4). They also apparently rejected the objective knowledge of the real world, single meaning of words and texts, the unity of the human self, that is, most of the intellectual pillars of the modern Western civilization.

The essential concept of poststructuralism has been discourse, which is the use of language to construct and organize knowledge, meaning, and identity. Having seen

society, knowledge and identity as discourse, the deconstruction of discourse and language has been the focus of poststructuralism (Santos, 2001: 174). In this respect, perhaps the charge of defending an anti-Enlightenment position has found the strongest reply in the writings of Michel Foucault. For Foucault, knowledge is never simply neutral or disinterested; rather it is always affected by other factors within the social domain. He, thus, argues that truth is “ultimately political in nature and is predicated on knowledge of power strategies operative in a given society at a particular time” (Olssen, 1999: 24). Therefore, human phenomena can only be understood in relation to historical and cultural domains. Furthermore, he proposes that power in modern society increasingly takes the form of bio-power, which refers to the macro-social functions of power-knowledge in the construction and normalization of modern society. The aim of bio-power is to regulate individuals through increasingly rationalized means (Ibid. p. 28-29). It is in this sense that knowledge becomes a tool of totalizing through such modern institutions as schools, science and media. Schools, thus, serve as a means of homogenization and normalization through common objectives and goals, common courses, common syllabi, common methods of teaching and assessment. This is the driving force behind an understanding of schooling in critical pedagogy as a form of cultural politics, rather than as a microcosm of the larger society.

#### **1.1.1.2. Educational Foundations**

As far as education is concerned, many critical pedagogy theorists acknowledge the significance of Dewey’s progressive education in the development of critical pedagogy. The term progressive education refers to the ideas and practices that aim to make schools more effective agencies of a democratic society. Dewey theorized that learners who are actively involved in their learning through problem solving and practical application rather than a passive reception of a body of knowledge can become active and informed participants in a democracy (Degener, 2001). Dewey’s quest for democracy, his emphasis on participation as the point at which democracy and learning

meet in the classroom, his problem solving method as a counter to traditional pouring-in method, his call for relevant knowledge that would relate to students' experiences, the link he made between reflective thinking and experience, and the significance he placed on personal perception over automatic skills and knowing as an internal process over dissociated knowledge have all become guidelines for critical pedagogues (Shor, 1992; Benson, 2001; Guilherme, 2002).

Although critical pedagogy owes a great deal to Dewey's progressivism, it differs from progressivism in a number of ways. While in Dewey's approach to education the school and classroom were seen as microcosms of the society with aim of forming citizens who would integrate into and make use of democratic society (Benson, 2001: 26; Guilherme, 2002: 28), critical pedagogy maintains that schools and classrooms are not completely determined by the macro social structures; however, both micro and macro produce each other. Schools are seen as a form of cultural politics. In line with critical pedagogy, Dewey put emphasis on the social purpose of schooling; however, as Guilherme (2002: 29) indicated, he focused on the short-term goals like improvement of individuals and refinement of democratic society rather than social transformation. Basically, on the one hand, Dewey seemed to reject most of educational legacies of the Enlightenment such as fixed canons of knowledge to be passively acquired and teachers as conveyors of the truth. On the other hand, he retained some of the basic concepts in modern thought such as freedom and emancipation (Ibid. p. 28). This is the point where critical pedagogy moves away from Dewey's progressive education.

In addition to Dewey's progressivism, critical pedagogy has made use of Vygotskian social constructivism. Vygotsky is recognized as the founder of social constructivism that emphasizes "the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding" (Kim, 2001). From this perspective, social interaction plays pivotal role in learning (Benson, 2001: 39). To understand how critical pedagogy is rooted in the perspectives of social constructivists,

it is of significance to understand its underlying assumptions. First, social constructivists maintain that knowledge is socially constructed. “Social constructivism, although accepting the notion that the individual does indeed construct his or her own knowledge, argues for the process knowledge construction inevitably takes place in a sociocultural context” (Reagan & Osborn, 2002: 60). Individuals, thus, create meaning and construct knowledge through their interactions with each other and with the environment they live in (Kim, 2001). Second, according to social constructivism, learning is an active process. As Kim (Ibid.) indicated, learning “does not take place only within an individual, nor is it a passive development of behaviors that are shaped by external forces”. All learning is seen as first social, then individual; first intermental, then intramental. Learners as creators of their own knowledge learn by creating new meanings based on prior experiences (Dantas-Whitney, 2002: 544). Of significance to social constructivism are, therefore, “both the context in which learning occurs and the social contexts that learners bring to their learning environment” (Kim, 2001). Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development, which is the distance between the actual level of development as determined by independent problem solving and the higher level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Mitchell & Myles, 1998: 146), explicitly affirms the fundamental role of social interaction in learning. Learning begins from the individual’s existing knowledge and experience and develops through social interaction (Benson, 2001: 38). From this perspective, teachers serve as facilitators who assist learners in the formulation of their own levels of understanding and their move to a new level of understanding.

Social constructivism, with its two basic assumptions – knowledge as socially constructed and learning as an active process, offers important paths towards a general understanding of critical pedagogy. Informed by social constructivism, critical pedagogy favors co-constructed view of learning in which more mature and less mature participants engage over the traditional transmission teaching model. In place of

competitive individualism, it draws upon dialogism where participants learn from each other. In this sense, social constructivism shifts the attention to the socio-cultural practices within which learning is situated and through which learners are silenced or voiced. The very notion of socially constructed knowledge, for critical pedagogy, means that “the world we live in is constructed symbolically by the mind through social interaction with each other and is heavily dependent on culture, context, custom, and historical specificity” (McLaren, 2003: 196). Critical pedagogy, while seeking the social functions of knowledge, raises certain questions with respect to the social construction of knowledge such as: how and why does knowledge get constructed the way it does, and how and why are some constructions of knowledge legitimated while others clearly are not.

Critical pedagogy, the most particularly, has been informed by Freire’s liberatory pedagogy. Of all the educators and theorists supporting a critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire is probably the best known. He is widely considered to be the founder of critical pedagogy. Freire outlines his liberatory pedagogy in relation to traditional education, which he calls “the banking concept of education” (1970, 1993). Freire (1993: 54) puts forward the major characteristics of the banking model of education as follows:

- a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- c) the teacher thinks and the students are taught;
- d) the teacher talks and the students listen-meekly;
- e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- f) the teacher chooses and enforces his voice, and the students comply;
- g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and (ad sic) he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- j) the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

Freire's pedagogy focuses on personal liberation through the development of critical consciousness as the necessary first step of a more collective cultural struggle to challenge and transform oppressive social conditions. Students, however, in banking education, are seen as empty vessels to be filled by the teacher. According to Freire (Ibid. p. 53), "[e]ducation thus becomes an act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor". Embedded in this type of education is the lack of transformative power. Teachers are seen, rather, as "passive technicians who learn a battery of content knowledge generally agreed upon in the field and pass it on to successive generations of students" (Kumaravadivelu, 2003: 8). Schools, thus, become an agent of reproduction than of social change. In Freirean critical pedagogy, however, teachers must abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with that of transformative action. "The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach" (Freire, 1993: 61). Teachers as transformative intellectuals connect pedagogical theory and practice to wider social issues and work with students for social emancipation. From this perspective, students are not considered as depositories but as critical thinkers. This transformative action requires not "pseudo-participation" but "committed involvement" (Ibid. p. 51). It, thus, cannot be carried out for students by teachers but with students.

Having rejected the banking model of education, Freire introduced problem-posing education that embraces a view of education as consisting of acts of cognition that take place through dialogue (Freire, 1993). This dialogical approach abandons the lecture format. Both learners and teachers as critical co-investigators teach each other; "no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught" (Ibid. p.61). In addition to the concept of dialogue, Freire (Ibid.) introduced such important concepts as critical consciousness (*conscientização*), which is the deepening of the awareness of all emergence and reality; praxis, that is, reflection and action for social transformation; and generative themes, which grow out of the existential and concrete situations of learners. Nevertheless, many

contemporary critical pedagogues have problematised modernist assumptions of Freire; that is, his reliance upon objective reality that will be understood in the same way by anybody, his notion of critical consciousness that is based on emancipation, and a uniform action plan for transformation (Giroux 1991, 1996 & McLaren, 1989). Although they have adopted more postmodern assumptions of identity, culture and power, Freire's vision of liberatory pedagogy has been very influential in the foundation of a critical pedagogy as understood today. His recognition of schools as main cultural and political agencies has been the driving force behind critical pedagogy.

### **1.1.2. Underlying Conceptions**

Defining critical pedagogy in terms of a monolithic body of rules and ideas, by its very nature, would be misleading. It would possibly narrow down the perspectives from which learning and teaching processes should be interpreted. This is, however, not to deny that any practice is informed by certain theoretical assumptions and conceptions which demands explanatory frameworks to make sense of it. Hence, the goal of the present section is to uncover the basic conceptions of critical pedagogy.

#### **1.1.2.1 Education as Political**

The idea that education is a political act is central to the basic philosophy underlying critical pedagogy (Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992; Giroux, 1997; Pennycook, 1989; Pennycook, 1994; Pennycook, 2001; Canagajah, 1999; Auerbach, 1995). It cannot be claimed that traditional forms of education are neutral while critical pedagogy is political. All forms of education are political because they can socialize students into dependence on authority or into critical thought (Shor, 1992: 12-13). To acknowledge the political nature of schooling is not to take up some 'political' stance in contradiction to a 'neutral' position since no education is ever neutral or apolitical. As Freire (1985,

cited in Shor, 1992: 12) pointed out, so-called neutral education is also political in the sense that it supports the dominant ideology in society. "Neutrality means following the crowd, doing what is expected, and refraining from questioning the political decisions that are made daily in schools all over the world" (Degener, 2001:3). An initial understanding of political character of education within the domain of cultural politics requires the questioning of how education best serves in unsettling times marked by postmodernism.

A traditional approach to education, with its goal of socializing students into the existing social order, contrasts with critical approaches to education, with their goal of social transformation. Education, thus, inevitably either serves to perpetuate existing social structures and relations or to challenge them. Critical pedagogy concerns with how different possibilities are struggled over in educational contexts. Classrooms, in this respect, become sites of cultural struggle where different modes of teaching and learning, and different versions of the world are battled over. All such struggles are part of, but not completely determined by, larger social and cultural struggles. Both micro and macro -and all the levels in between- produce each other. Such a vision of struggle between alternative worlds is identified within the domain of cultural politics. The notion of cultural politics has to do with the prioritizing of one over the other; thus, leads to the questions of whose knowledge gains privilege, whose representations of the world gain sway over others, whose versions of reality gain legitimacy, and whose preferences are favored. From this perspective, the struggle in classrooms refers to a whole circulation of different ideas, cultural forms, and ways of thinking, being and speaking (Pennycook, 2001: 127-129). The decisions that educators make regarding program structure, lesson goals, syllabus, course content, texts, learning/teaching processes, tests and grading systems are actually negotiations over whose knowledge, experience, interests and values the politics of the classroom are defined, as democratic or authoritarian, critical or uncritical (Shor, 1992:14). Politics reside in all aspects of classroom discourse. Seating arrangements, selection of textbooks and syllabus topics

and evaluation of students are all areas of debate and choice. These choices are mediated through power relations in institutional contexts and society. Schools, thus, become sites of political struggle.

### **1.1.2.2. Knowledge as Interested**

Informed by a postmodernist critique of foundational, essentialist, disinterested and positivist conceptions of received canons of knowledge, critical pedagogy calls into question any claim that it is possible to gain objective knowledge and universal understanding of the world (Pennycook, 1994; Pennycook, 2001). Central to critical pedagogy is the view of knowledge as ideological and interested (Pennycook, 1989 & Canagarajah, 1999). The nature of knowledge certainly cannot survive unchanged as societies enter the postindustrial age and cultures enter the postmodern age. Within a climate of unprecedented technological transformations, knowledge has become the principle force of production over the last few decades and, it is anticipated that the nation-states will one day fight for control of information, just as they battled in the past for control of territory. As in case of economy, however, circulation of capital has already passed beyond the control of the nation-states through multinational corporations. So, the question is: Who will know? (Lyotard, 1992: 138-142). The operative criterion here has come to be technological, economic and, above all, political; it has no relevance to truth or objectivity. As Lyotard (Ibid p. 140) pointed out:

Knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal exchange. Knowledge ceases to be an end in itself, it loses its 'use-value'.

What is clear, then, that although any quest for knowledge may produce expertise and technical competence, it is never neutral or disinterested (Olssen, 1999: 23). Having focused on discourses that claim to be advancing under the banner of legitimate science, Foucault argued that knowledge systems are inextricably related to issues of power (cited

in Olssen, 1999:22). A postmodern view of knowledge suggests that knowledge is always specifically located, leading us to understand things in more local terms rather than in terms of grand narratives of modernism (Pennycook, 2001: 134-135). Knowledge is considered to be a version of power, which "is neither objective nor static; it always serves particular interests and is situated in a specific context " (Auerbach, 1995: 11). Otherwise, it means to legitimate the dominance in power. It comes to be "a mechanism for perpetuating the status quo" (Ibid.). This orientation particularly spells out the issues about the paradigms of social sciences. The predominant positivist approach in social sciences, that is the tendency to reach objectivity through quantitative inquiry techniques like the physical sciences, has brought about the claims that the knowledge thereby produced is neutral and objective (Pennycook, 1989: 594). This tendency toward the view that knowledge is neutral and objective has, thus, resulted in the removal of the political from the social sciences at the expense of colonizing other forms of knowledge. As Fairclough (1992: 9) mentioned, however, "[s]ocial sciences are not neutral or innocent, they stand in particular relationships to dominant or dominated groups and forces, and contribute correspondingly social struggles". All institutionalized forms of knowledge embody particular values, assumptions and ideologies. Knowledge produced within a particular context of socio-cultural, economic and political circumstances by particular individuals or groups always both helps to reproduce those conditions and represent their interests (Pennycook, 1989: 595). In line with the interested nature of knowledge, everything that is taught in classrooms comes with values and ideologies. That is to say, knowledge is social and constructed through community members, and represents particular ways of understanding and explaining the world. As Canagarajah (1999: 18) emphasized, the question here is which community's knowledge of the dominant groups imposed through the institutions including schools eventually serves to justify the status quo. It is from this perspective that critical pedagogy founded on the post-Enlightenment and postmodern thought understands educational activity as political.

### 1.1.2.3 Power as Circulating

A view of education as a political act transcends the borders of governmental decision-making hierarchies but refers to the mapping of power relations at both macro and micro levels. An initial understanding of this emphasis requires a shift away from simplistic understanding of power as a monolithic and static entity toward an understanding of power, as Foucault (1977:201, cited in Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002: 59) suggested, which is constructed and negotiated by the very people who take part in a power situation. A superficial view of power relations in terms of taking and giving power would be inadequate to question the power conditions of the postmodern world. In this respect, Foucault (cited in Olssen, 1999: 19) stands against the traditional approaches to power-juridical model of power, and offers an alternative conception of power, characterizing the contemporary multifaceted nature of power. The features of these two models can be contrasted as follows:

**Table 2. Juridical conception of power vs. Foucault's Conception of Power**

(Adopted from Olssen, 1999)

| <b>Juridical Conception of Power</b>                      | <b>Foucault's Conception of Power</b>      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Power is possessed                                        | Power is exercised                         |
| Power flows from a centralized source, from top to bottom | Power arises from the bottom               |
| Power is primarily repressive in its exercise             | Power is productive, as well as repressive |

For Foucault, the juridical theory of power has had four roles to play: as a mechanism that was effective under feudalism; as an instrument and justification for establishing large-scale administrative monarchies; as a theory of sovereignty to reinforce royal power; and as a justification for a model which is concerned with how power descends from the top

to the lower orders of society (Olssen, 1999: 19-20). Yet, Foucault directs our attention to the material operations of power and its specific aspects as they operate in localized systems. According to Foucault (1980, cited in Gore, 1998a: 278), power circulates; it exists in action and functions at the level of the body, reaches into the very grain of individuals, and touches their bodies and inserts itself into their action and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives. “What would be proper to a relationship of power, then, is that it be a mode of action on actions” (Foucault, 1994b: 343). Power is everywhere and exists in all kinds of relations including the political, economic and educational arenas. “Power relations are rooted in the whole network of the social” (Ibid. p. 345) Power, within the framework of Foucault’s vision of power, thus, is not a commodity which has some ultimate location or origin or, which can be owned or possessed, or which can be given or taken (Pennycook, 2001:91). Power is not an entity exercised by politicians but it is negotiated in specific areas at the micro level. With respect to the productive nature of power, Foucault (1994a: 120) maintains that:

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.

Foucault’s conception of power has been very useful for pedagogical purposes in a number of ways. First, his account of power explicitly shifts analyses of power relations from the macro level of structures (where class, gender, race or organizational and bureaucratic dynamics are examined) to the micro level of bodies (where the range of power relations is wide open) (Gore, 1998a: 279; Gore, 1998b:233). From this perspective, it is possible to focus on micro-level educational mechanisms that actualize power relations in pedagogy rather than the objects of power. Second, if power relations

operate at the level of the body, then they should be visible in the micro-level pedagogical practices (Gore, 1998a: 280). If they are experienced, then they are observable. This sheds light on the possibility of mapping power relations in pedagogy. Grounded upon this perception of power, Gore (1998a, 1998b) maintained that power is an inescapable constant in pedagogy and power is not exercised exclusively by the teacher upon students, rather, it is an ongoing negotiation by all concerned. As a result of her study, in four diverse sites, which aimed to explore micro-practices of power, Gore (1998b: 234) found “the techniques of power that Foucault elaborated in prisons applicable to contemporary pedagogical practice”. Gore (1998a, 1998b) identified eight major techniques of power operative in educational practice:

- *Surveillance*: Supervising, closely observing, watching, threatening to watch, avoiding being watched.
- *Normalisation*: Invoking, requiring, setting or conforming to a standard, defining the normal.
- *Exclusion*: Tracing the limits that will define difference, boundary, zone, defining the pathological.
- *Distribution*: Dividing into parts, arranging, ranking bodies in space.
- *Classification*: Differentiating individuals and/or groups from one another.
- *Individualisation*: Giving individual character to, specifying an individual.
- *Totalisation*: Giving collective character to, specifying a collectivity/total will to conform.
- *Regulation*: Controlling by rule, subject to restrictions; adapt to requirements; act of invoking a rule, including sanction, reward, punishment.

Another crucial point worth considering here is the notion of empowerment, which is central to the goals of critical pedagogy. An understanding of the power/knowledge relationship outlined by Foucault raises important issues regarding empowerment. The term empowerment, although it has no specific meaning prior to its construction within

specific discourses, presupposes an agent of empowerment-someone to empower, a view of power as property to be taken and given, and some kind of end state (Gore, 1992). These presuppositions of empowerment in a modernist sense seem to be inconsistent with a Foucauldian view of power. As Foucault refutes the idea that power is a static entity that can be given or taken, empowerment cannot mean the giving of power by teacher (as agent) to students (as objects of empowerment). However, conceiving of power as circulated, firstly, can mean an attempt to help others to exercise power. Second, it points to the need to identify empowerment as context-specific within particular discourses (Gore, 1992). That is to say, teachers cannot empower students but they can provide the conditions for them to accomplish empowerment (Guilherme, 2002:51). In line with a Foucauldian vision of knowledge/power, as McLaren (2003: 211) suggested "empowerment means not only helping students to understand and engage the world around them, but also enabling them to exercise the kind of courage needed to change the social order where necessary".

### **1.1.3. Pedagogic Parameters**

As a broad and fragmented area of educational theory and practice, critical pedagogy is difficult to conceptualize in practical terms. To construct a practice of critical pedagogy is a difficult task since it is almost impossible to reach prescriptions how to do critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy should not be considered as an educational program that needs to be implemented. As Biesta (2003: 152) emphasized;

wanting to control how people use, interpret and respond to what Critical Pedagogy has to offer, ultimately leads to a form of totalitarianism that is foreign to what Critical Pedagogy stands for...This...would go against the intentions of Critical Pedagogy in that it would close the very space that Critical Pedagogy wants to open up: the space of disclosure, the space of coming into presence, the space of personal and political agency.

Critical pedagogy, thus, should not be conceived as a set of homogeneous, prescriptive set of ideas. What critical pedagogy offers in practical terms can be illustrative case studies whereby we can access examples of actions and achievements. Motivated by this view, the present study offers the parameters of criticality, relevance, dialogism and participation as guidelines to carry out the salient features of critical pedagogy in a classroom context.

In exploring what has counted as criticality in critical pedagogy, it might be a good way to start with different approaches to the term critical itself. Pennycook (2004: 328-330) distinguishes four types of critical available in the literature: The first sense of critical, which he calls liberal ostrichism, sees the issue as only one rational questioning procedure, as a way of trying to create objective distance, of identifying lack of logic. Another view of being critical, he identifies, is primarily concerned with making things socially relevant as a reaction to the abstract objectivism. A third approach to the notion of critical, which he terms emancipator modernism, tends to incorporate explicit social critique and to see one's work as overtly aimed toward trying to change inequitable social conditions and people's understanding of them. A final approach to being critical is as a form of problematizing practice; that is, a perspective that insists on casting far more doubt on the categories we employ to understand the social world and on assumptions about awareness, rationality, emancipation, and the like. Pennycook (Ibid. p.329), within such a framework, argues that it is the emancipator modernism which has come to dominate critical pedagogy. However, its tendency to reaffirm such modernist concepts as emancipation, rationality and objectivity and, thus, its belief in awareness of inequality as a step toward rationalist emancipation can be viewed as the products of the very same system that led to those very problems critical pedagogy aims to critique (Pennycook, 2004: 329). This orientation of critical pedagogy means that it tries to use modernist instruments situated in a postmodernist discourse so as to achieve its goals. In other words, critical pedagogy remains part of the modernist thought in terms of both its aspirations like emancipation and its tools like awareness (Biesta, 2003: 146).

Nevertheless, postmodernism questions the very framework from which objectivism and rationality derives its meaning and this can only be achieved if we leave our modern frame of reference behind (Ibid. p.148-149). This is why we are urged to interrogate the categories we employ to understand the world. These categories are the constructs of the modernist frame of knowledge. Postmodernism, however, “questions the whole polarity between universalism and relativism, suggesting instead that knowledge, action and value are always specifically located” (Pennycook, 2001: 135). It is, of course, hard to involve with this sort of engagement on the shaky grounds of postmodernism and poststructuralism. However, it is this sort of skepticism which makes it also hard to believe in notions such as emancipation.

Critical thinking, within such a context, is also worth closer examination. Pennycook (2001: 4) defines critical thinking as “a way of bringing more rigorous analysis to problem solving or textual understanding, a way of developing more critical distance as it is sometimes called”. It does not mean taking a naïve critical stance but skeptically exploring the basic tenets that are no longer questioned. According to Freire (1993: 73), critical thinking contrasts with naïve thinking. For the naïve thinker, the important thing is accommodation to the normalized present reality; while for the critical thinker, the important thing is the continuing transformation of reality. Critical pedagogy is not concerned with critical thinking as “the application of formal logical patterns of reasoning and analyzing to a piece of text in order to determine whether conclusions follow logically from premises, whether they are substantiated by evidence, and what assumptions are made in initial premises” (Marshall, 2003: 289). Critical pedagogy, rather, deals with the hidden, implied assumptions and beliefs that cannot be found through logical analysis.

Another common argument in critical pedagogy is that critical awareness, which is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence, serves as an initial step in the process of change (Fairclough, 1992; Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992). It is

assumed that this awareness in turn enables us to become the subjects of transformative action. Central to these arguments is Freire's notion of conscientization. Freire (1973, cited in Shor, 1992: 126) outlined a three-step model of development leading to critical consciousness: "Intransitive consciousness denies the power of human beings to change their lives or society" (Ibid.). Semi-transitive consciousness accepts human agency in the making of personal and social change. However, it is one-dimensional and short-term thinking, which leads to acting on isolated problems in disconnected way (Ibid. p. 126-127). Finally, critical consciousness allows people to make broad connections between personal experience and the larger social system (Ibid.). Pennycook (1999: 336), in this context, urges us that:

A first step in critical work may therefore be to develop an awareness of the issues; nothing will change unless people know things need to (if it ain't broken, don't fix it). But it is important to consider very carefully what awareness might mean...Work that aims to make people more aware of their own oppression can often be pessimistic and patronizing, especially if it is only a top-down attempt to get people to see how they are oppressed. It is this stance of preacherly modernist-emancipatory pedagogy...that many teachers, students, and readers have come to reject.

The parameter of criticality, in this respect, is not actually an awareness of the way we exist in the world but a refusal of "the worldview which holds that what is ultimate and fundamental in our relation to the 'world' is our knowledge of it" (Biesta, 2003: 148). The notion of criticality is in no way reducible to a top-down imposition of a critical element into our pedagogical practices, which would just entail predictable results of awareness. It is, rather, a way of thinking, leading to constant questioning. It is, perhaps, best reflected in Foucault's point that the goal of our thinking is to find new schemas of politicization rather to choose from pre-existing political positions (Pennycook, 2001: 134; 2004: 330). From this perspective, the parameter of criticality also requires some space for self-criticism, a constant questioning about the types of knowledge, theory and

practice that critical pedagogy operates with so that it should not turn into a static body of knowledge.

What follows the parameter of criticality is that of relevance which concerns with whether learning is structured to draw out from students rather than to put into them; that is, what students bring to class is where learning begins (Auerbach, 1995; Shor, 1992). The point of departure of critical pedagogy lies in the people themselves. The starting point for constructing a critical pedagogy is the present, existential, concrete situation of the people involved, reflecting their aspirations (Freire, 1993: 76). All pedagogical decisions are based on the needs and interests of the students involved (Freire, 1993; Giroux, 1997; Shor, 1992). The parameter of relevance requires all the effort to root the education in the cultures, perceptions, desires and histories of learners every which way to avoid patronizing. From a pedagogical perspective, it enables to integrate the teacher's structured subject matter, which students eventually gain but from which they could not start, into students' existential knowledge. Such pedagogical choices as what would be studied and how would be made jointly by teachers and students in order to maximize their link to the immediate realities of the learners (Degener, 2001: 9). In doing this, students gain the authority to offer counter-narratives against master narratives upon which their existence is built. This in turn diminishes the possibility of getting normalized through so-called natural, neutral and beneficial social and educational practices. What otherwise implies is an imposition of a particular way of understanding and explaining the world.

The third pedagogic parameter of critical pedagogy is dialogism. Dialogue, in a general sense, "cannot be viewed simply as a form of question and answer, but as a relation constituted in a web of relations among multiple forms of communication, human practices, and mediating objects and text" (Burbules, 2000: 265). From a pedagogical perspective, dialogue is neither a freewheeling conversation nor a teacher- dominated exchange. Co-developed by the teacher and the students, dialogue is a mutually created

discourse which questions existing canons of knowledge and challenges power relations both in the classroom and in society (Shor, 1992: 85-87). The parameter of dialogism entails an understanding of education as a multilateral relationship in which authority and responsibilities are shared and negotiated between teacher and students. Dialogism views both teachers and students as important contributors to learning instead of deliverers and recipients of a predetermined set of knowledge (Degener, 2001: 5).

The origins of dialogism as a mode of pedagogical communication can be traced directly to Freire. It was arguably Freire, more than anyone else, who put the idea of dialogue at the center of critical pedagogy. Freire used dialogue to specify educational relationships and processes that he regarded as necessary aspects of a socially just way of life. He favored dialogue as inquiry into the conditions of life over lectures and other forms of transmitting knowledge (Renshaw, 2004: 3). "Dialogue was opposed to monologue, or what Freire termed the banking method of education, an authoritarian style of teaching that mirrored the authoritarian structure of society" (Burbules, 2003: 193). Freire (1993: 105) has suggested that his view of education "starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people". Students who make their education with teachers will experience a participatory and, thus, dialogic education. In this sense, dialogue offers an open structure for greater student participation. Student participation, together with teacher's research on how students think and learn, becomes the foundation of further dialogue. This interwoven and synergic relationship provides a solid foundation on which a critical pedagogy is constructed. Although most contemporary critical views of dialogue invariably refer to Freire's distinction of monological versus dialogical pedagogies, it has come to be clearly challenged on the basis of his modernist and Marxist assumptions (Burbules, 2000: 203). Further, it has come to be regarded as canonical and prescriptive. For these critics, if dialogical engagement cannot be questioned or challenged reflexively, then not only will certain voices or perspectives be excluded from possible participation, but the medium of dialogue itself becomes a way of structuring interpersonal knowledge and

understanding without recourse to considering other possible alternative frames (Burbules, 2000: 265). The point here is that, as Burbules (Ibid. p. 251-271) argued, although the ideal of dialogue expresses hope for the possibility of open, critical engagement from which we can learn about others, about the world, and about ourselves, it may encounter a limit to its capacities to be self-problematizing as any social practice entails at least implicitly prescriptive norms, and, in this sense, always runs the risk of being the most normalizing and patronizing. Such a self-reflexive standpoint may avoid turning dialogism into an unquestioned tenet, which critical pedagogy aims to critique.

The parameter of participation, fourthly, also occupies a central role in critical pedagogy since it is deeply embedded in all aspects of a critical classroom. The notion of participation, however, is a rich and complex one. Participation, as Buzzelli and Johnston (2002: 84-85) indicated, refers to both taking part in class discussions and other interactions, in a narrow sense, and being a member of the school community, in the broadest sense. From this perspective, active participation requires that students must be engaged in their education together with teacher to ensure that their needs and interests are given primary importance (Degener, 2001: 5). Namely, students co-create curricula, content and class procedures with teacher. It is the key to passivity and objectivity of students produced by the traditional education. It challenges the traditional experience of education as something done to students (Shor, 1992: 20). The parameter of participation problematizes and deconstructs the object-positions of students as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge in traditional classrooms. In the process of transforming the possibilities of our lives, the parameter of participation calls for the recognition of learners' and teachers' and subject-positions in terms of their impact on education and society. It is both a goal and a process. That is to say, one works for and through participation at once. Participation from the first day of class is an educational means to move towards a more socio-political goal of social transformation. The more involved the student is in class and school community, the more s/he expresses

herself/himself in the public arena (Ibid. p.22). From a pedagogic point of view, the parameter of participation seeks to go beyond merely repeating what we know or what we have been taught. Such an active participation of both teachers and learners opens up spaces for dialogism.

Inevitably, the boundaries of these parameters are not clear-cut but closely interwoven. Their characteristics overlap. Each one shapes and is shaped by the other. This interaction is at the core of critical pedagogy practices. The four pedagogic parameters of participation, dialogism, criticality and relevance suggest themselves as an impetus to a coherent critical pedagogy framework in practical terms.

#### **1.1.4. Traditional Education and Critical Pedagogy**

The recent socio-political climate of the world has clearly challenged the unquestioned tenets of traditional education, as socio-cultural conditions always influence educational activities and education deeply affects how we perceive and interpret the world around us. In a world imagined through postmodernism, where contingency, indeterminacy, and hybridity command our attention, there is a strong consensus against prescribed, transmission-oriented models of education. During the past couple of decades, traditional education has been subject to strong criticisms of the ways in which it has privileged certain knowledge, presented truth as objective and static, and turned the citizens to the passive receivers of unquestioned truths in the contemporary society (Canagarajah, 1999: 205). The goal of conventional education has been to fit students into existing social order (Shor, 1992). Traditional education has often been perceived as a neutral transmission of objective knowledge and skills by trained professionals whose job is to apply the latest methods and techniques, whereas education is never a neutral enterprise. Education, by its very nature, is always a political act. As Egbo (2005: 2) points out, “there is a fine line between teaching and indoctrination, since schools in most parts of the world are instruments of socialization that aim to ‘mould’ students

according to the values that a given society considers desirable for social cohesion”. Traditional education has conceived pedagogical choices about curriculum development, content and materials, classroom processes, and evaluation as so-called value-free and apolitical professional considerations. However, every pedagogical decision made at any level reflects the worldview of the decision maker. Any educational choice can serve as a means of either the legitimating so-called dominant ideologies or challenging them. Critical pedagogy, thus, problematizes and challenges those educational orthodoxies that privilege certain kinds of knowledge over others.

These criticisms are consistent with the shift from Enlightenment to post-Enlightenment philosophies, from modernist to postmodernist thinking, and from objectivist to socially constructed knowledge claims embraced by critical pedagogy. Motivated by the above-mentioned theoretical standpoints, the ideas offered here are done so in an attempt to lay out some general concerns in developing critical pedagogies. In this respect, critical pedagogy will, thus, be elaborated in relation to traditional education in order to conceptualize it in more practical terms.

**Table 3. Traditional Education vs. Critical Pedagogy**

(adopted from Freire, 1993 & Shor, 1992)

| <b>TRADITIONAL EDUCATION</b>                 | <b>CRITICAL PEDAGOGY</b>                                       |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Top-down structuring                         | Bottom-up structuring                                          |
| Education as something done to students      | Education as something students do                             |
| Education for fitting into society           | Education for individual empowerment and social transformation |
| Knowledge as universal wisdom to be accepted | Knowledge as interested products to be questioned              |
| Frontloads teacher expertise and             | Frontloads learner expression                                  |

|                                    |                                                         |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| knowledge                          |                                                         |
| Socialization into dominant groups | Desocialization from mass education and culture         |
| Learning as mental activity        | Learning as both an intellectual and emotional activity |

Accordingly, critical classrooms have different characteristics from traditional classrooms with respect to their curriculum, teaching processes, students' and teachers' roles, and evaluation procedures. The contrastive characteristics of critical classrooms with the traditional ones are summarized as follows:

**Table 4. Traditional Classrooms vs. Critical Classrooms**

| <b>Traditional Classrooms</b>     | <b>Critical Classrooms</b>                |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Student involvement is low        | Student involvement is high               |
| Didactic lecturing                | Dialogue                                  |
| Remote academic knowledge         | Accessible, relevant knowledge            |
| Unilateral teacher authority      | Mutual authority                          |
| Learner as object                 | Learner as subject                        |
| Standardized tests, letter grades | Alternative assessment, narrative grading |

Dividing educational programs into two categories as critical and non-critical can be too simplistic and does not adequately represent the educational contexts, which are often burdened by institutional, curricular, and educational constraints. However, one useful way to make sense of critical pedagogy in practical terms and think about how critical pedagogy can be applied to specific educational contexts may be to look at the ways that differentiate it from traditional education. The present study, in fact, assumes that critical pedagogy is not an all-or-nothing practice but a matter of degree. It may be more valuable to think about educational programs as falling somewhere on a continuum between non-critical and critical (Degener, 2001). As critical pedagogy is not a prescriptive methodology to be applied, it is more beneficial to consider that educational

programs reflect some critical and non-critical elements at the same time. Critical pedagogy as an ever-evolving practice has always the potential grow out of the attempts shifting from non-critical toward critical elements.

### **1.1.5. Insights into Practice**

Motivated by the above-mentioned theoretical assumptions –education as political, knowledge as interested and power as circulating, the parameters of critical pedagogy serve as guiding principles to generate a pedagogic framework for critical classrooms. Although they are offered here in a systematic body in order to make them accessible, their nature itself does not allow prescribed applications. There is not only one critical pedagogy but critical pedagogies. This framework, thus, should not be taken as a fixed, static prescription but as a springboard to apply the central ideas of critical pedagogy into a variety of educational contexts and programs. Critical pedagogy practices are always subject to modification based on student interests, needs, and experiences. In this sense, the following section can be seen as an attempt to explore the ways in critical pedagogies can be actualized. A way into this discussion is an account of some key aspects of critical pedagogical practices in terms of curriculum development, content and materials, teaching and learning processes, teacher and learner roles, and evaluation.

To begin with, curriculum development, as the driving force for instructional practices, requires considerable attention. For critical pedagogy, as McLaren (2003: 211) pointed out, the curriculum represents much more than a program of a study, a classroom text or syllabi. It, rather, represents the introduction to a particular form of life. Critical pedagogy views curriculum as a form of cultural politics; that is, as part of the sociocultural dimension of educational processes and practices (Ibid. p. 214). Therefore, a critical curriculum opens up spaces for students to critically appropriate knowledge existing outside their immediate experiences. Yet, often the curriculum development process usually starts with experts researching and identifying the body of knowledge to be covered in classrooms, content identified in this way is then organized into a

sequence of topics or units to be covered at each level, and then the syllabus becomes a prescription for direction of instruction (Auerbach, 1995: 13-14). However, in a critical classroom, the process begins with what students bring to classroom. The curriculum is identified through a process of exploration of themes through dialogue and co-investigation of what is important and relevant to students (Auerbach, 1995; Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992; Giroux, 1996). The methodology of such an investigation must be dialogical, affording the opportunity to discover generative themes that are developed from student culture (Freire, 1993: 77-78). Shor (1992: 5) indicates that a generative theme, that is, a theme generated from students' conditions, can produce a wealth of student expression, which is at the forefront of critical pedagogy. Gradually, topical and academic themes that are not generated from students' culture and speech can be introduced as student conversation and thought that often do not include important issues in society (Ibid. p. 55-56). "In this model, the direction of the process is *from the students to the curriculum* rather than *from the curriculum to the students*" (Auerbach, 1995: 16 emphasis in original).

Accordingly, the starting point for organizing the content is the present, existential and concrete situation of learners (Freire, 1993: 76). Relevance between the course content and students' realities is an essential element of critical pedagogy (Moreno-Lopez, 2005: 129). The content, which is constituted and organized by the students' view of the world, thus constantly expands and renews itself. This constant dialogue constitutes the content, letting to go in new and unexpected directions. Auerbach (1995: 19) indicates that topics generated through a participatory and dialogic approach may be very similar to the ones in the content of traditional curricula; however, the ways they are actualized in the classroom are fundamentally different. First, content draws from and validates what students already know and bring to learning rather than focusing on what they do not know. Second, content is presented descriptively rather than prescriptively; that is to say, it focuses on learners' lived experience rather than on idealized projections of that

experience. Finally, content is problematized without specific behaviors and solutions implied by the teacher or materials.

The principle of student-oriented curricula and content implies a participatory process of evaluating and selecting materials rather than reliance on a single textbook or material (Auerbach, 1995:21-23). The most commonsense assumption about materials in traditional education is that it is the teacher's responsibility to select them. However, the point of departure for materials selection in critical classrooms is whether a text or material allows space for exploration of learners' own lived experiences (Ibid. p.23). The direction is, thus, from students to materials. As an alternative to these commonplace practices, in a critical classroom, students can be involved in the process of materials selection or evaluation. Further, students may involve in the process of materials production. Freire (1970, cited in Moreno-Lopez, 2005:2) emphasizes the significance of inviting students to create their own texts to be used as the course materials since it guarantees the relevance of the material being studied to the learners' reality and results in an accurate level and pace for the learning process.

This negotiated nature of curriculum, content, and materials is also an inherent characteristic of teaching/learning processes. As is constantly reminded, critical pedagogy is not considered to be a given set of particular practices but a philosophical approach to teaching and learning. Critical pedagogy as an educational philosophy itself concerns with the subjectivities of learners who do not wait for the teacher to do education to them but co-develop the curriculum and learning process (Shor, 1992: 36). Critical pedagogy favors a problem posing dialogue over a knowledge transmission model for teaching/learning processes. "In a Freirean model for critical learning, the teacher is often defined as a problem poser who leads a critical dialogue in class, and problem posing is a synonym for the pedagogy itself" (Ibid. p. 31). This problem-posing dialogue, which is self-evolving, not standardized, is a counter-structure to traditional education (Ibid.). Within such a context, possible learning activities in a critical

classroom might include, but would not be limited to, self-reflexive journal keeping, cooperative group work, the reading texts for class discussion, extended peer discussion of problems posed in class, and long-term, active research projects (Shor, 1992; Degener, 2001). Such a teaching/learning process would possibly serve as a basis for social transformation.

If social transformation is the ultimate goal of critical pedagogy, then teacher and learner roles inside the classroom should not imply a rehearsal of the existing social relations outside the school. Both the roles assigned to teachers and students and the relationship between them is central to creating a dialogic and participatory learning/teaching environment. In a traditional classroom, as Freire (1993: 52-53) pointed out, teacher-student relationship involves a narrating subject (teacher) and listening objects (students), and this narration considers students as empty containers to be filled by the teacher. In a critical classroom, however, the teacher is the co-explorer of the curricula, content, and materials. Further, teachers function as problem posers, asking questions that would help students think more analytically and critically about aspects of their lives that they may assume cannot be changed (Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992). A dialogic teacher is not the sole authority in the classroom; the relationship between the teacher and students is a mutual authority. Teachers would create a safe environment where students would feel free to express themselves (Degener, 2001: 10). A dialogic teacher isn't permissive or self-centered (Degener, 2001; Shor, 1992). However, a dialogic teacher would;

- avoid obscure jargon that intimidate students into silence,
- pose thought-provoking, open-ended problems to students,
- avoid short-answer questions,
- would be patient in listening to students,
- invite students to speak from experience, integrating that raw material into academic themes,

- invite students to suggest themes for study,
- join the students in making the lesson summary,
- respond thoughtfully and equally to each student,
- seek equal participation from each student,
- include culturally diverse material in the curriculum,
- pose critical interpretations of the course subject matter and invite students to discuss alternative ways of understanding the subject matter (Shor, 1992: 95-96).

A dialogical relationship between teacher and students is an essential part of critical pedagogy. The teacher is no longer seen as the-one-who-teaches, but one who is also taught through dialogue with students, and a new term emerges: “teacher-student with student-teachers”. Here, nobody teaches but people teach each other (Freire, 1993: 61). Students are, thus, critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. In this way, they also become the subjects of the learning process. Another significant formulation of critical teachers is Giroux’s “transformative intellectuals” (Giroux, 1988, cited in Pennycook, 1994: 303). This view of the teacher problematizes the ways in which teachers are constructed as classroom technicians and foregrounds the significance of political engagement and transformative goals. Giroux (Ibid.) defines transformative intellectual as “one who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogical practice that attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations”.

Moving from the knowledge-transfer model of learning towards dialogic learning implies fundamental changes in assessment and evaluation procedures as well. In critical classrooms, assessment is not a separate examination at the end of the course; rather, an ongoing evaluation of student progress is encouraged. Standardized testing practices are considered to be a major obstacle to critical pedagogy. There should be frequent and rigorous assessments of students’ learning. Alternative assessment instruments like portfolio assessment, group projects and performances, and individual exhibitions are

suggested for critical classrooms (Shor, 1992). Furthermore, narrative grading is prioritized over letter grades (ibid.). On a regular basis, students would evaluate their own progress together with teacher.

In trying to explore practice-oriented perspectives, problem posing and thematic inquiry is worth further consideration. Yet, as a caution, it should be emphasized that although the practical perspectives offered here aims to move toward substantive action, they are not concerned with presenting themselves as new orthodoxies. The self-reflexive position as a crucial component of critical pedagogy suggests that it is not concerned with prescribing new models and procedures for applying critical pedagogy, rather it is concerned with raising a new array of possible ways of facing the challenges and questions outlined throughout the present study. Furthermore, it should be noted that critical pedagogy is a way of thinking and doing, a continuous integration of thought and action. Put simply, by its very nature, it is self- and ever-evolving. Therefore, problem-posing will not be offered here as a prescribed model<sup>2</sup> but its salient features will be put forward as an impetus to practice.

To begin with, in a Freirean model for critical pedagogy, problem-posing stands as a synonym for the pedagogy itself (Shor, 1992: 31). Problem-posing offers a practical path leading to the actualization of both critical teaching and learning. Key points of problem-posing can be summarized as follows:

- Problem-posing takes the people's historicity as its starting point (Freire, 1993).
- Problem-posing offers all subject matter as historical products to be questioned in an attempt to demythologize reality which explain the way human beings exist in the world (Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992).
- Problem-posing considers dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality (Freire, 1993).

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<sup>2</sup> Shor (1992) offered a model as an example and experience of problem-posing.

- Problem-posing accepts neither a well-behaved present nor a predetermined future and roots itself in the dynamic present and becomes revolutionary (Freire, 1993).
- Problem-posing regards students as critical thinkers rather than as objects of education (Freire, 1993).
- Problem-posing bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality (Freire, 1993).
- Problem-posing relies on a horizontal and transformational relationship between teacher and student (Bartlett, 2005).
- Themes and words from daily life are strong resources for problem-posing (Shor, 1992).
- Problem-posing focuses on power relations in the classroom, in the institution, in the formation of knowledge, and in society at large (Bartlett, 2005; Freire, 1993; Shor, 1992).
- Problem-posing regards all learning as relational and unpredictable rather than a linear process grounded in a predetermined and prescribed curriculum (Bartlett, 2005; Reagan & Osborn, 2002).
- Problem-posing has three major components: listening, dialogue and action. The teacher needs to listen carefully students to draw out themes as problems from which critical curricula are built, rather than lead them to a predetermined one. As the teacher holds dialogue with them through critical inquiry and ongoing reflection, they progress toward action on the issue under study (Richard-Amato, 2003; Shor, 1992).

Problem-posing, apparently, challenges an understanding of teaching rooted in a prescribed curriculum, predetermined syllabus and predictable learning paths in favor of a transformational perspective in education. Important features of critical pedagogy can be seen in problem-posing. It is a way in which existing bodies of knowledge are problematized for mutual inquiry and students are not regarded as empty minds to be

filled by the teacher. Through problem-posing, as Freire (1993: 64) underlined, “people develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation”. Students, as they are increasingly posed with problems, will feel increasingly compelled to respond to those problems. Although problem-posing may require considerably more commitment, energy and time than originally anticipated, the results may include increased criticality and student interest leading subsequent gains in learning. As regards the institutional challenges and constraints, Reagan and Osborn (2002: 72-73) mention that it is not a prerequisite to rewrite the current curricula for problem-posing; foreign language educators can implement critical curriculum pieces incrementally and units co-constructed around questions, issues and problems can be tied to the formal curriculum in appropriate ways.

The curriculum represents much more than a program of study, a classroom text, or a course syllabus. Rather, it represents an “*introduction to a particular form of life* (emphasis in original)” (McLaren, 2003: 211). In this respect, Giroux (quoted in McLaren, 2003: 191) argues that curriculum must be understood in terms of *a theory of interest* and *a theory of experience*. By theory of interest, on the one hand, Giroux (cited in McLaren, 2003: 191) means that “curriculum reflects the interests that surround it: the particular visions of past and present that they represent, the social relations they affirm or discard”. By theory of experience, on the other, he (cited in McLaren, 2003: 191) means that “curriculum is a historically constructed narrative that produces and organizes student experiences in the context of social forms, such as language usage, organization of knowledge into high- and low-status categories, and the affirmation of particular kinds of teaching strategies”.

Within this climate of concern, the starting point for curriculum materials, course content and social relations embodied in classroom practices gains significance. Freire (1993: 76) emphasized that the starting point for organizing the program content of

education must be present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people involved. The methodology for the investigation of the people's thematic universe, rather than being prescriptive, "must likewise be dialogical, affording the opportunity both to discover generative themes and to stimulate people's awareness in regard to these themes" (Freire, 1993: 77-78). Given the connections between curricular issues and socio-political concerns, thematic inquiry presents itself as both a point of departure for and a means of pedagogical processes. Although Freire (Ibid. p. 85-102) outlined a five-stage model for thematic inquiry, the present study, embracing a self-reflexive stance, suffices only with an account of his methodology:

- The methodology of thematic inquiry requires an effort to present significant dimensions of an individual's contextual reality, the analysis of which will make it possible for him to recognize the interaction of the various components.
- Thematic inquiry does not involve reducing the concrete to the abstract but involves the decoding of the coded situation, moving from the abstract to the concrete. Since coding is the representation of an existential situation, the decoder tends to take step from the representation to the very concrete situation in which and with which she/he finds herself/himself.
- Thematic inquiry requires that the investigators and the people should act as co-investigators as investigating generative themes is investigating people's thinking about reality and people's action upon reality.

In adapting a critical pedagogy, teachers "conduct ethnographic research in the students' community, document their linguistic universe, draw "generative themes" and key words from that local culture, and engage in a dialogical process with students to elaborate a social analysis, while simultaneously studying words at the syllable level, phonetically. In this way, students learn to "read the word and the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987). However, Bartlett (Ibid. 357), in the aftermath of her own 12-month ethnographic research, concludes that students' interests are not only geographically and culturally

circumscribed to the local environment but also extend far beyond the local. The idea of a singular environment or reality for students is misleading. Freire (1993: 84) provided a powerful explanation of this perspective:

Generative themes can be located in concentric circles, moving from the general to the particular. The broadest epochal unit, which includes a diversified range of units and sub-units -continental, regional, national, and so forth - contains themes of a universal character...Within the smaller circles, we find themes and limit-situations characteristic of societies (on the same continent or on different continents) which through these themes and limit-situations share historical similarities.

Put it simply, thematic inquiry is a type of investigation which serves as a basis for problem-posing, requiring a mutual involvement and negotiation. It can be in the form of an ongoing negotiation of all curricular aspects, or if the educators lack sufficient resources to carry out the preliminary investigation, they can select some basic themes to initiate further thematic inquiry. Combined with problem-posing, these introductory themes will possibly allow further critical investigation.

In addition to generative themes constructed through thematic inquiry, Shor (1992) introduces the concepts of 'topical and academic themes' as two more roads to criticality. As introduced by Shor (1992: 55), a topical theme is a social question of key importance locally, nationally, or globally, while an academic theme represents the materials rooted in formal bodies of knowledge studies by specialists in a field. What distinguishes topical and academic themes from generative themes is that they are not generated directly from the students' conversation but raised in class by the teacher (Ibid.). Although this sort of themes has the risk of provoking student resistance and of converting a critical class into a teacher-centered experience, Shor (Ibid. p. 83) mentions, if it is posed as a problem situated in a meaningful context they take problem-posing further into formal and advanced learning than do generative themes based in

student culture. "If the topical theme illuminates the social world of events mystified by the mass media and by the official syllabus, then the academic theme makes accessible the remote world of specialized knowledge" (Ibid.). From the perspectives of dialogism and participation, furthermore, teachers' right of presentation of topical and academic themes can be balanced against the right of their rejection by students.

Given the assumptions that all learning is relational and knowledge is socially constructed, thematic inquiry serves as a major source of reversing the so-called power imbalance between students' experiential knowledge and teachers' academic bodies of knowledge in favor of a critical teaching/learning. As Freire (1993: 93) himself also pointed out, one can safely affirm that action based on this sort of thematic inquiry would be much more likely to succeed than that based on the decisions from the top. Moreover, topical and academic themes can potentially be posed as problems as long as the parameters of dialogism and participation have been established throughout the process. As Freire (1973: 125 cited in Shor, 1992: 77) proposed, "anything can be presented problematically".

#### **1.1.6. Misconceptions about Critical Pedagogy**

Despite the burgeoning literature on critical pedagogy, a few misconceptions about it have already arisen. Four main misconceptions set out by the present study will be highlighted and why they can be described as misconceptions will be discussed. In doing this, some important premises and features of critical pedagogy will be pinpointed and, where applicable, further elaborated.

**Critical pedagogy offers grand theorizing rather than practice:** This is probably the most persistent and prevailing misconception. It has been strongly criticized that few accounts have been provided as to how teachers are to move from critical thought to critical practice. Coupled with extremely political and obscure language of critical educational theorists, critical pedagogy has been condemned for not being accessible in

practical terms. Yet, as both Ares (2006: 3) and McLaren (2000:13) pointed out, the weakness of Freirean critical pedagogy is also a source of his strength. It is precisely his refusal to spell out alternative solutions that enables his work to be 'reinvented' in the contexts in which his readers find themselves, thereby enjoying a contextually specific 'translation' across geographic, geopolitical, and cultural borders. Providing opportunity for local reinvention of critical pedagogy is important since establishing a fixed or normative position would strip critical pedagogy of its meaning and eventually make it mainstream. As regards the impracticality of critical pedagogy, there is also an extensive literature discussing a wide range of critical classroom practices which can serve as a springboard for further practices. Several themes and issues addressed by critical theorists have already been translated into action in several contexts<sup>3</sup>.

**Critical pedagogy does not allow any traditional practices:** For most teachers and practioners, critical pedagogy has meant the prohibition of traditional practices. No doubt underlying principles and parameters of critical pedagogy are not compatible with traditional practices such as memorization, drills or rote-learning exercises. Nevertheless, the label of misconception is valid for two reasons. Firstly, critical pedagogy is not a fixed or normative body of method which presents 'to do' or 'not to do' lists. Obviously, as long as the parameters of criticality, relevance, dialogism and participation have been established, a selective use of more traditional techniques of teaching and learning may have a place in critical pedagogy. Secondly, within the context of a considerable controversy with respect to the effectiveness and efficacy of traditional versus a far more contemporary accounts of teaching/learning (Ellis, 2005), critical pedagogy cannot be claimed to be illegitimate on the grounds that it precludes traditional practices.

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<sup>3</sup> Ares, 2006; Bartlett, 2005; Benesch, 1999; Belzer, 2004; Bohn, 2003; Borg & Mayo, 2006; Cook-Sather, 2002; Graman, 1988; Howard, 2003; Peirce, 1995; Ramanathan, 2002; Shin, 2004; Shor, 1992; Vollmer, 2000; Wallace, 2003.

**Critical pedagogy is ideologically-driven without any empirical basis:** The political nature of critical pedagogy has been another source of severe objection. Why this perception can be defined as a misconception has been explained thoroughly in the previous sections as there is no neutral stance against a political one since no education is neutral or apolitical. However, it is necessary to elaborate on the ideological baggage of research perspectives in order to account for the criticisms leveled at the empirical basis of critical pedagogy. While mainstream educators consider critical educators to be ideologically-driven, critically-oriented researchers tend to reject the foundational premises and educational status quo upon which their so-called positivist and scientific research is based. Embedded in this opposition is the further opposition to modernist notions of positivism and objectivity. Perceiving the world where there can be no one truth, no one correct narrative, no one accurate form of knowledge or way of knowing, critical pedagogy extensively employs ethnographic research methods and case studies as a form of problematizing practice. Yet, it does not mean that critical educators do exclude a selective use of empirical studies. What critical pedagogy strives for is an intersection among psychological, educational and political constructs. Critical pedagogy argues that education as social phenomena cannot be reduced to a technical object which is studied through experimentation.

**Critical pedagogy has nothing to do with theories of learning/teaching:** It has also been widely criticized that critical pedagogy does not provide a comprehensive theory of learning and teaching. Further, it is not compatible with any of the existing theories. However, for example, Shor (1992) combined his problem-posing model with Piaget's developmental psychology which urged active, inquiring education, through which students construct meaning rather than memorize facts. Further, as previously mentioned, critical pedagogy has roots in Dewey's progressivism and Vygotskian social constructivism. Among the others, Vygotsky's theory and its attendant principles and constructs offer the most for critical pedagogy. Furthermore, it should be noted that Vygotsky, as a social scientist who desired to educate Russian peasants, shows a

parallelism to Freire in terms of his aspirations and insights which are reflected in his theory.

To begin with, instead of presenting again the theoretical roots of critical pedagogy in Vygotsky's theory, this section will focus on the conceptual parallels between critical pedagogy and the sociocultural theory of second/foreign language learning as originally developed by Vygotsky and then elaborated by Lantolf. In doing so, initially, foundational premises of the Vygotskian sociocultural theoretic approach to second/foreign language development (SCT from now on) can be summarized as follows:

- SCT rejects the notion of an idealized autonomous individual and its affiliated assumption that learning ultimately happens in the mind of the learner as this asocial assumption reduces teaching to the provision of optimal input that will, theoretically at least, promote learning for all learners.
- SCT assumes that development, as non-linear process, does not follow the same route and rate for all people, they are shaped by the person's motives and goals and their ZPD. Development is constant and potentially unending as we move into new activities.
- SCT rejects the assumption that cognition is something that goes on exclusively inside the head. Although brains are inside of the heads, minds extend beyond the head and into the world of cultural artifacts and social relationships.
- SCT considers development as a historical process, which by its very nature is unpredictable and revolutionary, with breaks and innovation. Given the unpredictable and revolutionary nature of development, SCT sits uneasily with claims of universal predetermined developmental trajectories that are impervious to instructional intervention.
- SCT argues that we cannot predetermine what learners will and will not learn in a given activity at any given point in time or in any given way, as learning

depends heavily on the significance individuals assign to the various activities they participate in.

- The objective of SCT is not to discover the cause(s) of second/foreign language learning but to uncover reasons why people do or do not learn a new language (Lantolf, 2005: 335-350).

Following a summary of the basic assumptions and principles of SCT, there is a need to draw together a set of commonalities between critical pedagogy and SCT:

- Critical pedagogy's understanding of learning as relational corresponds to the historical and unpredictable nature of development in SCT.
- Both reject the transmission models of education on the grounds that cognition is not solely an inside-the-head process but a socio-cultural process in which the learner and the world are necessarily in an inseparable relationship.
- Both are not prescriptive on the grounds that SCT rejects the universal predetermined developmental trajectories and critical pedagogy rejects universal claims of knowledge and predetermined instructional processes.
- Both are revolutionary with their emphasis on historicity and unpredictability as their starting points.

Despite the growing concern with social aspects of second/foreign language learning, as is evident in focus-on-form versus focus-on-forms approaches, interactionist theories and researches on input-output relationships (Ellis, 1994; Ellis; 2005; Mitchell & Myles, 1998), most of these constructs are still far from socially engaged perspectives implied in critical approaches since their underlying theoretical frameworks, from which each emerges, are themselves. In spite of the similarities they share, computational approaches, which are marked by information-processing models of cognition and privilege input-output relationships, are incommensurable with Vygotsky's approach (Lantolf, 2005: 336-337). Informed by the above-mentioned principles, SCT evidently

acknowledges the central role of social context and social relations in the language learning processes. Critical pedagogy, juxtaposed with Vygotskian SCT, does not only explain why that critical pedagogy has nothing to do with theories of learning/teaching is a misconception but also justifies itself. Critical pedagogy, as outlined here, is by no means the final answer. On the contrary, critical pedagogy suggests itself as an ever-evolving and self-reflexive thought and action. This is why it is essential to clear away misconceptions that might be used to condemn critical pedagogy as a whole.

## **1.2. Insights from Critical Pedagogy into English Language Teaching**

Given the theoretical foundations, underlying assumptions and practical orientations of critical pedagogy, what the present chapter sets out to explore is both macro- and micro-level issues offered by critical approaches to English language teaching. Such particularly significant issues as the current position of English as an international language, various contexts of ELT, and its own discursive constructs defines the specific domains of critical approaches to ELT. Critical approaches to ELT are concerned with critiquing the dominant views of language and of language teaching/learning with particular focus on the inequitable contexts in which language education takes place as well as developing critical pedagogies to confront and change them. That is, they have both a critically analytic dimension and a transformative one (Pennycook, 1999: 341). The present section of the study draws upon its critically analytical dimension and briefly discusses the ‘English language’ and the ‘teaching’ parts of ‘English language teaching’, as discourses, within the broader context of power relations and socio-political issues. The aim is not to present the specifics of the critical approaches to the teaching of English but to highlight some key issues, which were not contentious but have become so as a result of the tension between mainstream and critical approaches to ELT. What follows is an account of the predominant views on the construction of power relations in and across classroom interaction.

### **1.2.1. Further Theoretical Considerations**

Prior to presenting a critical sketch of the discourse of English language teaching, the present section provides a brief account of major theoretical perspectives and constructs that have informed the following discussion—discourse, forms of capital, hegemony and reproductive versus resistance theories.

#### **1.2.1.1. Discourse**

Central to an understanding of the discourse of English language teaching and its discursive constructs is an initial understanding of discourse within the domain of cultural politics as a struggle over different meanings through particular historical and social relations of power. “Discourses, in this sense, are relationships of power/knowledge that are embedded in social institutions and practices” (Pennycook, 1994: 32). They are ways of constructing and organizing knowledge, meaning and identity that are both reflected and produced in our uses of language. This poststructuralist stance, as underlined by Pennycook (*Ibid.*), is concerned with an understanding of discourse and language with the relations of power and knowledge, and the inseparable interweaving of individual or language and society.

As power, informed by a Foucauldian standpoint, is everywhere and exists in all kinds of social relations, access to discourse as a power resource becomes essential. Although many forms of power relations are more subtle and pervasive in modern society (Gore, 2002; van Dijk, 2000), differences in micro-level power relations, which are fundamental to its functioning in and across a far more macro levels (Gore, 2002: 6), are foregrounded in differences in discourse access. Defined basically as the way we contribute to the discourse or the form of social control over discourse, access may be free or obligatory, full or partial, exclusive or shared and active or passive (van Dijk, 2000: 74-76). Discourse access is a useful construct to understand power and hegemony. Van Dijk (1993: 254 quoted in Ricento, 2003: 615; 2000: 77-78) argues that those who

have privileged access to socially valued resources such as wealth, status, group membership, education or knowledge have also greater access to the tools of persuasion by which they can use strategies to change the mind of others in one's own interests. Fortunately, an analysis of discourse access in social relations of power always allows for the possibilities of counter-discourse and counter-power (Pennycook, 1994: 32; van Dijk, 2000: 75).

From a poststructuralist perspective, without discursive practices we would have no way of knowing anything or making sense of ourselves. Knowledge, society and identity are all discourses constructed and contested through power relations. In addition to the differences in access to discourse, asymmetrical discourses become particularly important. The term asymmetry indicates that "there is an imbalance in the discourse in that it is weighted or loaded in favor of the socially more powerful party" (Arndt et al., 2000: 201). Asymmetrical discourses are evident in both macro-level contexts, where especially institutional power is in play, and micro-level contexts such as conversations among friends (Arndt et al., 2000: 201; Mesthrie et al, 2000: 203).

A strong example of asymmetrical discourses as the outcomes of power/knowledge relationships is classroom discourses where, as is widely accepted, there is an evident imbalance between teachers in many terms—teacher as the authority of knowledge and the author of the classroom discourse. The so-called power of teachers is not merely measured in symbolic resources like knowledge or position, but also by their access to discourse as students' access to discourse is usually controlled by the teacher. A critical analysis of classroom discourse is a way of unravelling ongoing power relations between teachers and students.

### **1.2.1.2. Forms of Capital**

Another theoretical construct that needs to be taken into consideration is the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. His interest in culture, politics, education and language merged into a theoretical framework which offers some key concepts to understand discourse. Given the assumption that people who have access to a wide range of resources will eventually have access to power and privilege (Norton, 1997: 410), Bourdieu (Mesthrie et al, 2000: 343) outlines four types of resources or ‘capital’, in his own terms, available to human beings:

- economic capital (wealth in the form of cash and assets)
- cultural capital (forms of knowledge, skill and education)
- social capital (resources based on connections and group memberships)
- symbolic capital (accumulated prestige, honour)

Bourdieu, within this model, argues that individuals are distributed in the social space according to (1) the total amount of capital they possess, (2) the composition of their capital and (3) their trajectory in the social space, which refers to how a person’s initial capital is transformed throughout her/his life history (Ibid.). Forms of capital conceptualized by Bourdieu provide the beginnings of how discourses are constructed out of power relations inherent to society. Although Bourdieu’s theory has some weaknesses in accounting for the multidimensional and dynamic nature of social roles and the subtlety and pervasiveness of power relations (Gore, 2002; Mesthrie et al, 2000), its focus on the relationship between power relations and social order is central to a deeper understanding of the discourses of education, in general, and English language teaching, in particular.

### **1.2.1.3. Hegemony**

The notion of hegemony is also essential to any understanding of the discourse of English language teaching. McLaren (2003: 202) defines hegemony as the maintenance of domination through consensual social practices, social forms and social structures produced in the specific sites such as the state, school, the mass media, the political system, and the family. In this definition, social practices refer to what people say and do; social forms refer to the principles that provide and give legitimacy to specific social practices; and social structures refer to the constraints that limit individual life and appear to be beyond the individual's control, having their sources in the power relations that govern the society (Ibid.). Hegemony, thus, is at work in the construction and maintenance of dominant discourses; hegemonic process is also reproduced via dominant discourses evident in specific social practices. As Herman and Chomsky (quoted in Ricento, 2003: 615) argue, one of the major functions of dominant discourse is to manufacture consensus about and acceptance of their dominance. Therefore, hegemony is an active struggle to win the consent of the dominated by normalizing and keeping hidden the unequal relations of power and privilege in society. McLaren (2003: 203) further elaborates on this issue:

The dominant culture tries to “fix” the meaning of signs, symbols, and representations to provide a “common” worldview, disguising relations of power and privilege through the organs of mass media and state apparatus such as schools, government institutions, and state bureaucracies. Individuals are provided with “subject positions”, which condition them to react to ideas and opinions in prescribed ways.

Put it simply, the way hegemony is constructed and maintained makes it common sensical and natural. However, resistance does occur; people do resist. While hegemony penetrates the existing social order; resistance, as is constantly implied, opens up spaces for social transformation.

#### **1.2.1.4. Reproduction and Resistance Theories**

In trying to challenge the existing discourses that produce and sustain inequalities in the existing social order, reproduction and resistance theories provide a solid groundwork to explore the discourse of schooling. Reproduction theories with their focus on the relationship between schools and the social order explore the processes by which schools sustain and reproduces the status quo in order to perpetuate the existing social and economic relations of the larger society (Jennings & Lynn, 2005: 2; McLaren, 2003: 215). In this respect, schools reproduce the structures of social life through the socialization of students into the existing social order. Some of the major mechanisms of social reproduction, as McLaren (2003: 215) stated, include “the allocation of students into private versus public schools, the socioeconomic composition of school communities, and the placement of students into curriculum tracks within schools”. However, schools can sometimes serve as sites where social awareness and counter-action take place. Schooling is not always successful in ensuring privilege for the dominant discourses as they are not solely supported by the actions of people who work to maintain it but also challenged and resisted in myriad ways (Jennings & Lynn, 2005: 3; McLaren, 2003: 215). Reproduction theories, thus, do not adequately account for the complexities in negotiating and responding to structures of domination. McLaren (2003: 215) argues that reproduction theories, for example, “*could not explain why some children cross over from the status of their parents* (emphasis in original)”.

This perspective brings into the fore the resistance theories, which analyzes the ways in which social structures work to reproduce inequalities and tries to understand how the complex web of relationships can either counteract or support the dominant discourses (Jennings & Lynn; 2005: 3). Resistance theorists question the ways and the processes by which the school system maintains the dominant discourses that produce social inequalities. Theories of resistance provide insight to how domination works in schools and how students fight against forms of domination. What do these two theories mean

for critical pedagogy? Although the answers to these questions have been provided throughout the study, that while reproduction theories can serve as a starting point, resistance theories serve as the foundation upon critical pedagogy bases itself aiming at social transformation can be a reminder.

### **1.2.2. Macro-Level Issues**

Equipped with the theoretical perspectives and tools presented above, the present section discusses the ‘English language’ and the ‘teaching’ parts of ‘English language teaching’, as macro-level issues, within the broader context of power relations.

#### **1.2.2.1. English Language and Power Relations**

It was estimated that speakers of English numbered four million in 1500, while it was around 120 million at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pennycook, 1994: 7). In the beginnings of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, the figures have changed dramatically. Today, although there has been circulating a range of statistics<sup>4</sup>, a rough agreement can be found on figures that put the total number of speakers of English at around one billion. Moreover, there also seems to be fairly broad agreement on the primary reasons of this phenomenal spread of English: British colonization starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the rise of the United States as the world’s leading economic and military power in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As the English language has become the language of science, technology, international communication and education, it has been regarded intrinsically good and useful for global development and modernization and its spread as seemingly neutral, positive and natural. Pennycook (1994: 9), a leading name on this issue, argues:

By and large, the spread of English is considered to be natural, neutral and beneficial. It is considered natural because, although there may be some critical

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<sup>4</sup> [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com), [www.vistawide.com](http://www.vistawide.com), [www.answers.com](http://www.answers.com)

reference to the colonial imposition of English, its subsequent expansion is seen as a result of inevitable global forces. It is seen as neutral because it is assumed that once English has in some sense become detached from its original cultural contexts (particularly England and America), it is now a neutral and transparent medium of communication. And it is considered beneficial because a rather blandly optimistic view of international communication assumes that this occurs on a cooperative and equitable footing.

This view of the spread of English as natural, neutral and beneficial is central to the discourse of English. The global power of English goes on increasing and, “English acts as a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige both within and between nations, and, thus, is the language through which much of the unequal distribution of wealth, resources, and knowledge operates” (Pennycook, 1995: 54). In the same way that people who have access to a wide range of resources will have access to power and privilege, so this privilege will in turn influence how they understand their relationship to the world and their possibilities for the future. “With unequal access in any society not only to material goods but also to languages and discourses, this also raises the question of distribution: who has access to the significant means to make particular meanings in English?” (Pennycook, 1994: 66). With English taking up such a crucial status in many socio-cultural arenas all around the world, it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions.

In accepting language as discourse and discourse as an outcome of power relationships, language itself becomes a contested terrain where knowledge, society and identities are constructed and negotiated. As a particular set of discourse practices achieves a high degree of naturalization, they come to be seen as common sensical. The more natural particular discourses have become, the more invisible hegemony comes to be. This is why the spread of English has come to be seen as natural, neutral and beneficial while the English language itself has come to be a form of capital acting as a gatekeeper to the

positions of wealth, prestige and privilege. When looking at the various aspects of language as discourse, furthermore, Fairclough (1992) emphasizes the importance of language in the period of intensive social change we are living. Fairclough (Ibid. p. 1-12) convincingly argues that:

- There occurred changes in the ways in which power is exercised and the shift from more explicit to more implicit exercise of power means that the common-sense routines of language practices become important in sustaining and reproducing power relations.
- Language itself is more and more becoming a target for change, intervention and control; and change in language practices is coming to be seen as significant in the implementation of more general social and cultural change

In this context, any attempt to describe and explain the discourse of English, without relating it to the underlying social and power relations, then, would be missing a crucial point. What is being argued is that the discourse of English which suggests itself as natural and neutral is misleading in the sense that “English, like all other languages, is ... a site of struggle over meaning, access and power” (Peirce, 1989: 405 quoted in Pennycook, 1989: 594). Looking at language as discourse, and particularly the discourse of English, difficult questions emerge about the teaching of language as well: How do we respond to these challenges in language teaching? What are the prevailing assumptions and beliefs about the nature of language and language teaching? In trying to contextualize English language teaching in critical pedagogy which offers both a language of critique and a language of possibility, then, the next step would be to deconstruct the discourse of language teaching/applied linguistics.

### **1.2.2.2. Central Tenets of English Language Teaching**

A crucial component of critical work, as is constantly underlined, is always turning a skeptical eye toward assumptions, ideas and notions that have become naturalized. The point here is that if we are to understand why a critical pedagogy is a must in language teaching, then we are to question salient assumptions, ideas and notions which inform everyday classroom practices but are no longer questioned. The central concern of this section is, then, to problematize the discourse of applied linguistics, by raising questions to do with power, access, hegemony and resistance. A number of underlying concerns that the current literature suggests, in this respect, can be summarized as follows:

- The long-lived preoccupation of applied linguistics with standard English (British or American) has produced inequalities between standard and non-standard varieties of English (Canagarajah, 2005; Phillipson, 1992).
- The privileging of native speakers over non-native speakers of English has produced not only symbolic but also material consequences particularly with respect to teachers and academicians (Medgyes, 1992; Norton, 1997; Shin, 2004).
- The categorization of language learners as foreign and/or second, although the boundaries of this categorization have come to be more permeable, promoted negative self-identities on the part of learners (Norton, 1997:424; Phillipson, 1991).
- The positivist orientation, as the predominant research paradigm in applied linguistics, has resulted in the removal of the personal and political from the investigation of language teaching in favor of so-called objective investigative procedures that emphasize quantification and prediction, the linearly accumulation of knowledge, and the universal applicability of human rationality (Canagarajah, 2005; Pennycook, 1989: 594-595).

- The prescriptive knowledge produced in the central academic institutions has been legitimated and privileged at the expense of other forms of knowledge through socio-political relationships (Pennycook, 1989: 595-596).
- The prevailing conception of education as a technical issue which accepts teaching as a precise and scientific undertaking and teachers as technicians responsible for carrying out preselected instructional programs and strategies has reduced classroom teaching exclusively to matters of technique and method (Bartolome, 1996; Giroux, 1992).
- The long-lasting focus on finding the right method to improve the academic achievement of students has hidden the asymmetrical power relations of society, which is a less visible but more important reason for their performance (Bartolome, 1996; Cummins, 2000).

The significance of seeing education as political, language as discourse, and knowledge as interested lies in the need to recognize that those who seemingly depoliticize the field of English language teaching are also articulating a political stance. An awareness of a number of principle tenets of ELT research and pedagogy can contribute to clarify its political agenda. “This is particularly important in an ‘applied’ field which is eminently concerned with the utility of its research findings in syllabuses, classrooms, teacher training, language planning, and related activities” (Phillipson, 1991: 39). Such an awareness would also shed light on where we stand and why, and whose interests we represent and serve.

### **1.2.3. Micro-Level Issues**

Shifting from such macro-level issues as the politics of English and of the teaching English, the present section presents an overview how classroom interaction is understood in mainstream ELT theory and research with a global interest in power relations.

### 1.2.3.1. Classroom Interaction and Power Relations

To move from the politics of English language and of mainstream ELT theory and research toward power relations at the micro level of classroom interaction, due to the close relationship between the subject-matter and the method of the research, it seems to be of use to start with a brief introduction to the basic traditions of classroom research in second/foreign language education. Despite the fact that few researchers adopt only the procedures and analyses of one tradition, Chaudron (1988: 13-15) describes four research traditions in second/foreign classroom research: Psychometric, interaction analysis, discourse analysis and ethnographic traditions. The typical issues and methods of these traditions can be summarized as follows:

**Table 5. A summary of four research traditions in L2 classroom research**

(taken from Ellis, 1994: 566)

| Tradition            | Typical Issues                                                                     | Methods                                                                              |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Psychometric         | Language gain from different methods, materials, treatments.                       | Experimental method – pre- and post-tests with experimental and control groups.      |
| Interaction analysis | Extent to which learner behaviour is a function of teacher-determined interaction. | Coding classroom interactions in terms of various observation systems and schedules. |
| Discourse analysis   | Analysis of classroom discourse in linguistic terms.                               | Study classroom transcripts and assign utterances to pre-determined categories.      |
| Ethnographic         | Obtain insights into the classroom as a cultural system.                           | Naturalistic ‘uncontrolled’ observation and description.                             |

The psychometric tradition was applied in early evaluations of second/foreign language teaching throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Chaudron, 1988: 13-31). It is evident in the comparative method studies which involve the comparison of the effects of specific instructional programs or methods on student learning outcomes and the correlational studies which have investigated the quantitative relationships between various classroom

activities or behaviors and language achievement (Ibid. ; Ellis, 1994: 566-572). Studies in this tradition are experimental in nature, using pre- and post-tests with experimental and control groups (Chaudron, 1988: 13-31; Ellis, 1994: 566-572). Yet, these studies have failed:

- to validate the qualitative distinctions regarding the actual classroom processes across programs or methods,
- to justify theoretically the direct relationships between classroom processes and learning products (Chaudron, 1988: 30-31).

Not because of the perceived failure of experimental studies (Ellis, 1994: 573; van Lier, 1988: 3) but the impossibility to define experimental studies as classroom research in any real sense of the term (van Lier, 1988: 18), the present chapter suffices with introductory remarks on the psychometric tradition and moves onto the other three traditions and their outcomes.

Interaction analysis, developed by the mid-1960s with the influence of sociological investigations of group processes (Chaudron, 1988: 14), “involves the use of a form or schedule consisting of a set of categories for coding specific classroom behaviours” (Ellis, 1994: 567). Originally, categorizations were developed for content classrooms but they were rapidly adapted to the language classrooms (Ellis, 1994: 567; Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 22). Malamah-Thomas (1987: 20) maintains that this tradition was established with Flanders’ Interaction Analysis Categories and hundreds of classroom observation instruments that are currently available in the literature are all essentially adaptations, extensions, or simplifications of Flanders’ categories. An instrument directly inspired by Flanders’ categories was that of Moskowitz, that is, Foreign Language Interaction (Chaudron, 1988: 1; Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 22). In addition, among the instruments developed to look at specific classroom behaviors and language, to list only a few, are Bowers’ Categories of verbal Behavior in the Language

Classroom, Target Language Observation Scheme, Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching, Brown's Interaction Analysis System and Mitchel and Parkinson instrument for the analysis of strategies of foreign language teaching<sup>5</sup>. Long (1980 cited in Ellis, 1994: 567) divides these different interaction analysis systems into three types: (1) in a category system each event is coded each time it occurs, (2) in a sign system each event is recorded only once within a fixed time span, and (3) in a rating scale an estimate of how frequently a specific type of event occurred is made after the period of observation. Despite the variety in type and differences in research focus, Chaudron (1988: 14) outlines (a) an interest in the nature of the dependency of student behaviors on the atmosphere and interaction engendered by the teacher and (b) an implied quantitative focus through the measurement of the frequency of specific behaviors as the basic tenets of this tradition.

The third tradition, discourse analysis, arose from a linguistic perspective, serves as a device to describe and analyze the discourse of classroom interaction in structural-functional linguistic terms (Chaudron, 1988: 14; Ellis, 1994: 568). The L1 classroom research of Bellack et al. (1966), which analyzed classroom interaction as a sequence of moves, each with its own rules for form and context of use, is the primary early example of this tradition in education (Chaudron, 1988: 14, 40). The research of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) on British elementary school classrooms was a major step in the discourse analysis of L1 classrooms, incorporating both the linguistic and sociolinguistic traditions in their conception of classroom interaction as a hierarchically structured system (Chaudron, 1988: 40). Drawing on these two initial work, "discourse analysts give attention not only to the function of individual utterances but also to how these utterances combine to form larger discoursal units" (Ellis, 1994: 568). Researchers, however, have not employed such a comprehensive discourse analytical scheme as Sinclair and Coulthard's system (Chaudron, 1988: 44) but used the techniques of discourse analysis to study specific areas of discourse and to characterize the different

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<sup>5</sup> For a thorough description of these instruments, see Malamah-Thomas, 1987.

types of interaction that occur in second/foreign language classrooms (Ibid. ; Ellis, 1994: 568). These studies have adopted a variety of discourse analytical units with identifiable linguistic structure or serving specific functions (Chaudron, 1988: 44), some of which are listed and briefly described in Table 6.

**Table 6. Analytical Units Employed in L2 Discourse Analysis**

(taken from Chaudron, 1988: 45)

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**STRUCTURAL UNITS**

*utterance*: a string of speech by one speaker under a single intonation contour, and preceded and followed by another speaker's speech, or pause of more than x seconds

*turn*: any speaker's sequence of utterances bounded by another speaker's speech

*T-unit*: any syntactic main clause and its associated subordinate clauses

*communication unit*: an independent grammatical predication; the same as a T-unit, except that in oral language, elliptical answers to questions also constitute complete predications

*fragment*: any utterance which does not constitute a completed proposition (i.e., with explicit subject and verb)

**FUNCTIONAL UNITS**

*repetition*: an exact repeating of a previous string of speech (either partial or full, either a self- or other-repetition)

*expansion*: a partial or full repetition which modifies some portion of a previous string of speech by adding syntactic or semantic information

*clarification request*: a request for further information from an interlocutor about a previous utterance

*comprehension check*: the speaker's query of the interlocutor(s) as to whether or not they have understood the previous speaker utterance(s)

*confirmation check*: the speaker's query as to whether or not the speaker's (expressed) understanding of the interlocutor's meaning is correct

*repair*: an attempt by a speaker to alter or rectify a previous utterance which was in some way lacking in clarity or correctness (either self- or other-directed)

*model*: a type of prompt by a speaker (usually a teacher) intended to elicit an exact imitation or to serve as an exemplary response to an elicitation

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The fourth tradition, ethnographic research, arose from sociological and anthropological traditions. It has been widely used in first language and bilingual classroom research, but it has not been extensively employed in second/foreign language classroom research (Chaudron, 1988: 14, 45; Ellis, 1994: 569). It is not actually aimed at here fully describing or discussing ethnographic research since critical ethnography as the type chosen to be employed in the present study will be described in the following chapter. Nevertheless, the work of van Lier (1988), as the leading one in this tradition in second/foreign classroom research (Ellis, 1994: 568), will be considered since it provides significant insights into the nature of the present ethnographic work especially on the level of data analysis. Van Lier (1988: 14) basically advocates ethnography as a method and an understanding of what goes on in classrooms as a goal. Underlying his work are the 'holistic' and 'emic' principles (Ibid. p. 16). The emic principle refers to a participant's perspective rather than an etic or external analyst's perspective, leaving aside pre-established views, models, schemes and typologies (Seedhouse, 2004: 4; van Lier, 1988: 55); while the latter refers to the need to view classroom data as a whole and thus to relate the data consisting of pieces of classroom interaction to each other (van Lier, 1988: 9-10, 56). These principles, thus, call attention to the 'contextuality' and 'process-orientedness' of classroom research.

Ethnographic research derives its primary data from the interaction in the classroom (Ibid. p. 18). This means that observation is inevitably the *cine qua non* of ethnographic research, but it doesn't further mean that this observation can be conducted in one single way (Ibid. p. 69). In addition to observation, the recent use of recording and transcription has been another important component of ethnographic research (Ibid. p. 69). It is also possible to include other sources of data such as interviews, diaries and stories in ethnographic research (Ibid. p. 56-57). Moreover, the frequent use of triangulation, that is, the use of different theoretical perspectives, different kinds of data, more than one observer, different methods and a variety of research tools, makes it almost impossible to classify ethnographic research as a method. The task of the

researcher is thus “to create an orderly account out of the mass of data, using the analytical techniques available in the social sciences” (Ibid. p. 87).

Having introduced the basic research traditions of classroom research, it is now time to define classroom interaction. Broadly speaking, classroom interaction involves anything that happens in the classroom. In a similar way, Ellis (1994: 573) defines classroom interaction as follows:

Classroom discourse mediates between pedagogic decision-making and the outcomes of language instruction...Teachers plan their lessons by making selections with regard to what to teach (syllabus), how to teach (method), and perhaps also to the nature of the social relationships they want to encourage (atmosphere). When acted on, their plans result in ‘classroom interaction’. This is not planned in advance, but rather is ‘co-produced’ with the learners. In part, it will reflect the pedagogic decisions that have been taken, but it will also evolve as part of the process of accomplishing the lesson (Ellis, 1994: 573)

With respect to the specifics of classroom interaction, Ellis (1994: 566) lists the following aspects of classroom interaction as a result of his survey of studies in major traditions of classroom research: “teacher talk, error treatment, teachers’ questions, learner participation, task-based interaction, and small group work”. Another survey by Bailey (1985, cited in van Lier, 1988: 60) identifies four main areas of attention: “patterns of participation, the speech and behaviors of teachers, the treatment of learners’ errors, and individual student (or teacher) variables”. From an ethnographic perspective, van Lier (Ibid.) indicates that “[w]hat characterizes most of the studies reviewed under these headings is that they focus on specific aspects of the setting with little or no attention paid to the holistic nature of the classroom as a social context”. In addition to the issues that have been investigated, Van Lier (Ibid. p. 85) identifies the following macro-topics for research:

- control and initiative
- quality and kinds of participation
- planned and unplanned sequences of interaction

- feedback and evaluation
- authenticity of task and interaction
- comprehensibility of input
- perceptions and criteria of progress and success
- cooperation and competition in classroom work
- equity of rights and responsibilities

As is implied above, the bulk of classroom research has focused on various aspects of interaction beginning with teacher talk (Ellis, 1994: 581). Furthermore, little specific attention has been paid to routine enactments of institutional power (van Dijk, 1989: 37), and so existing studies on classroom discourse are still far from explaining the joint construction of power relations. Yet, questions of power cannot be totally separated out from other studies on classroom interaction, though being less concerned with the theoretical and methodological paradigms outlined here. So, to start with, a general overview of the findings of the studies on classroom interaction to date may serve to understand how power has been perceived in mainstream classroom research. The studies on the nature and specifics of classroom interaction have shown that classroom interactions manifest fairly predictable and recognizable features in terms of their structure, types of language use, turn-taking mechanisms and the differences between classroom and naturalistic discourse (Ellis, 1994: 574).

Since Sinclair and Coulthard's seminal work (1975) on classroom discourse, the exchange model of initiation/response/follow-up (IRF) has been the basic discourse analytical framework. From their research, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 19) discovered that "lessons are highly structured" and, with particular focus on the functions of speech acts in classroom discourse, they developed a hierarchical model to account for the structural description of classroom discourse. The ranks in the structure of a lesson are, in ascending order of hierarchy: act, move, exchange and transaction. Overall, the lesson, which is made of an unordered series of transactions, is the highest unit of

classroom discourse (Ibid. p. 25, 59-60). Transactions consist of a preliminary exchange, a series of medial exchanges and a terminal exchange (Ibid. p. 25, 56). The much-noted IRF exchange has come to be defined as a prominent part of teacher-controlled classroom interaction (Ellis, 1994: 575; Thornborrow, 2002: 108; van Lier, 1996: 149). In traditional classes, where the focus is on the transmission of knowledge, the percentage of utterances that fall neatly into this triadic structure is found to be more than the half (van Lier, 1996: 149). Subsequent studies, which have built on the exchange model of IRF, put forward the following features of teacher-led classroom interaction:

- one-speaker-at-a-time rule rather than many-at-once (Ellis, 1994: 579; van Lier, 1988: 98)
- reluctance to allow overlapping/simultaneous talk (van Lier, 1988: 98)
- rigid turn control by teacher (Lin, 2008: 71)
- control of the content and direction of classwork by teacher (Lin, 2008: 71-72)
- prevalence of teacher questioning (Ellis, 1994: 586; Thornborrow, 2002: 108-109)
- restriction of learners to a responding role (Ellis, 1994: 592)

This kind of IRF exchanges, as van Lier (1996: 154) puts it, has a display/assessment orientation rather than a participation orientation, and is quite clearly noticeable in many teacher-fronted lessons. The IRF, in which the teacher asks a question or provides information, the student responds or reacts, and the teacher provides some degree of evaluation, provides the teacher with the roles of questioner, director, informer and evaluator, and the students with the role of answerer. The IRF exchange, together with its attendant features, thus allows the teacher to maintain control and conduct an orderly lesson (Ibid. p. 150). Classroom lessons, as being one example of recurrent speech events with often implicit, unspoken, but shared norms governing turn-taking practices and speaking rights, are seen to be allocating the teacher a lopsided domination over

who can speak/do what when all through the lesson as well as the responsibility to move students along a pre-set agenda of the lesson (Lin, 2008: 71). As a whole, salient characteristics of classroom interaction suggest that teachers occupy a role of authority and power. Greater amount of teacher talk, asymmetrical distribution of turns and communicative rights between teachers and students, teacher question-student answer sequences and initiation of topics extensively by the teacher are all assumed to be indicators of the teacher's power in classroom discourse. A direct implication of such a conceptualization of classroom interaction is an understanding of power as a monolithic entity which is owned by teachers due to their institutional rank and status. This kind of approach to power tends to see power as a quantifiable thing, which in turn means that some people can be described as more or less powerful in relation to another (Thornborrow, 2002: 5). In this way, teachers are considered to be more powerful than students, and the construction of power relations is stripped away from students' contributions. Undoubtedly, power may derive from institutional organization (van Dijk, 1989: 37), and thus turn-taking mechanisms and occupations of particular kinds of turn positions may reveal tellingly how teachers exercise control over classroom discourse itself. Yet, if classroom interaction is seen as a power situation in which power is constructed by all concerned, then the focus shifts from how power is exclusively exercised by teachers to how it is negotiated by both teachers and students across the specific aspects of classroom interaction. Indeed, the IRF exchange has already been the target of severe criticism on the grounds that it rarely provides any opportunity for the learners to ask questions or to express their views (Kumaravadivelu, 2003: 116), and, further, reduces the student's initiative, independent thinking, clarity of expression, the development of conversational skills and self-determination (van Lier, 1996: 156). Furthermore, as it has been well pointed out throughout the study, classroom events do not take place in a socio-political vacuum. That "discourses manifest power relations" (Kumaravadivelu, 1999: 479) means that English language classes also manifest the dynamics of power which permeate the fabric of classroom practices as well as the forms of resistance. As we strive to develop ways of exploring power relations, we are

well advised by Foucault that “in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made dissociate these relations” (Foucault, 1994b: 329).

## **2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: INVESTIGATING POWER RELATIONS THROUGH CLASSROOM INTERACTION**

*Intellectuals are no longer needed by the masses to gain knowledge: the masses know perfectly well, without illusion; they know far better than the intellectuals and they are certainly capable of expressing themselves. But there exists a system of power which blocks, prohibits, and invalidates this discourse and this knowledge, a power not only found in manifest authority of censorship, but one that profoundly and subtly penetrates an entire societal network. Intellectuals are themselves agents of this system of power: the idea of their responsibility for “consciousness” and discourse forms part of the system (Foucault, 1977: 207; in Heaney, 2000: 101)*

The present chapter is devoted to the method of the study. It firstly explains the purpose of the study along with the preliminary research questions. What follows is the presentation of the overall methodological standpoint including the key methodological perspectives underlying the study. The chapter then proceeds to the introduction of the procedures of data collection and analysis. Finally, the issues of validity and reliability are discussed with particular reference to the qualitative nature of the study.

### **2.1. Purpose and Preliminary Research Questions**

Within the framework of Foucauldian conception of power, as defined in the first chapter, the overall aim of the present study is to document power relations operating at the micro level of classroom interaction in an EFL setting. In this respect, firstly, the aim is to identify and describe particular techniques of power employed in the classes selected. Secondly, the aim is to investigate how particular techniques of power operate

across different aspects of classroom interaction. Thirdly, the study aims to explore how students involve in decision-making processes in terms of materials selection, task selection, sequencing tasks and assessment and evaluation. Fourthly, the aim is to explore how techniques of power are linked to differentiation around such social categories as gender, social class, ethnicity, rural/urban backgrounds, and so on. Fifthly, the aim is to find out how particular techniques of power function in relation to both productive and oppressive nature of power. Finally, the study seeks to understand different strategies of resistance experienced in response to particular techniques of power in the classrooms. Built on the existing literature, the preliminary research questions, which serve as working guidelines of the study, together with the research problem, are provided below:

*Research Problem:*

How do power relations function at the micro-level of classroom interaction?

*Preliminary Research Questions:*

- Which particular techniques of power are employed at the micro-level of classroom power relations?
- How do particular techniques of power operate across different aspects of classroom interaction?
  - How is the physical setting arranged (i.e. the arrangement of student seats, the positioning of the teacher, etc.)?
  - How are the participant structures organized (i.e. turn-taking, interruptions)?
  - How is student-talk and teacher-talk regulated and balanced?

- Who asks questions?
  - What kinds of questions are asked?
  - How is L1 use regulated and negotiated?
  - Who and under what conditions has a right to speak/write out? Who and under what conditions has a right to silence?
  - Who and under what conditions has a right to choose, initiate and/or change the topic?
- How do students get involved in decision-making processes (i.e. decision-making processes in terms of materials selection, task selection and sequencing of activities, and assessment and evaluation.)
  - How are techniques of power linked to differentiation around such social categories as gender, social class, ethnicity, rural/urban backgrounds, etc.?
  - How do particular techniques of power function in relation to productive and oppressive nature of power?
  - What strategies of resistance to particular techniques of power are experienced?

## **2.2. Overall Research Design**

The present study, drawing its theoretical inspiration from critical pedagogy and Foucauldian understanding of power relations, locates itself within the ‘critical social research orientation’. With regard to its designation as an orientation rather than a tight methodological school, Carspecken (1996: 3) points out that: “Only quite recently efforts have been made to describe critical methodology, and the authors of these efforts do not completely agree with each other”. Therefore, as critical social researchers who

share a concern with social theory and such basic concepts as social structure, power and human agency do not often share a methodological theory critical social research is not a school but an orientation. Critical inquiry, furthermore, is diverse, flexible and constantly developing in methodological terms. It only takes on a specific form when applied to the study of a particular phenomenon (Wainright, 1997: 3). That is why, then, the present study is not “the” but “a” critical research.

Critical research informed by post-discourses (e.g. poststructuralism, postmodernism, etc.) seeks to develop new ways of researching and analyzing the construction of knowledge in an attempt to respond to the changing social and informational conditions of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and 21<sup>st</sup> century (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005: 303-304). Critical research is, in fact, grounded on an evolving notion of criticality with the goal of perpetually searching for new and interconnected ways of understanding power and oppression and the ways they shape everyday life and human experience (Ibid. p. 307). A basic dimension of critical social research, thus, involves a comfort with the existence of alternative ways of analyzing and producing knowledge. The multitude and ever-evolving nature of critical research, which is the same as critical pedagogy, however, avoid too much specificity. Focusing on the commonalities rather than the differences, for the purpose of generating understanding, Kincheloe and McLaren (Ibid. p. 304) define the basic assumptions of a criticalist as a researcher or theorist as follows:

- All thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are socially and historically constructed.
- Facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription.
- The relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption.

- Language is central to the formation of subjectivity (consciousness and unconsciousness awareness).
- Certain groups in any society and particular societies are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable.
- Oppression has many faces and focusing on only one at the expense of the others (e.g. class oppression versus racism) often elides the interconnections among them.
- Mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race and gender oppression.

In contrary to mainstream research's aspiration to disinterestedness in its quest for knowledge, critical research maintains that all research is not so-called neutral but political. Heaney (2000: 106) argues that "[t]he 'disinterestedness' of traditional research represents such a systemic interest nurtured and sustained by academics in order to maintain a position of privilege and to protect their monopoly over the production and legitimation of knowledge". The issue that each researcher must address is thus: "not to whether to serve political interests, but which political, economic, and class interests to serve" (Ibid. p. 112). "Whereas traditional researchers see their task as the description, interpretation, or reanimation of a slice of reality, critical researchers often regard their work as a first step toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in the field site or constructed in the very act of research itself" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005: 305). Critical research includes an overt political struggle against oppressive social structures and an agenda for transformative action. Such research digs beneath the surface of everyday "common-sense" assumptions and practices and asks how things are as they are and how they really work. "Critical researchers are typically politically minded individuals [as if the vice versa was ever possible] who seek, through their research, to advocate against inequality and

domination” (Carspecken & Apple, 1992; in Cresswell, 2002: 486). They are concerned about social inequalities and direct their work toward positive social change. Research, as Carspecken (1996: 4) mentions, is used, in fact, to refine social theory rather than merely to describe social life by criticalists. In critical research, as Kincheloe & McLaren (2005: 317-318) highlights, research methods are actively constructed from the tools at hand rather than passively receiving the correct universally accepted methodologies. Critical research refuses the passive acceptance of externally imposed research methods that tacitly certify modes justifying knowledges that are decontextualized, reductionistic and inscribed by dominant modes of power. Critical research construct a far more active role for humans both in shaping reality and in creating the research processes and narratives that represent it (Ibid.).

Grounded within the critical research orientation, the present study, thus, seeks to understand workings of power relations at the micro-level classroom interaction in an EFL setting. In achieving that end, it employs some key current methodological perspectives and analytic resources and tools available across the methodological spectrum. The study primarily draws on critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis, and classroom discourse analysis. It is thus an example of ethnography-based discourse analysis but is not a pure form of ethnography or of (critical) discourse analysis. In the following three sections, each of the above-mentioned methodological frameworks will be briefly introduced. Particular theoretical constructs offered by them will also be used as a frame of reference for the interpretation of data in the third chapter rather than being described fully in this chapter.

### **2.2.1. Critical Ethnography**

*“[T]he best way to learn to do ethnography is by doing it” (Spradley, 1980:38).*

Critical ethnography as a form of critical social research has been influenced by, just like critical pedagogy, critical theory, post-structuralism and postmodernism in different

ways and to different degrees (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005: 305). It was the late 1990's that marked a watershed change in ethnographic research. Traditional ethnography as practiced in education was challenged with the introduction of two key issues:

- The crisis of representation which consists of a reassessment of how ethnographers as objective reporters interpret the groups they are studying has brought about the need to view researcher as only one voice among many who need to be heard.
- The crisis of legitimacy which questions the canons of validity, reliability, and objectivity representing the standards in social sciences has brought about the need to evaluate ethnographic study in terms of flexible standards embedded within the participants, historical and cultural influences, and the interactive forces of race, gender, and class (Cresswell, 2002: 482-483).

Ethnography, in this way, now adopts a critical approach to respond to the profound changes unfolding on social, economic, cultural and political planes. Critical ethnography, initially, is a political action. Concerned with the relationship between social structures and human agency, critical ethnography tends to challenge the status quo and reinforce change, and, thus, "makes no apology for being openly ideological" (Lather, 1986; in Robertson, 2005). Critical ethnography, situated within the domain of critical social research, requires knowledge to be understood as always a social product formed within social relations involving power. "Thus, standards of truth can only be formulated if they take the power relations inherent to research acts into account" (Georgiou & Carspecken, 2002: 689). Such knowledge production can only be achieved by transcending the borders of positivist-objectivist knowledge claims. Carspecken (1993, 1999; in Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005: 327) remarks, every time we act, we presuppose some normative or universal relation to truth. Critical researchers problematize "normative and universal claims in a way that does not permit them to be analyzed outside a politics of representation, divorced from the material conditions in

which they are produced” (Ibid.). He further argues that research value orientations should not determine research findings, as much as this is possible. Rather, critical ethnographers should employ a critical epistemology which applies to all researchers. Examining researcher bias and discovering researcher value orientation constitutes a preliminary role in the pursuit of critical ethnography. To construct a socially critical epistemology, Carspecken ( 1996: 40-43) offers a five-stage scheme with the followings stages:

1. compiling the primary record through the collection of monological data (e.g. observations, extensive field notes)
2. preliminary reconstructive analysis (i.e. initial coding and thematization)
3. discovering dialogical data generation (e.g. in-depth interviews)
4. describing social systems relations (i.e. macro systems of power & subordination)
5. using systems relations to explain findings (i.e. the explanation of micro findings through macro analysis)

A primary record is built up through passive observation, note taking, audio taping, and, if desired, video-taping. The primary means of building a primary record is, thus, doing passive observation. Whatever the interest is, Carspecken (Ibid. p. 51) suggests that it is best to begin a study in as non-obtrusive a manner as possible, which usually comes down to passively conducting observations for a period of time. In stage one, what the researcher needs to do is to find an “observation post” from which to observe and record what goes on as one can infer a great deal from the vantage point of a passive participant (Spradley, 1980: 59). The information collected in this way is “monological” in nature because the researcher “speaks” alone while writing the primary record. The researcher takes a purely third-person position in relation to the people under study: describing them from the perspective of an uninvolved observer (Carspecken, 1996: 41-42). Carspecken (Ibid. p. 52) defines two reasons for monological data generation at first:

initially, to reduce the effects of researcher presence on routine activities, which is known as the Hawthorn effects, as much as possible at first. Carspecken (Ibid.) argues, however, that the Hawthorn effect is not damaging to a qualitative study as alterations in participant behavior usually do not correspond with alterations in the cultural milieu. “It is not the fact that the researcher’s presence changes behaviors that is the problem, but rather that it is important to know *how behaviors have changed* if one’s reconstructions are going to be penetrating (Ibid.)”. The second but more important reason for monological data generation, Carspecken (Ibid.) mentions, is to be able to compare the monological data collected in stage one as a passive observer and the dialogical data collected in stage three as a facilitator of talk and discussion since contrasts between the two types of data can be extremely revealing.

A primary record, thus, basically consists of a thick description of classroom activities and interactions with a lot of details gathered through passive observation and tape-recording. Carspecken (Ibid. p.41-42, 45-46) uses the phrase primary record as most of the analysis is focused on this intensive set of field notes built up for the site of focus. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 47) defines the components and qualities of thick description as follows:

- Speech acts, body movements, and body postures are recorded as thickly as possible.
- A low-inference vocabulary is used.
- The time is recorded quite frequently.
- Occasional use of brackets and the the “OC” (Observer Comment) are employed.
- Context information is recorded before the thick description per se is begun.
- Verbatim speech acts are put in italics.
- The record is typed into a word processor.
- A simple diagram of the classroom is entered into the record.

Carspecken (Ibid. p. 46), however, reminds that “not all field notes need to be taken this thickly”. As it will not be feasible to construct an entire set of field notes as thickly as described above, it is important to produce selective sets of thick notes for selected periods of time in selected sites (Ibid. p. 47-48). Furthermore, it is suggested to conduct periods of intensive observation with the purpose of producing quite thick field notes:

write down observations in a separate notebook as thickly as you can, run a tape recorder, but only type the written notes into the computer rather than running the tape as well. This way you will always have the option of returning to the tape to give more detail to your notes if your analysis requires it...Later on, during stage two, once can return “quite thick” notes to thicken them with detail from the tape recorder if this becomes important to the analysis (Carspecken, 1996: 48)

In addition to thick descriptions, Carspecken (Ibid. p. 53) argues, primary records should be built up in not-so-thick, journalistic form. A field journal is kept to record things and events heard and seen in the corridors, teachers’ lounge, cafeteria, and so on together with impressions gathered during informal observation periods and conversations with subjects (Ibid. p. 45, 53). This recording from memory can be done quite soon after one has observed or taken part in some activity (Ibid. p. 45). In this way, keeping both a thick record and a field journal, the researcher possibly approximates to understand the complexities of the interactions and actions taking place.

In stage two, the researcher begins to analyze the primary record as it has been built up so far. Though they are very much preliminary and, thus, subject to error, the researcher make speculations with respect to the meanings interactions recorded in the primary record, and tease out themes, key issues, patterns and areas (Ibid. p. 93). This sort of analysis is reconstructive as it articulates those cultural themes, patterns and system factors that are not observable and that are usually unarticulated by the actors themselves. That is to say, putting previously unarticulated factors into linguistic representation is “reconstructive” (Ibid. p. 42). Carspecken (Ibid. p. 94) states that preliminary reconstructive analysis should begin as a play between low-level coding, initial meaning reconstruction and horizon analysis. Initial meaning reconstructions refer

to the articulation of possible meanings regarding the interactions and actions recorded in primary record. In other words, the researcher articulates possible meanings that other people in the setting might themselves infer, either overtly or tacitly (Ibid. p. 95). Carspecken (Ibid. p. 95-96) defines the relevant concept here as “meaning field”: range of possibilities within a field of other possibilities. The researcher articulates meaning fields but her reconstructed meaning fields may not be the same as the meaning fields experienced by her subjects of study. It is therefore impossible to absolutely validate her reconstructions of meaning fields but there are definite ways of supporting her articulations such as member checks, peer debriefers and dialogical data generation. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 95) defines the stages of initial meaning reconstruction as follows:

- Read through the primary record to note possible underlying meanings. Several such readings will begin to suggest certain patterns that occur often as well as highlight unusual events that occur rarely. Low-level coding procedures can be employed at this point to mark out both routine events and unusual ones.
- Next, select several segments from the primary record for explicit initial meaning reconstruction in light of your progress with low-level coding. The segments selected ought to be representative of routine patterns as well as of anomalies in these patterns.
- Then, copy the segments selected from the primary record into new word processing files, preserving the primary record in its original form.
- Go through the selected segments line by line and add discursive articulations of tacit modes of meaning that underlie the interactions recorded. All such additions must be made within brackets to clearly distinguish them from the primary record.
- Once several segments have been analyzed in this way, a peer debriefer ought to be asked to read through the reconstructions and to play devil’s advocate with them. Member checks could be conducted as well, but usually only if the observation stage of the research has been nearly completed.

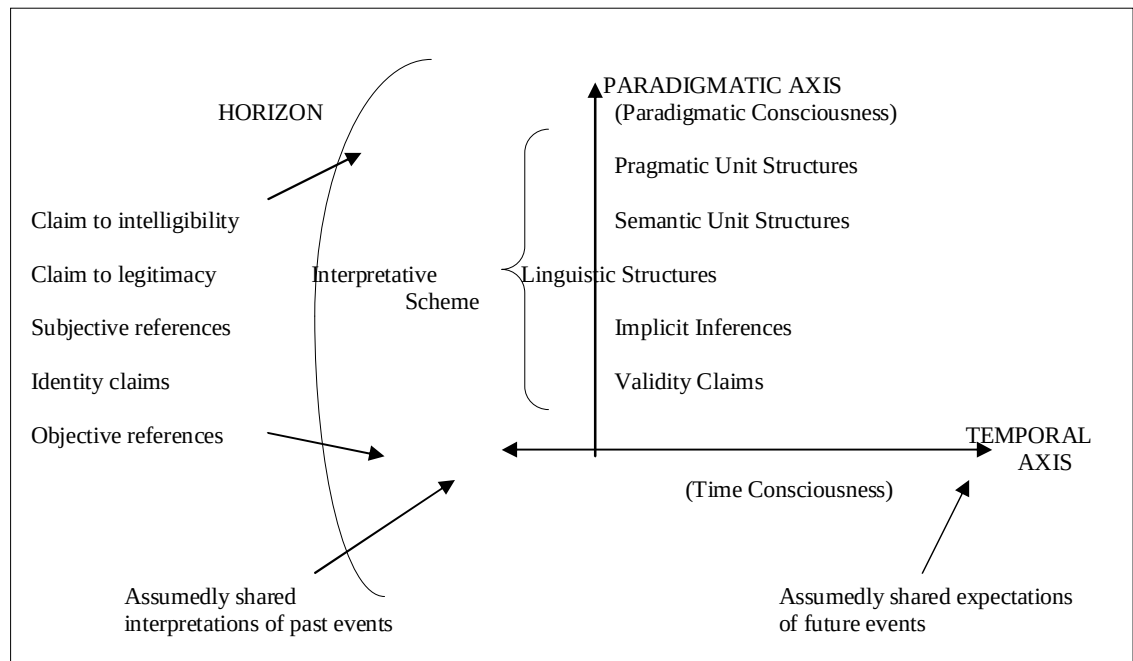
Keeping in mind the possible question that ‘if they are possibilities within a field of other possibilities, then what is the point of initial meaning reconstructions’, Carspecken (Ibid. p. 102) highlights the purposes of initial meaning reconstructions as follows:

- to clarify the impressions of meaning received from observations
- to calibrate the researcher in making further reconstructions of meaning
- to lay the groundwork for validity reconstructions and horizon analysis.

Following the construction of initial meaning reconstructions, what Carspecken (Ibid. p. 120) defines next is the performance of validity reconstructions both horizontally and vertically. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 103) coined the concept of pragmatic horizon by borrowing the term “horizon” from phenomenology and relocating it within the pragmatic theory of meaning associated with Habermas. His idea of horizon analysis is primarily based on the critique of mainstream research epistemologies that prioritize visual perception informing the definitions of validity and truth: to see objects before us and simultaneously feel certain that they exist much in the way we see them. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 12) points out this certain ground of truth to be rooted in the taken-for-granted certainty we commonly experience in object perception. Phenomenologists, however, criticize this and argue that what we really see is a perspective of the object, one of its sides, often just part of one of its sides: the certain feeling we have when a phenomenon, rather than an existing object, is present before in experience. Phenomena include not only sensual but also non-sensual objects like ideas and mental imagery. We, thus, cannot be sure that a perceived object exists just by visually perceiving it. There should be a foreground of a perspective seen in your visual field as well as a background horizon of apperceived peripherals (Ibid. p. 11-12). Pragmatic horizon analysis is, therefore, about the fact that we cannot understand ideas in the world without simultaneously understanding the horizon from which that idea emerges. Having highlighted its roots, Carspecken (Ibid. p. 103) points out that the idea of pragmatic horizons comes from regarding action, rather than perception, to be most primary in

action. Horizon analysis is, thus, an effort to understand meaningful acts within their horizons. As understanding meaningful acts takes place holistically and implicitly, it is then necessary to define the constituting structures of the pragmatic horizon. Pragmatic horizons, which are constituted along a temporal and a paradigmatic axis, are extremely complex and vast. Each possible meaning in a meaning field is understood only through its location within a meaning horizon (Ibid. p. 105-110).

**Figure 2. Pragmatic Horizons with Paradigmatic and Temporal Dimensions**  
(taken from Carspecken, 1996: 111)



Paradigmatic structures are fundamentally claims. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 103-104) defines five main categories of reference and claim within the paradigmatic axis:

- **Claim to intelligibility:** An act of meaning will possess a foreground represented by symbols (usually linguistic symbols) used explicitly by the actor. Symbols are socially constituted; their use assumes their intelligibility to other people in a

cultural group. Thus, part of the horizon surrounding a meaningful act consists of a shared understanding of symbol systems.

- Claim to legitimacy: An act of meaning also take place within social relations. To act communicatively, actors must share understandings about the social context, must adopt roles, must employ styles of interaction, must be cognizant of power relations between actors, and so on. The basic claim involved at this level is that the act is socially legitimate or appropriate.
- Subjective references: Meaningful acts also claim and reference certain subjective states on the part of the actor: whether the actor is amused, serious, friendly, hostile, and so on. This part of the horizon consists of subjective claims.
- Identity claims: Closely associated with subjective claims are claims that the actor is such and such kind of a person: a clever person, a competent person, a righteous person, and so on. This part of the horizon includes identity claims.
- Objective References: Meaningful acts always refer to an objective state of affairs. The reference to an objective state of affairs, within a pragmatic horizon, can be reduced to validity claims of the objective category.

The paradigmatic axis involves the constitution of meaning through semantic units, pragmatic units, linguistic structures, implicit inferences and validity claims. Although the constituting structures of paradigmatic axis are presented here one by one, one must keep in mind that “paradigms are implicated all at once, at the instant that a meaning is recognized” (Ibid. p. 106). Understanding meaning takes place holistically. The first type of constituting structure is involved with semantic units. “The semantic terms employed by an actor take their sense through semantic structures characteristic of a cultural group” (Ibid. p. 107). Many popular techniques which focus exclusively on semantic structures such as domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, and componential analysis can be quite powerfully employed within a critical research project (Ibid.) The second type of paradigmatic structures involves pragmatic units. “People act out roles, claim settings, engage in games, and employ other basically pragmatic structures that

others recognize as meaningful in tacit, holistic, and singular ways” (Ibid. p. 108). The basic idea is that actors possess units of understanding that are not semantic in nature and they are understood on tacit levels, rather than on symbolic levels, though contrasts to other possible pragmatic units (Ibid. p. 108-109).

Another set of paradigmatic structures is the validity claims implicated within pragmatic horizons and their implicit inferences. Both pragmatic and semantic meaning units generally synthesize validity claims of all three categories. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 109-110), furthermore, underlines the fact that “the validity claims implicated in a pragmatic horizon are influenced by the semantic terms employed and the roles acted out, but they are not determined by semantic or pragmatic units...validity claims are carried by the entire act, not by the semantic or pragmatic units employed alone”. Finally, the complex intersections between semantic units, pragmatic units, linguistic structures and validity claims constitute the interpretative schemes of pragmatic horizons. It is then possible to study a large number of interactions recorded in the primary record as well as qualitative interviews with the purpose of reconstructing these complex intersections (Ibid. p. 109). They are especially useful in identifying both consistencies and inconsistencies between a variety of cultural elements.

The concept of the temporal axis is that of a meaningful act’s references that depend on assumptions concerning shared understandings of what has just occurred and of what is expected to come next. To spot the workings of the temporal axis in the meaning horizons of any social act, one thus must note the location of the act within the participants’ awareness of prior events and future events” (Ibid. p. 105-106). As all acts of meaning are contextual, the meaning fields associated with them will be constituted by an interactive syntax of past action in relation to expectations of what will come next. The meaning of any particular act depends in part on its location within a stream of interaction (Ibid. p. 106).

Meaning reconstructions can focus on validity claims as meaningful acts are partially constituted through them. Validity reconstructions can be described as the efforts to articulate components of meaning that one normally understands without much explicit awareness. Validity claims are understood, often tacitly, as soon as meaning is understood. In the case of a disagreement or a misunderstanding, the tacit validity claims underlying meaningful acts will be articulated by the actors themselves to defend their position or to clear up the misunderstanding (Ibid. p. 111). Understanding meaning includes understanding the reasons an actor could provide to explain expressions. Placing these reasons within the three categories of objective, subjective, and normative-evaluative truth claims is called horizontal analysis. Reasons will also differ from each other according to how immediately they are referenced in the original act (foregrounded) or how remotely they are referenced (backgrounded). Distinguishing between highly foregrounded claims, highly backgrounded claims, and intermediate cases is called vertical analysis (Ibid. p. 110-111). Validity reconstruction is, thus, the simultaneous employment of horizontal and vertical analysis with particular attention to the temporal axis of meaning horizons.

Carspecken (Ibid. p. 119) points out that “there is never a single correct manner of employing this form of analysis because the model of horizontal and vertical analysis concerns nonobjective features of social phenomena”. The basic idea is that events are interpreted but in the interpretation of events certain principles must be followed to make your reconstructions probable and supportable and, the horizontal and the vertical dimensions aid us in this process.

The third stage involves the generation of dialogical data through qualitative interviews, group discussions and interpersonal process recalls. However, it is the best to wait until a thick record of observations has been compiled before beginning interviews and group discussions since the routine activities may change as soon as interviews and facilitated group discussions are introduced into the research process (Ibid. p. 154). Carspecken

(Ibid. p. 155) states that the qualitative interview can be conceptualized in three distinctive ways: “in terms of the types of questions the interviewer will ask, in terms of ideal interviewer responses provided throughout the interview, and in terms of data analysis to be conducted on interview transcripts”. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 156) suggests the use of two basic types of qualitative interview questions:

- Lead-off questions: They are designed to open up a topic domain that one wishes a subject to address. They should be formulated very concretely; abstract questions should be avoided. This gives the added benefit of comparing what the subject says in interview with what the researcher has in her primary record of observations. In order to get at abstract issues, it is necessary to find a way to have the subject describe a concrete event that took place as if she were making a video recording of it. As she describes the event from her memory, the researcher should use appropriate interviewer responses to slowly elicit the background beliefs, values, and feeling involved with her depiction of it. Then, with appropriate responses, the researcher attempts to move the subject toward generalizing some of the background issues to other contexts.
- Descriptive questions: When it is not possible to ask concrete lead-off questions as, for example, the date of the interview is too long after you have observed the subject to ask a question about what occurred, descriptive questions can be asked.

Having described the types of qualitative interview questions, Carspecken (Ibid. p. 157) introduces the interview protocol to be prepared before an interview. Four items that make up the interview protocol: two to five topic domains, one lead-off question for each domain, a list of covert categories for each domain (i.e. items that the researcher wishes her subject to address during her talk but does not want to ask explicitly about because that could lead the interview too much), and a set of possible follow-up questions.

In addition to the questions, qualitative interviews can be conceptualized in terms of interview responses. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 158) argues that the way one responds to the interviewee is much more important than the wording of the questions especially if they are really concrete, nonleading, and domain opening. A typology of interviewer responses presented by Carspecken (Ibid. p. 159-162) is as follows:

- Bland encouragements: Usually one-word utterances and/or facial expressions that show attention, interest and acceptance with an aim to establish rapport and encourage the interviewee keep talking. They can be used all the way through an interview, but heavily during the beginning portions of a topic.
- Low-inference paraphrasing: Restatements of information the subject has provided in new words but without adding content to what the subject has supplied. Its purpose is to encourage the subject to keep talking on a topic of interest without leading her and to indicate that you have understood what she has said so far. It can be used when you sense that your subject expects you to say something and when you have been using bland encouragements for a time.
- Non-leading leads: These are modes of questioning, without leading, that offer a nice variation from low-inference paraphrasing such as “This is interesting, tell me more about that”. Their purpose is to elicit more material on a certain topic and to indicate interest and attention. They can be used as an alternative to low-inference paraphrasing.
- Active Listening Responses: Active listening responses put words on feelings we suspect a subject has about some item of the interview but which the subject did not explicitly articulate, such as “sounds like...or seems to...”. Its purpose is to establish good rapport and help a subject open up about certain things. They can be used toward the middle of a discussion, not right at the beginning.
- Medium-inference paraphrasing: This type of response involves articulating some of your speculations about the meaning or implications of material provided by a subject. Its purpose is to check out ideas you have that might

become important features of your analysis. It can be used quite frequently from the middle portion of a topic discussion to the end.

- High-inference Paraphrases: They are articulations of suspected background beliefs that have not been explicitly stated by a subject. At the very end of an interview they can be very effective to check out some of your speculations about general beliefs held by the subject.

For the analysis of interview data, the reconstructive analysis identical to the one in stage two is performed. Interview data has the additional purpose of checking suppositions developed during stage two. If the analysis of interview data matches our preliminary reconstructive analysis, then we have excellent support for our previous analysis. If not, then we will have to look back over our preliminary constructions carefully: we could have been completely wrong. Or perhaps he acts one way and talks another way. Only careful comparisons between the interviews and the field notes will give us an answer. The final analysis developed in a qualitative study will draw upon strips of field notes and associated segments of interview transcripts. Coding, particularly high-level codes, should be rooted in matches between interview material and observation records (Ibid. p. 162-163).

Group discussions, if recorded and well facilitated, can also be quite revealing as a single subject may have difficulty articulating a particular cultural theme or formulate it in a way that she really feels somewhat uncertain about while simply discussing it with an interviewer. Group discussions should be facilitated and not led. Topic domains can be opened up following the same principles for interviewing (Ibid. p. 163). As regards Interpersonal Process Recall, Carspecken (Ibid.) states that it is the playing of video tapes of interaction back to the actors and allowing them to comment on any portion of the events they choose. The basic idea is to video tape interactions or group discussions, then to group the actors together to view the videotape and finally to invite them to stop the tape at any point they choose to express how they were feeling at that time, what

they were thinking, or what tacit norms they believe to have been at play. Other members may comment on the remarks of the one who stopped the tape. A tape recorder should be kept running to get a record of what is said. The researcher can also ask questions about what the members are expressing (Ibid. p. 163-164).

Stage four uses empirical and reconstructive techniques to discover system relations between specific sites, such as a school and its surrounding community (Ibid. p. 172, 206). Stage five examines the significance of a study in terms of macro-level social theory (Ibid. p. 206). Thus, they both require “a conceptual framework giving useful sense to the term “social system”” (Ibid. p. 172). The base-superstructure, cultural reproduction, and cultural circuits models can be used in the analysis of social structure (Ibid. p. 194). Yet, these two stages are optional in the sense that studies can be conducted using only stages one through three.

### **2.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), as both a theory and method, is a domain of critical applied linguistics (Rogers, 2004a: 2). Among the various approaches to CDA, the present study mainly draws on two different, though overlapping in many respects, approaches- one offered by Fairclough (1989, 1995) and the other by Gee (2005).

According to Fairclough (1995: 7), “‘discourse’ is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice”. Fairclough (1989: 23) stresses that there is a dialectical and internal relationship between discourse and social practice, as linguistic phenomena on the one hand are social in the sense that whenever people speak or listen or write and read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects, and as social phenomena, on the other, are linguistic in the sense that the language activity is not merely reflection of social practices and processes but it is part of them. Fairclough

(1992, 1995) offers a three-staged model that consists of description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices. The descriptive stage is concerned with the formal properties of the text, including vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures, with particular focus on their experiential, relational, and expressive values<sup>6</sup> (Fairclough, 1989: 26, 109-112). Fairclough (Ibid. p. 110-111) offers an analytic procedure which consists of ten main questions that can be asked of a text at the stage of description:

#### *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 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?

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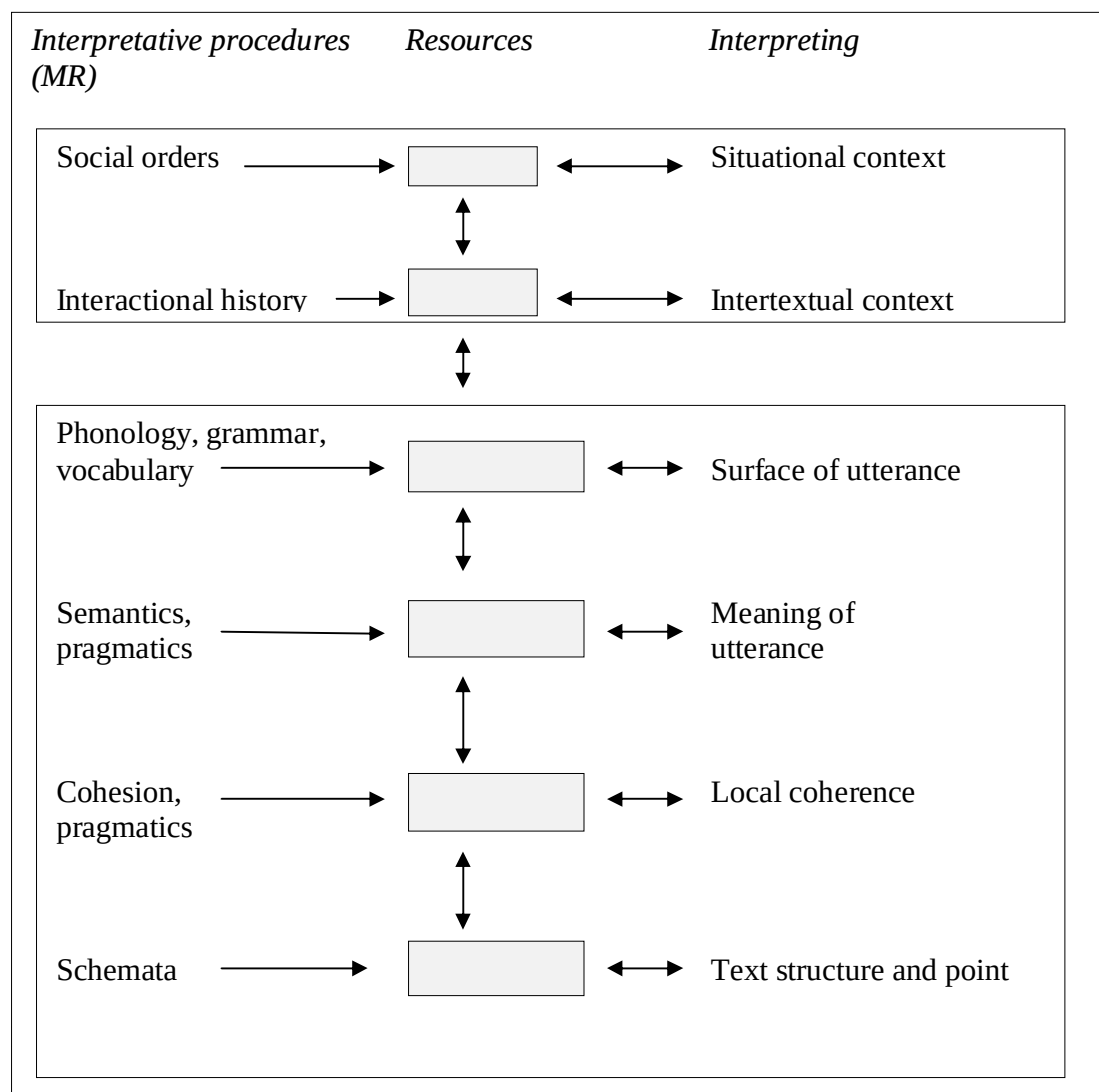
<sup>6</sup> A formal feature with experiential value is a trace of the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented, and thus is to do with contents and knowledge and beliefs. A formal feature with relational value is a trace of the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse, and thus is to do with relations and social relationships. Finally, a formal feature with expressive value is a trace of the producer's evaluation of the bit of the reality it relates to, and thus is to do with subjects and social identities.

- 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 sentences linked together?
- 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?

This descriptive framework should be regarded as a guide, rather than a blueprint, as some parts can be overly detailed or even sometimes irrelevant in some cases (Ibid. p. 110). What follows the stage of description is interpretation. Fairclough (Ibid. p. 141) argues that “interpretations are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter”, in the sense of members’ resources “which people have in their heads and draw upon when they produce or interpret texts- including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on” (Ibid. p. 24). These representations are prototypes for a diverse collection of things, ranging from the grammatical forms of sentences to the expected sequence of events in a particular situation type (Ibid. p. 11). The main point is that interpretation is the outcome of the interactions between the formal features of the text being interpreted and MR. Yet, the procedure of interpretation is rather a complex one. Figure 2 gives a summary view of the process of interpretation:

**Figure 3. Interpretation**

(taken from Fairclough, 1989: 142)



Fairclough (Ibid. p. 162) summarizes the whole process of interpretation in the form of three questions which can be asked about a particular discourse:

1. Context: What interpretations are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?

2. Discourse Types: What discourse types are being drawn upon (hence what rules, principles of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics; and what schemata, frames, and scripts?)
3. Difference and change: Are answers to the first two questions different for different participants? And do they change during the course of interaction?

As regards the interpretation of situational contexts, Fairclough (Ibid. p. 147) proposes four questions which relate to the four main dimensions of the situation: what is going on- including activity, topic and purpose, who is involved, what relationships are at issue, and what is the role of language in what is going on. Those dimensions of contextual situation determine the relevant dimensions of discourse type: contents dimension of the discourse type is determined by what is going on, subjects by who is involved, relations by the relationships between subjects, and connections by the role of language in what is going on (Ibid. p. 149). The interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding what can be taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed, and presuppositions are cued by such formal features as definite articles, subordinate clauses, wh- questions, that-clauses after certain verbs and adjectives like regret, realize, angry, and so on (Ibid. p. 152). As indicated by the arrows in the diagram, the interpretation process is highly interdependent and complex. Overall, observational features of the situation, which constitutes one part of the resources for interpretation, are read in the light of the social orders and interactional history that the interpreter brings to interpretation. Furthermore, interpretation of context is also connected with the text interpretation procedures. The lower section of the diagram relates to text interpretation at the four levels, as listed in the left-hand column, according to the domains of interpretation, as listed in the right-hand column (Ibid. p. 143). As a whole, the stage of interpretation helps to explicate “the dependence of discourse practice on the unexplicated common sense assumptions of MR and discourse type” (Ibid. p. 162). Yet, for stepping into the relations of power and domination, the stage of explanation is needed.

“The objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them” (Ibid. p. 163). Thus, “explanation is a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power (Ibid.) To that end, Fairclough (Ibid. p. 166) argues, three questions can be asked of a particular discourse under investigation:

1. Social determinants: What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. Ideologies: What elements of MR that are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. Effects: How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Does it contribute to sustaining or transforming existing power relations?

Realized through this three-tiered procedure, Fairclough’s model of CDA offers a systematic way of analyzing discourses as social practices along with some useful theoretical constructs. Another textually oriented approach to CDA can be found in the work of Gee (2005). Gee (2004: 20), in fact, associates the term CDA (letters) with Fairclough’s approach to discourse analysis and the term critical discourse analysis (spelled out) with a wider array of approaches including his own and Fairclough’s. Although both models are influenced by poststructuralist thought and neo-Marxist critical theory, what makes them different is basically that the linguistic side of Fairclough’s work is based on Hallidayan model of grammatical and textual analysis, while that of Gee’s work is based on American non-Hallidayan models of grammatical and textual analysis combined with influences sociolinguistics and literary criticism.

Gee (2004: 46; 2005: 7) starts with a distinction between discourse with a small d and Discourse with a capital D. By discourse with a little d, Gee (2005: 7) refers to

language-in-use that is used to enact activities and identities. Language-in-use is everywhere and always political in the sense that they relate to how social goods, which are supposedly a source of power, status, or value, are thought about, argued over, and distributed in society (Ibid. p. 2) Discourse with a capital D refers to, according to Gee (Ibid. p. 46), use of language integrated with other stuff, that is, distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, dressing, using one's body and the like, to enact a particular type of socially situated identity. Gee (Ibid. p. 27) maintains that if one puts language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places together in such a way that others recognize her as a particular type of who (identity) engaged in a particular type of what (activity), here-and-now, then she has pulled off a Discourse. In this way, for instance, ways of being a student and a teacher with its associated activities, deeds, and things, that is, classroom Discourses, are created. And Discourse models, which are rooted in our actual experiences, help us to think about things and to prepare ourselves for action in the world (Ibid. p. 73). Then, "[o]ne way to think about Discourse models is as images or storylines or descriptions of simplified worlds in which prototypical events unfold" (Ibid. p. 72). Due to the fact that our experiences and ways of looking at things are shared with other members of our various social and cultural groups, Gee (Ibid. p. 75) further argues, we all have the capacity to run prototypical simulations in our heads of certain things and events when we take the situation to be typical. And those prototypical simulations do support Discourse models (Ibid.). Discourse models are put to use to judge ourselves or others, or guide our actions and interactions, or to evaluate what counts as 'appropriate' with respect to different social, Discourse, and institutional organizational structures (Ibid. p. 83).

Gee's distinction between discourse with a small d and Discourse with a capital D constitutes part of the theory of language-in-use presented in his work. As regards the method of research, Gee (Ibid. p. 11) maintains that language-in-use is a tool that is used to design or build things alongside other tools; that is, whenever we speak or write, we always and simultaneously construct seven things or areas of reality. These seven things

are called the “seven building tasks of language” (Ibid.). Then, discourse analysis involves asking questions about the seven building tasks, using such tools of inquiry as situated meanings, social languages, intertextuality, Conversations, Discourses, and Discourse models (Ibid. p. 111). Gee’s (Ibid. p. 110-113) analytic procedures include the following questions:

*Building significance:*

1. What are the situated meanings of some of the words and phrases that seem important in the situation?
2. What situated meanings and values seem to be attached to places, times, bodies, people, objects, artifacts, and institutions relevant in this situation?
3. What situated meanings and values are attached to other oral and written texts quoted or alluded to in the situation (intertextuality)?
4. What Discourse models seem to be at play in connecting and integrating these situated meanings to each other?
5. What institutions and/or Discourses are being (re-)produced in this situation and how are they being stabilized or transformed in the act?

*Building activities:*

6. What is the larger or main activity (or set of activities) going on in the situation?
7. What sub-activities compose this activity (or these activities)?
8. What actions compose these sub-activities and activities?

*Building identities:*

9. What identities (roles, positions), with their concomitant personal, social, and cultural knowledge and beliefs (cognition), feelings (affect), and values, seem to be relevant to, taken for granted in, or under construction in the situation?
10. How are these identities stabilized or transformed in the situation?
11. In terms of identities, activities, and relationships, what Discourses are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation? How are they made relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?

*Building relationships:*

12. What sorts of social relationships seem to be relevant to, taken for granted in, or under construction in the situation?
13. How are these social relationships stabilized or transformed in the situation?
14. How are other oral or written texts quoted or alluded to so as to set up certain relationships to other texts, people, or Discourses?
15. In terms of identities, activities, and relationships, what Discourses are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation? How are they made relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?

*Building politics:*

16. What social goods (e.g. status, power, aspects of gender, race, and class, or more narrowly defined social networks and identities) are relevant (and irrelevant) in this situation? How are they made relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?
17. How are these social goods connected to the Discourse models and Discourses operative in the situation?

*Building connections:*

18. What sorts of connections –looking backward and/or forward- are made within and across utterances and large stretches of the interaction?
19. What sorts of connections are made to previous or future interactions, to other people, ideas, texts, things, institutions, and Discourses outside the current situation (intertextuality)?
20. How is intertextuality used to create connections among the current situation and other ones or among different Discourses?
21. How do connections of the sort in 18, 19, and 20 help (together with situated meanings and Discourse models) to constitute coherence-- and what sort of coherence—in the situation?

*Building significance for sign systems and knowledge:*

22. What sign systems are relevant/irrelevant in the situation (e.g. speech, writing, images, and gestures)? How are they made relevant/irrelevant, and in what ways?

23. What systems of knowledge and ways of knowing are relevant/irrelevant in the situation? How are they made relevant/irrelevant, and in what ways?
24. What languages in the sense of “national” languages like English and Russian are relevant/irrelevant in the situation?
25. What social languages are relevant/irrelevant in the situation? How are they made relevant/irrelevant, and in what ways?
26. How is intertextuality used to engage with the issues covered in questions 22-25?

These six tasks and their attending questions allow the researcher to build meaning from a network of Discourse patterns including identity building, activity building, connection building, and so on and so forth (Rogers, 2004b: 239). Overall, according to Gee (2004: 48), the basic premise of the whole enterprise of discourse analysis is this: How people say or write things helps constitute what they are doing. In turn, what they are saying or writing helps constitute who they are being at a given time and place within a given set of social practices. Finally, who they are being at a given time and place within a given set of social practices produces and reproduces our social, political, cultural, and institutional worlds.

To conclude, it can be said that, in line with the fact that there are various approaches to critical discourse analysis, there are not, in fact, any set rules for conducting CDA. Deciding which set of analytical procedures to use depends on the practical research situation that one is in, the texts one is studying, and the research questions that one aims to investigate (Rogers, 2004a: 7-8).

### **2.2.3. Classroom Discourse Analysis**

The Discourse Analysis model, also known as, at the level of exchange, the IRF structure, was developed by Sinclair and Coulthard in 1975 from research based on observations of classroom interactions to account for the structural description of

classroom discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 1) were interested in such questions as: what functions does a given utterance have and how do participants know; what type of utterance can appropriately follow what; how and by whom are topics introduced and how are they developed; how are turns to speak distributed and so speakers have differing rights to speak? The overall aim was to gain an understanding of who controls the discourse and how participants do it by examining the relationship between the grammatical structure of an utterance and its function in classroom discourse.

The research revealed that the lessons and speaking patterns are highly structured. In their hierarchical model, the units at the highest rank of discourse are lessons which consist of an unordered series of transactions (Ibid. p. 25). Transactions are made up of units of exchanges, exchanges of units of moves, and moves of units of acts. A typical structure of a classroom exchange was found to be a teacher elicitation, directive or informative followed by a pupil reply or react, and in turn by a teacher follow-up move. This is what constitutes the much-noted IRF. As for the units of moves, Sinclair and Coulthard (Ibid. p. 44) proposed five classes of move that realize two classes of exchange: framing and focusing moves realize boundary exchanges and opening, answering, and follow-up moves realize teaching exchanges. They identified eleven sub-categories with specific functions and structures that constitute the class of teaching exchanges and of these eleven sub-categories six are free exchanges and five are bound: Teacher Inform, Teacher Direct, Teacher Elicit, Pupil Elicit, Pupil Inform, Check, Re-initiation (I), Re-initiation (ii), Listing, Reinforce, and Repeat (Ibid. p. 49-56). As for the smallest units of analysis, Sinclair and Coulthard (Ibid. p. 40-44) identified twenty-two acts: marker, starter, elicitation, check, directive, informative, prompt, clue, cue, bid, nomination, acknowledge, reply, react, comment, accept, evaluate, silent stress, meta-statement, and conclusion.

As regards their initial research questions, Sinclair and Coulthard (Ibid. p. 37) maintained that within the classroom the teacher has the right speak whenever she wants

to, and students contribute to the discourse when she allows them to, and what is different between teachers is the degree of formality they impose on students' contributions and the rigidity with which they stick to the rule of no-shouting-out. Since then, the IRF exchange has been defined to be a prominent feature of teacher-controlled classroom and the work of Sinclair and Coulthard has served as one of the primary frames of analysis for classroom researchers.

Yet, it doesn't mean that they are free from criticism. As is previously pointed out, both the pervasiveness of the IRF exchange in classroom interactions and the use of Sinclair and Coulthard's discourse analysis model have been extensively criticized. Van Lier (1988: 9-11, 18-19, 47-53) criticizes the ignorance of context and form-oriented nature of this sort of discourse analytic frameworks which use the 'coding based on predetermined checklists of categories' as a basis. Having maintained that classroom research is a contextual research, van Lier (Ibid. p. 10) argues that;

*...the researcher cannot take isolated utterances, categorize them, add them up and compare them in a straightforward manner. Minimally, they have to be studied in the context of their production...Classroom researchers doing on-the-spot coding with checklists can usually not go beyond the immediately preceding and following utterances. This may be totally inadequate...*

Furthermore, with respect to form-oriented discourse analysis studies in general and Sinclair and Coulthard's work in particular, van Lier (Ibid. 51-52) argues that their power to show what actually happens in the interaction is extremely limited due to their failure to explain how one unit or sub-unit follows another in a rule-governed way. Units do not just sit in boxes which sit in bigger boxes, and so on and follow one another in predictable systematic ways just as is in Sinclair and Coulthard's hierarchical model, which consists of lessons, which consists of transactions, which consists of exchanges, which consists of moves, which consists of acts (Ibid. p. 51). The imposition of such classificatory frameworks on the data, thus, restricts the power of classroom research to

create an understanding of the context of classroom as it is and of how things happen the way they do (Ibid. p. 52). Similarly, Fairclough (1995: 6-7) argues that understanding discourse analysis as analysis of text structure above the sentence, as Sinclair and Coulthard did, does not account for the multifunctional nature of texts nor the multisided nature of analysis. Then, what makes the work of Sinclair and Coulthard's model of discourse part of the methodological framework of the present study is the motive for finding ways of analyzing power as a constantly shifting set of relations, by attending to the details of both talk and context in and across various aspects of classroom interaction. The basic idea is then not to rigidly stick to the model but to use its tools.

## **2.3. Data Collection Procedure**

The present section introduces the procedure for data collection. It includes the explanation of the preliminary steps and the stage of permissions, the description of the settings where the data were collected and of the tools used for data collection, and finally the discussion of the ethical issues involved in the data collection period.

### **2.3.1. Preliminary Steps and Permissions**

Using an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis, this study is concerned with an in-depth investigation of micro-level power relations operating across various aspects of classroom interactions. Thus, the aim is not 'breadth' but 'depth'. This, in turn, requires the selection of one or two classes and the gathering of extensive data from those classes to be able to achieve a deep grasp of the phenomenon under study. Then the present study can be named as a case study in the sense that it is concerned with "an in-depth exploration of a bounded system (e.g. an activity, event, process, or individuals) based on extensive data collection" (Cresswell, 2002: 485). Selection of an appropriate site to study is a key issue for all qualitative studies. The notions of "representativeness" and "typicality" have usually been the greatest priorities among the proponents of "conventional wisdom" (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 1995; Wainwright, 1997). These notions

as criteria for case selection, however, are not free of problems: “how can one identify a typical site without conducting at least a basic reconnaissance of all potential sites?” (Wainwright, 1997: 9). It is, thus, this concern of case study research with a deep grasp of the phenomenon under study that guides the researchers’ selection of a site, rather than the largely unattainable goal of representativeness or typicality.

When the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, a strategic selection of the case(s) is required. Qualitative research requires sites to be chosen carefully and purposefully as achieving the greatest understanding of the phenomena depends on choosing the site/participants well (Creswell, 2003: 185). Potential for learning –selection of the case which we think and feel we can learn the most, is a superior criterion (Stake, 2005: 450-451). Gates (2000: 222) further argues that “[a]rguments for typicality and representativeness in research methodology actually mask diverse and conflicting views within a population, privileging uniformity and social consensus”. In order to privilege diversity and difference rather than uniformity, as evolving criticality includes, a researcher should move toward alternative ways of analyzing and producing knowledge. “Studying such differences, we begin to understand how dominant power operates to exclude and certify particular forms of knowledge production and why” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005: 319).

Grounded on such a critical standpoint, the present study does not concern with the notions of typicality or representativeness but with the ‘particularities’ and ‘complexity’ of the cases together with their potential for learning. Having accepted the impossibility of conducting a reconnaissance of all potential schools, initially, selection of two different classes in two different types of schools was aimed, although the study was not particularly interested in comparisons, to gain deeper insights into the multiple dimensions of the way power functions in EFL classes. The sites for collecting data were a private elementary school and a state-owned public elementary school, which are both located in the same neighborhood in İstanbul. A year-7 EFL class from each school was

aimed to be co-selected with the administration and the teachers. Those two schools located in neighbor communities with the researcher were selected because it would be relatively convenient for the researcher to be able attend classes at any time on any day. To be able to start collecting data, then, formal consent was obtained from the Ministry of Education<sup>7</sup> before the opening of the 2007-2008 Academic Year.

Yet, the consent obtained from the Ministry of Education was not sufficient since the consent of the teachers is also of paramount importance to conduct such a long-term study where the researcher observes and records the lessons. The issue of power relations is crucial in conducting this sort of research as regards the relationship between the teacher and the researcher. And one way to expose the power relations is to open up the research process for critical scrutiny to teachers as the co-participants of the research. Thus, the negotiations with both the administrative staff and the teachers at both schools started. The administrative staff had a particularly crucial role in getting the consent as they basically serve as “a gatekeeper that can provide access to the site and participants for the study” (Creswell, 2002: 498). The administration of each school was informed about the research procedures and asked to invite the teachers of English language working in each school to participate in the study. However, neither the administrative staff nor the English language teachers in the public school agreed to join the study. The negotiations in the private school continued with a meeting, in which the researcher was given the opportunity to outline the purpose of the research together with data collection procedures, with one of the vice principals and the head of the English language department. They were then held responsible for informing the teachers about the research and selecting the teacher on a voluntary basis. What followed was another meeting with the teacher who volunteered for the study in order for both the teacher’s further questions to be answered and the schedule of the classes to be shared with the researcher. Finally, the students of the class to be observed and recorded were informed about the study by the researcher and asked if they would agree to participate in the

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 1 for the Consent from the Ministry of Education.

study. Since the consent of the Ministry of Education is formally sufficient to conduct such a study, the administration of the school preferred to receive an oral consent, rather than a written one, of the students and the teacher participated in the study. It was also the administrative staff of the school who took the responsibility to receive the consent from the parents of the students involved the study.

### **2.3.2. Setting and Participants**

The school where the study was conducted was a private elementary school in central İstanbul which was located in a fairly upper-class neighborhood with a variety of housing styles, shopping centers, and trendy cafes and restaurants. The elementary school and the high school were, though being in different buildings, on the same campus. The school had such facilities as conference halls, libraries, various sorts of laboratories and workshops, a sports centre, a dining room, and a canteen. The teacher, who is called Mr. Okan here, was a male teacher in his beginning thirties. He was a native speaker of English with less than ten years teaching experience, and it was his second year in that school. Although he had some knowledge of Turkish, the students were not informed about it due to the school policies.

The grade-7 EFL class which was followed by the researcher met Mr. Okan for two hours twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays. The classroom<sup>8</sup> was located at the end of the corridor, next to the vice principal's room, on the fourth floor. The course was called a main course in English, the primary focus of which was grammar. The materials used in class were basically worksheets of different kinds such as explanation worksheets and exercises. A textbook was also sometimes, though fairly rarely, used.

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 2 for the diagram of the classroom.

The class consisted of 14 students<sup>9</sup> at the age of 13/14. Six of them were male, and eight of them were female. Except for two students, they all had working parents with various degrees ranging from the high school to PhD. Nine of the students were living with their families in their own houses, while the rest were living in rented apartments. All of them had their own rooms with computers. Except for three students, all of them have been to abroad for some reason. Only one student mentioned English among his favorite lessons, and two of the students mentioned it as their least favorable lesson.

### **2.3.3. Audio-Recordings and Field Notes**

Following the reception of necessary permissions from the participants of the study, the data collection process proceeded with passive observation, which lasted 12 class-hours, as “it is the best to begin a study in as nonobtrusive a manner as possible, which usually comes down to passively conducting observations for a period of time” (Carspecken, 1996: 51). Prior to the start of audio-recordings, this period was considered, in a sense, as a means of reducing the effects of the researcher’s presence on routine classroom activities and behaviors. It also provided the researcher with the opportunity to get a general idea of what went on in that particular class and of the participants. Following the completion of this initial stage of mere passive observation, a tape-recorder was started to be used to record the classroom interactions while observing the class. The recorder was kept out of the sight of students, as much as possible, to reduce the effects of the presence of a recording device. Throughout the whole data collection period, the researcher attended the classes but sat at the back of the class and took notes which aimed to capture as many details as possible. As is suggested by Carspecken (Ibid. p. 47-53), the notes taken by the researcher included simple diagrams of the classrooms which show the students’ seating positions, frequent records of the time, contextual information, the description of as much non-verbal information as possible which the audio-recorder cannot capture, and the record of some speech acts in verbatim form.

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 3 for the Learner Information Forms. They were used to gather background information about the learners.

At the end of field visits starting in November 6, 2007 and ending in April 11, 2008, 57 class-hours were observed and 41 class-hours were audio-recorded<sup>10</sup>. Overall, audio-recordings of the 41-hour classroom interactions and field notes taken during 57-hour passive observation period constitute the monological database of the present study.

### **2.3.4. Interviews**

Qualitative interviews with the teacher constitute the dialogical data generation stage of the present study. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 154) recommends waiting until the primary record of the research including field notes and audio-recordings is completed before beginning interviews since the routine activities may change as soon as they are introduced into the research process. Therefore, only two interviews with the teacher were conducted during the period of observation. One of those interviews was conducted at the end of the fall semester and the other just before the end of the observation period. Interview protocols<sup>11</sup> were prepared and the teacher's permission was taken to tape-record the interview before each interview. The interviews, in line with Carspecken's model described in the overall research design section, included concrete lead-off questions as well as descriptive questions. The interviews aiming to share and discuss the preliminary findings of the study with the teacher were thus delayed until the end of that period. The basic idea behind those interviews was to democratize the research process by giving the participants the chance to challenge the material produced by the researcher (Ibid. p. 155). However, although the teacher expressed his willingness to discuss the findings of the research at the beginning, he eventually did not agree to have further interviews. Despite the apparent necessity to have interviews and discussions with the students to be able to make rigorous interpretations of their acts, the decision not to have any interviews with them was taken on the grounds of the school administration's implicit unwillingness to receive the approval from both the parents of the students and the school board required for conducting interviews with the students.

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 4 for the Schedule of Observations/Recordings.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 5 for the interview protocols.

### 2.3.5. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations play a role in all research studies. Yet, the very nature of qualitative research involving prolonged observation and recording raise additional issues not usually encountered in quantitative studies. “The role of ethics in qualitative research can be considered in terms of how we treat the individuals with whom we interact in research settings” (Gay et. al., 2006: 407). Then, the present section describes the steps taken to ensure the ethical standards in the study.

The first principle requires that all participants in the study have the right to informed consent, and, accordingly, be voluntary (Angrosiono, 2005: 734; Creswell, 2003: 64; Gay et. al., 2006: 74). “Researchers obtain *informed consent* by making sure that research participants enter the research of their free will and with understanding of the nature of the study” (emphasis in original, Gay et. al. , 2006: 74). Therefore, following the reception of the formal consent from the Ministry of Education, the consents from all participants in the research site were obtained in an oral form. Their consents were not taken in written documents since the administrative staff did take the responsibility to select the participants on a voluntary basis and did prefer to receive oral consent from the participants on the grounds that the written consent taken from the Ministry of Education was formally sufficient to conduct research in the school according to the state regulations. In the negotiation talks, the second principle, which is that all participants in this study have the right to freedom from any kind of social, physical, psychological, legal, or economic harm, was also expressed and discussed with the participants before the data collection started.

The third principle requires that the purpose and procedures of the study be explained to participants (Creswell, 2003: 64), so that they know what is being studied and to avoid deception (Gay et. al. , 2006: 76). In order to ensure this principle, the teacher was

provided with a file describing the aims and procedures of the study and the students were also informed about the research before the data collection started.

The fourth principle addresses the participants' confidentiality, which "usually involves the use of codes or pseudonyms to conceal identities" (Ibid. p. 409). Confidentiality is important, as underlined by Gay et. al. (Ibid. p. 408), "for protecting research informants from stress, embarrassment, or unwanted publicity as well as protecting participants from themselves should they reveal something to a researcher that could be used against them by others interested in the outcomes of the research". In order to guarantee this principle, pseudonyms were used to conceal the participants' identities and no reference was made to the name of the school in any part of the study and the transcripts.

Yet, after the data collection started, some unanticipated ethical issues arose and needed to be resolved on the spot. Although the necessary permissions were obtained from the authorities and although the researcher granted the confidentiality of the participants' identities, the students had some key questions about the study, more particularly the use of an audio-recorder. The students, during the first visits to the school, expressed their doubts as to whether those recordings would be listened to by other teachers, the administrative staff, or their parents. In response to their concerns, the researcher kept answering their questions and explaining that the audio-recordings of the lessons would be made use of only for research purposes. As they became more comfortable with the presence of both the researcher and the recording device, they tended to ask fewer questions and, towards the middle of the fall semester, they even started to talk to the researcher about their lessons and friends in the break times. Furthermore, towards the end of the data collection period, the teacher himself asked the researcher to sit beside a student of his own choice at the back row and to answer their possible questions regarding the content of the lesson and to assist them while completing their worksheets if requested. Thus, the establishment of a close contact with the students and the teacher was challenging, though being unavoidable during the

course of such a prolonged period of time. It was challenging because this sort of involvement with classroom activities could prevent the researcher from observing carefully and actively what was going on at those times. Yet, in order to secure the collaborative nature of the relationship between the researcher and the participants, rather than to heighten the distance which in turn carries the risk of the spirit of cooperation being dwindled, the researcher did so in as much non-obtrusive manner as possible, by keeping an eye on the other students and activities in the class as well.

## **2.4. Data Analysis Procedure**

The first stage of the data analysis is the organization and preparation of the data for analysis. This involves transcribing the recordings of lessons and interviews, typing up field notes and sorting the other documents. The transcription of the audio-recorded classroom data consists of the following sub-stages:

- After each lesson recorded, a skeleton transcription, which were fleshed out through successive playbacks, was produced.
- All recorded data was listened to and transcribed into a word processor.
- The observation notes were matched with the recorded data and added to the transcribed data.
- The recording of each lesson was listened to once again to decipher unintelligible talk and/or speaker. If they still remained unintelligible / unidentifiable appropriate symbols were added to indicate them.
- The recording of each lesson was listened to as many times as necessary to add other transcription symbols<sup>12</sup> (i.e. symbols for simultaneous talk, interruptions, and the like.)
- Finally, all the real names including the names of the students and the teacher were replaced by pseudonyms.

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 6 for transcription symbols.

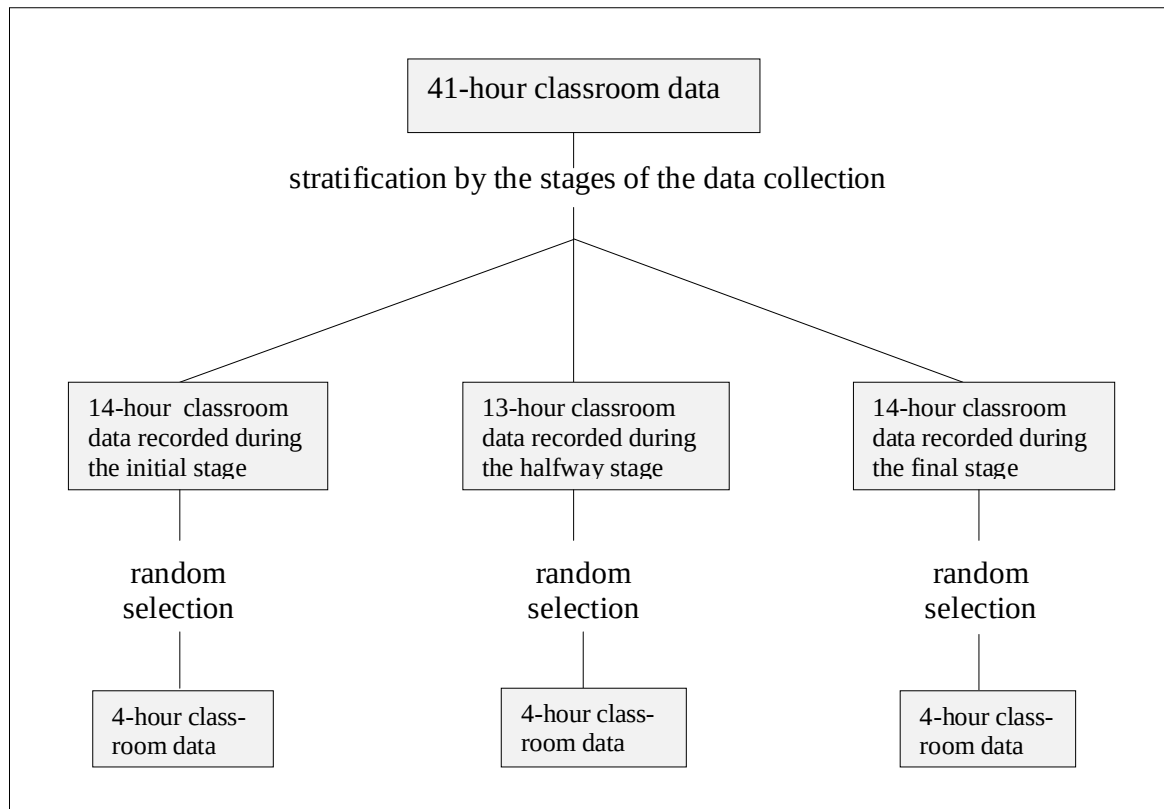
Similarly, the interviews with the teacher were also transcribed and the transcriptions<sup>13</sup> were sent back to the teacher to receive his final approval for their use in the study. The production of working transcriptions of interviews and the audio-recorded classroom data was followed by the selection of the segments of classroom data to be used for intensive analysis. At this stage, as is illustrated in Figure 4, 12-hour classroom data has been selected out of 41-class-hour recording made on 21 non-subsequent days over a 5-month period of observation by using the stratified sampling technique. Since the data was gathered over a long period of time, the data has been stratified by the stages of the data collection period to ensure that the selected sample is correctly proportioned by those periods of time. The whole observation period has, thus, been divided into three equal 7-day periods each of which in turn includes approximately 14-hour classroom data gathered in initial, halfway and final stages of the observation period. As the sampling fraction to be used is 1 in 3, 4-hour data has been randomly selected from each of three periods to reflect the progression of the lessons over the course of the whole observation period. Following the sampling of the data for detailed analysis, the transcriptions of the selected data<sup>14</sup> have been fleshed out through successive playbacks.

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<sup>13</sup> See Appendix 7 for the transcriptions of the interviews

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 8 for the transcriptions of the sampled data.

**Figure 4. Procedure for selecting a stratified sample based on the stages of the data collection**



The second stage of the data analysis refers to the preliminary analysis of the data<sup>15</sup> which involves the low-level coding of the interactions and actions in the primary record with a global interest in the workings of the power relations. Two basic features of low-level coding, as described by Carspecken (1996: 146-147), can be listed as follows:

- Low-level coding requires little abstraction.
- Low-level codes are primarily objective in nature, using participant speech acts of repeated use and/or referring to activities recorded in the primary record, which are open to multiple access.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 9 for sample preliminary analysis.

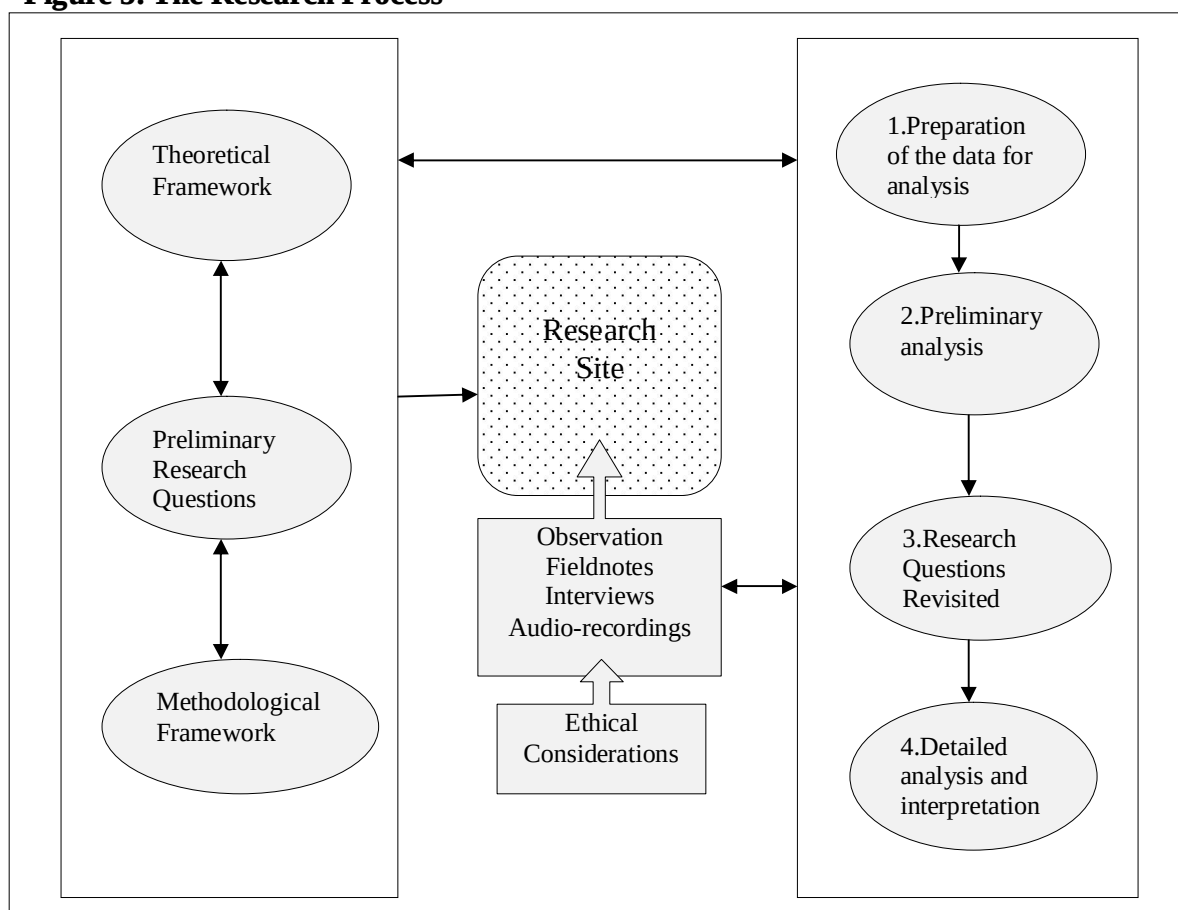
To this end, initially, all the data was read through to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. Secondly, Sinclair and Coulthard's model discourse analysis model was tried to be applied to the sample data to see how it works and if it provides any insights into the workings of power in relation to the other aspects of classroom interaction identified. Finally, emergent themes were identified with respect to the recurring activities and participant speech acts of repeated use as well as conflictual aspects of classroom interaction. At this stage, conflictual moments in the classroom sessions were particularly searched as "the sanctions that are issued...can give the investigator valuable information as to what the order is, what the underlying rules, norms and routines are" (van Lier, 1988: 96). Included among the emergent themes were the following titles:

- the design of classroom activities
- teacher's discourse strategies
- spatial organization of the classroom
- control of students' bodies and behaviors
- participant rights, options and roles at different stages of the lesson
- use of Turkish
- evaluation and correction of students' responses by teacher
- sanctions and rewards
- students' direct confrontations with teacher

Another issue related to this stage is its potential "to maintain a balance of engagement with and detachment from the informant's conceptual reality", which is an essential quality of ethnography-based discourse studies (Smart, 2008: 60). The preliminary analysis stage, preceded by the transcription stage which served as an "estrangement device" in the sense that it allowed stepping out of the interaction and looking at it afresh (van Lier, 1988: 238), helped, in a way, to retain the active engagement with the data. Furthermore, the insights gained through the preliminary analysis of the data led to

the refinement of research questions identified at the beginning. In relation to this issue, Kumaravadivelu (1999: 477) states that “[I]n the critical ethnographic tradition, research questions may evolve and change during the course of inquiry”. Yet, this issue will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. The third stage focused on those specific moments in the light of emergent themes so as to document how power relations are constructed across various aspects of classroom interaction. Equipped with the analytic tools and concepts from discourse analysis, critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis, the data selected for detailed analysis was analyzed and interpreted by attending to both the contextual and linguistic details of the classroom interactions. Figure 2.4 provides a graphic representation of the whole research process.

**Figure 5. The Research Process**



The issues of validity and reliability are crucial because the objectivity and credibility of research depends on them (Kirk & Miller, 1986: 11 in Perakyla, 2004: 283). Yet, as Creswell (2003: 195) underlines, “[v]alidity does not carry the same connotations as it does in quantitative research, nor is it a companion of reliability...or generalizability”. As regards generalizability, which refers to the applicability of findings to settings and contexts different from the one in which they were obtained, the power of qualitative research is not in its generalizability but in the relevance of its findings to the researcher or the audience of the research and in its potential for the transferability and applicability of its findings to other relevant and similar contexts (Gay et. al., 2006: 407) The issues of reliability in a qualitative study based on field notes, recordings and transcripts is related to assuring their quality and accuracy, and securing the public access to them (Peraklaya, 2004: 285). In this respect, audio-recordings and transcripts coupled with field notes, which have intrinsic strength in terms of both accuracy and public access (Ibid. p. 285-286), were produced and already provided in Appendix G. Overall, as Kumaravadivelu (1999) underlined, “following the positivist, empiricist scientific tradition, in which one begins with clearly identified research questions, states null or working hypotheses, and then looks for an answer from the collected data, which is then statistically verified for its validity, reliability, and generalizability, is by no means the only way of conducting critical inquiry”.

As regards the validity of qualitative social research, then, Carspecken (1996: 57) argues that a research report includes a series of validity claims: “claims that the data or field records produced are true to what occurred, claims that the analysis performed on the data was conducted correctly, and claims that the conceptual basis of the analytic techniques used is sound”. Carspecken (Ibid. p. 56-57, 84-85) points out that validity claims are translated from three types of truth claims each of which corresponds to an ontological category. These ontological categories, as described by Carspecken (Ibid. p. 84-85), are as follows:

- *the objective realm*, characterized by the principle of multiple access. Objective validity claims are associated with assertions about the world: about what is, about what took place, and about what sort of events regularly precede other sorts of events.
- *the subjective realm*, characterized by the principle of privileged access. Subjective validity claims are associated with assertions about your, her, or my world: about feelings, intentions, and states of awareness.
- *the normative-evaluative realm*, which is implicated in position-taking. Position-taking with others necessarily carries claims and assumptions about what is “proper” that soon expand into cultural understandings about what is right, wrong, good, or bad. The normative/evaluative realm has to do with our world, as it is or should be (emphasis in original).

The construction of a primary record through field notes and tape-recording while observing prioritizes the objective validity claims, the coding and the analysis of the data normative-evaluative validity claims, and the generation of dialogical data subjective validity claims (Ibid. p. 87, 165). In the present study, as suggested by Carspecken (Ibid. p.88-89), field notes were taken with a tape-recorder and prolonged engagement in the field was practiced throughout a five-month period with a flexible observation schedule in order to ensure objective validity. Regarding the subjective validity claims, non-leading interviewing techniques were used as much as possible and consistency checks between observed activity and what was said interviews were conducted. Member checks and peer-debriefing are the other ways to secure the validity (Carspecken, 1996; Creswell, 2003: 196, Gay et. al., 2006: 404). Yet, member checks could not be conducted due to the reasons explained above in the section of interviews. As for peer-debriefing, members of the examining committee were asked to serve as peer-debriefers during the periodic meetings of the committee with the researcher and looked through the data and analysis throughout the study.

### **3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: CONSTRUCTION OF POWER RELATIONS ACROSS CLASSROOM INTERACTION**

*“I would say that to begin the analysis with a “how” is to introduce the suspicion that power as such does not exist..  
The flat and empirical question, “What happens?”  
is not designed to introduce by stealth a metaphysics  
or an ontology of power but, rather, to undertake a  
critical investigation of the thematic of power.”  
“’How’ not in the sense of ‘How does it manifest itself?’  
but ‘How is it exercised?’.” (Foucault, 1994b: 336-337)*

The present chapter is devoted to the presentation and discussion of findings obtained through the analysis of the data. The findings have been organized into five sections based on the research questions of the study.

#### **3.1. Research Questions Revisited**

Given that the present study situates itself within the tradition of critical social research, a set of preliminary research questions, which built upon the current literature, were identified at the beginning to serve the researcher as guidelines. Yet, both the research process itself and the following preliminary analysis of the data required to rewrite the research questions. Some questions were seen to be explanatory frameworks to be applied to the whole analysis and interpretation process. Some questions were understood to be too fine-grained for an ethnographic research. Some others were found to be unobservable through the data collection tools of the study. The introductory quotation from Foucault in the sense of its attentive implications was also another driving force for the refinement of preliminary research questions. Keeping the research problem the same, being how power relations function at the micro-level of classroom interaction, preliminary research questions were rewritten as follows:

**Table 7: Research Questions Revisited**

|                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Research Question 1:</b> How is power exercised and resisted across the organization of classroom space and the control of bodies?       |
| <b>Research Question 2:</b> How does directing function in relation to the workings of classroom power relations?                           |
| <b>Research Question 3:</b> How is power exercised and resisted across interactional routines?                                              |
| <b>Research Question 4:</b> How does questioning function in relation to the workings of classroom power relations?                         |
| <b>Research Question 5:</b> How does the use of students' first language function in relation to the workings of classroom power relations? |

Motivated by these research questions and equipped with the tools of critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis, and classroom discourse analysis, the present section aims to present the findings of the study. The findings will be presented in the order of the research questions, as given above. Resistance and productivity of power relations, which were individual research questions at the beginning, are now to serve as explanatory concepts. Relevant extracts from the data, including interviews, field notes and transcriptions of lessons, will also be used to illustrate the findings.

### **3.2. Control of Space and Movement**

*“the Siberian Syndrome<sup>16</sup> is students’ “learned habit of automatically filling the distant corners first, representing their subordinate and alienated position, which drives them to seek the remote seats of any classroom they inhabit. Most of the students have learned socially to construct themselves as intellectual exiles as far from the front of the room as they can be” (Shor, 1996: 12)*

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<sup>16</sup> Siberian Syndrome metaphor refers to the Siberian exile of czarist Russia and of the former USSR (Shor, 1996: 13).

*“I often wonder how to use my teacherly authority when faced by the Siberian Syndrome. As the teacher, I’m supposed to go to the front and assert my authority vested in my position. Students expect this...This is what teachers learn to do as their routine professional behavior, their “teacherhood”. Students enact their “studenthood” by filling the room from Siberia forward” (Ibid. p. 16)*

In the middle of the room were ten adjacent desks lined in two rows facing the blackboard. That was the space for students. At the front of the room, on the left-hand side of the blackboard, was the teacher’s desk. And, that was the center of teacher space, or in the words of Shor (1996: 26), “the governing seat of teacher authority”. The room’s door was opened onto that space, too. Thus, both the entrance in and exit from the room were under teacher control. On either side of the room were windows and students’ lockers. The students could have access to their lockers, or open or close the windows as long as they didn’t stand up, namely, they didn’t leave the space assigned to them, since they were expected to sit down and listen throughout out the lesson “because when they sit down and listen they learn more easily” (1<sup>st</sup> interview, p.4). Thus, students’ contact with the lockers and windows depended on their distance from them since only those students who were sitting next to the windows or close to the lockers could reach them without attracting the teacher’s attention. Overall, the arrangement of the classroom space prevented students both from moving around and, except for those sitting in adjacent desks, from communicating with each other.

The room seems designed to be what Foucault (1977: 173) calls a “perfect disciplinary apparatus” which “would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly”. The very organization of the classroom is reminiscent of Panopticon, in which each individual is securely confined to her place from which she is seen from the front by the supervisor (Ibid. p.200). In this way, it is only the teacher who has a panoptic perspective, “a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards

which all gazes would be turned” (Ibid. p. 173). The Panopticon allows complete and constant surveillance of each individual at every moment (Ibid. p.196-228). It makes any apparatus of power more subtle and continuous in the sense that “the exercise of power is not added on from the outside...to the functions it invests, but is so subtly present in them as to increase their efficiency” (Ibid. p. 206). “[I]t assures its efficacy by its preventive character, its continuous functioning and its automatic mechanisms” (Ibid.). Foucault (Ibid. p. 176) argues that “a relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency”. Similarly, in her empirical research on power relations in pedagogy, Gore (1998b: 246) concludes that:

While the specific effects of those practices of power may have varied across sites, I can say with confidence that power relations in pedagogy were enacted via techniques of surveillance, normalization, exclusion, distribution, and so on. These techniques were often productive for pedagogical (or other) purposes. Perhaps Foucault’s (1977) statement about surveillance as inherent to pedagogy and as increasing its efficiency, holds also for the other techniques.

In subjecting his students to the surveillance of his disciplinary gaze, the teacher knows where they are, when they are absent, what they are doing or not doing, and so on and so forth. In his observation-based study conducted over six months in six secondary schools in Karachi, Pakistan, Shamim (1996: 123-145) also reports that the quality and quantity of interaction between the teachers and students differ according to the location of students in class and, in crowded classes, students who are ‘under the direct gaze of the teacher’ at the front of the classroom which lies within the surveillance zone of the teacher work better than those positioned at the back which is outside the teacher’s attention zone. Thus, both Shamim and Gore affirms the prevalence and productiveness of surveillance in educational settings. Yet, if “there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight” (Foucault, 1994b: 346), then, it is not surprising that, as Shor (1996: 12-13) argues, the Siberian Syndrome is fairly widespread in the

sense that most students avoid the front of the room and prefer the Siberian corners. It seems that this allow students to maintain a distance which guarantees their independence.

Asserting along Foucauldian lines that surveillance is inherent, necessary, and inescapable in pedagogy (Gore, 2002: 4), the present section further explores what forms of surveillance are used in what ways and to what ends as well as how it is resisted by students. Surveillance was most observable during individual seat-work periods, that is, when students were completing their worksheets individually, as is evident in the following field notes:

**Extract 1 (Appendix 8):**

*“Students seem to be concentrated now. They have been working for a couple of minutes without any distraction. The teacher is sitting at his desk and monitoring them. Kadir has started talking to Cem” (File 10).*

*“They are still working on their worksheets silently. He is standing at the back and watching them” (File 10).*

*“He is walking around to see what they are doing and helping the students who are asking for” (File 13).*

*“The teacher is still walking around and checking what they are doing” (File 19).*

*“Now he is walking around to see what they have written in their notebooks and if they have used different colors as he told them to” (File 28).*

*“He is walking around to see who finished” (File 30).*

Obviously, surveillance includes, just like Gore (1998a: 283) described, closely observing and watching as well as supervising. Surveillance is then expressed not only in the panoptic organization of the classroom but also in the teacher’s behaviors and actions. Another form of surveillance, as illustrated in the following instance, is “threatening to watch” (Ibid.):

**Extract 3 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*T: you are waiting for me to look down so you can speak.*

*Cem: yes.*

*Zehra: no.*

*((Zehra is looking at him and smiling. He is smiling, too.))*

*T: you are just waiting for that moment. you need to turn around.*

*T: my eyes are on you.*

In threatening the students to keep an eye on them, the teacher is sending a message that when under his gaze they are supposed to do what he expects them to, not what they want to. The constant supervising gaze of the teacher over students and their conduct, as well as his threats to do so, can be seen as, many might suggest, pedagogically motivated and justified. This leads us to consider the effects of surveillance. If power is both repressive and productive, then, that students are constantly under the teacher's supervising gaze does not necessarily mean that surveillance is repressive in nature unless it is confirmed by its pedagogical outcomes. The following extract, which displays one of the instances mentioned above in Extract 1, is intended to extend the discussion to the effects of surveillance:

**Extract 3 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*((Students seem to be concentrated now. They have been working for a couple of minutes without any distraction. The teacher is sitting at his desk and monitoring them. Kadir has started talking to Cem.))*

*T: shh! Kadir!*

*14:21*

*((There is no more talking now.))*

*T: Mr. Tom's students, if you have any questions put your hands up! yeah?*

*14:23*

*((They are still working on their worksheets silently. He is standing at the back and watching them.))*

Teacher's direct gaze, as is apparent in the above-given extract, has some observable effects on students' actions. When the teacher, sitting at his desk or standing at the back, visibly watches students, students usually seem to be more on-task and less involved with off-task activities and talking. On the whole, surveillance seems to serve the teacher to make sure, though not always, that students are doing 'what they are meant to do' during individual seat-work periods. However, defining surveillance as productive only on the grounds that it is conducive to keeping students on-task would be oversimplification, because, as Gore (2002: 4) discusses, "the productive moments themselves are not simple to identify given the complexity of questions such as "productive for whom" or "productive for what purpose". In this respect, any consideration of surveillance as productive in the sense that it keeps students on-task is only possible on the assumptions that those tasks, that is, what students are expected to do by the teacher, are pedagogically sound and well-chosen, and, further, doing those tasks brings about learning on the part of learners. Yet, the aim here is neither to judge the teacher's pedagogical choices/practices nor to capitalize on taken-for-granted presuppositions but to describe and understand the workings and effects of surveillance within the boundaries of the data at hand. In this respect, how the teacher describes 'what students are expected to do' as well as what usually goes on during these periods, in the following extract, has some indirect implications for the issue:

**Extract 4 (Appendix 7/2<sup>nd</sup> Interview)**

*"Well, **they are meant to** sit down and do their worksheets. But, as I said, **some do and some don't**, like Onur, for instance. Some students, you **have to** keep warning them, you **have to** tell them to do their worksheets, so they turn around and say ok, so you think that they are doing their worksheets and turn around. **As soon as you turn around** they start, you know, dealing with something else. So that is why it takes a long time, too. I*

*mean there are some students who just finish them quickly, some chat, sometimes you **have to** yell at them so they can do their worksheets. So it is just a whole mixed-up thing.”*

In the above description of the individual seat-work periods lies the justification for the exercise of surveillance. Before concluding that ‘it is just a whole mixed-up thing’, the teacher explains, from his viewpoint, that surveillance is needed because although ‘what they are meant to do’ is to complete their worksheets some students start dealing with something else as soon as he turns around. What is significant in the teacher’s depiction is his preference to use an agentless passive sentence (i.e. they are meant to do sit down and do their worksheets), which is persistently evident in some other cases as will be shown in the following sections, while describing what he expects them to do. Given the ideological significance of passive sentences as an instrument of the obfuscation of responsible agency (Fairclough, 1989: 125; Van Dijk, 2006: 129), in using an agentless passive sentence, the teacher backgrounds ‘his right to expect students to do whatever he tells them to’, which is vested in his status as a teacher and has been naturalized as a common-sense expectation of the educational institution. Students’ resistance to comply with the teacher’s expectations is thus illegitimated on the grounds of the teacher’s right to be obeyed. Further, in presenting students’ ‘not-doings’ in active sentences by referring to them in first, topical positions of the sentences, the teacher implicitly foregrounds and emphasizes their negative actions, as perceived by him. What is more, in presenting his further actions such as ‘warning’ and ‘yelling’ with the modal ‘have to’, the teacher emphasizes them as ‘categorical obligations’, rather than preferences among alternative possibilities.

However, as Fairclough (1989: 99) convincingly argues, there is no inherent reason why the practices and expectations of social institutions should be structured the way they are as there are always conceivable alternatives, and the naturalization of certain practices as the common-sense way of doing things is an effect of power. When perceived in this

way, the teacher seems to legitimate the necessity of his exercise of surveillance through ideological common-sense assumptions rather than a pedagogical one. If ideological common sense is “*common sense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power*” (Ibid. p. 84; emphasis in original), then, surveillance here may be in the service of maintaining asymmetrical power relations between the teacher and the students in the sense of unequal distribution of rights and obligations.

Despite the importance of foregrounding common-sense assumptions in any analysis of discourse so as to avoid reproducing them (Ibid. p. 84-107), their existence and operation do not necessarily mean that those unequal relations of power are sustained by surveillance, or any power technique. Foucault (1994b: 340) argues that what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that acts upon others’ present or possible actions. Foucault (Ibid.) further elaborates on the issue that:

A power relationship...can only be articulated on the basis of two elements that are indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship: that “the other” (the one over whom power is exercised) is recognized and maintained to the very end as a subject who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up.

This leads us to explore student resistance, as a constituting part of any power relationship, in the particular instances where surveillance is exercised. The following episode takes place just five minutes after the students were handed out their worksheets. Despite the teacher’s supervising gaze, for about five minutes, most of the students were not completing their worksheets but engaged with off-task chatting. Furthermore, as is evident in the field notes, those students sitting next to the windows were pulling and pushing the curtains because of the sunshine coming through the windows, and, finally, the teacher opened up all the curtains:

**Extract 5 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*T: shh! quiet!*

*T: be quiet please! look! if you have questions don't say Mr. Okan put your hand up.*

*Sanem enough! enough enough! shh!*

*T: İrem enough! Onur enough!*

*T: put you foot down. put your leg down. ((to Onur.))*

*T: if you have a question, you put your hand up.*

*T: ok, enough. stop speaking.*

*((Students have started working on their exercises. He is walking around to see what they are doing and helping them if asked or necessary.))*

*LL: Mr. Okan! Mr. Okan! ((pointing to the curtains.))*

*T: no because you are playing around the curtains like little children, babies.*

*Onur: but we are babies.*

*T: yes, I know. that is why I am punishing you.*

*T: shh! shh!*

In the instance reported above, neither the teacher's gaze nor his attendant warnings and directions seem to put or keep, at least, some students on-task. Moreover, the teacher is seen monitoring the students' actions and repeating his directions, which are apparently related to their behaviors. The metaphorical representation of students' act of closing curtains as an infant behavior that needs to be punished is also significant in the sense that it serves to legitimate teacher sanctions. The following extract displays another occasion of individual seat-work, where intense observation of students and their conduct is evident:

**Extract 6 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*((He is still walking around to see what they are doing and helping the students who are asking for. Some students keep chatting.))*

*T: hurry up!*

*T: hey! I have had enough of this area here. turn around! stop answering back! ((sounds angry-to the first three rows on the right))*

*Bilge: ok.*

*T: İrem can you turn around please?*

*İrem: ok.*

*T: answer the questions Devrim.*

Despite the constraints on students' movements established by the organization of classroom space and maintained by the teacher's surveillance, they seem to resist these constraints within a field of available, though being sparse, possibilities. Obviously, students did not always comply with the practices and conduct desired by the teacher. They seem to have developed spaces where they could act and interact according to their own wishes. At times when they were supposed to be sitting at their desks and completing their worksheets, most of them did but not always in the way the teacher expected them to. In sharp contrast to the teacher's expectations, there was a fair amount of opportunity for the students to turn around and to interact with each other, especially at those times when the teacher's attention was distracted from them as part of the teacher's surveillance was his attendant assistance to students during individual seat-work periods. The strict control of physical environment and students' conduct by the teacher can be regarded as, as illustrated in his following remarks, part of his personal beliefs and theories of how students learn best:

#### **Extract 7 (Appendix 7/ 1<sup>st</sup> Interview)**

*"The way students behave in class also **depends on** the way the teacher approaches them. If you walk into the class with a **smile** on your face it causes some of them to **misbehave** and not listen. **But** when you walk into the class with a straight face and are very **strict with them**, it makes it **easier to control them**. I guess you need to find the middle. Neither being too strict nor fun works. **So** I really **believe** that the teacher's role is important" (p.2.)*

*“Because when they sit down and listen they **learn more easily**, like **even the weak students**, they can **grasp something** at least. **But** when they, you know, look left and right, deal with other things, they miss out on a lot of things. I’m only talking about some students here (p.4)”*

The overall argumentation structure employed by the teacher is striking in many respects. On the whole, the macro-structure of argumentation is that the way students behave is dependent on the way the teacher behaves in class. In explaining his role and actions in the class, being a strict teacher is compared to being a lenient teacher, and leniency, which is represented here through smiling, is illegitimated on the grounds that it causes student misbehavior, which is associated with looking around, dealing with other things and not listening, while strictness is legitimated on the grounds that it makes easier to control students, which in turn makes easier for students to learn. Then, the tendency both to strictly control classroom space and to closely observe students’ conduct in a way that allows little room for student-student interaction and unauthorized student movement seems to relate to the teacher’s beliefs about what is being a teacher and a student as well as what constitutes teaching and learning in class. Kumaravadivelu (2006: 179-180) underlines the significance of the reciprocal relationship between the teacher’s personal beliefs regarding the nature of the broader educational process, the nature of language, how it is learned, and how it may be best taught, which, together with his prior professional knowledge base, accumulate to guiding pedagogic principles and theories, and his ongoing decision-making and actions with a particular class of learners in a particular teaching situation. Yet, given the prevalence of student resistance, what goes on in the classroom seems to be determined multilaterally with all parties involved. If surveillance is a teacher action upon students’ actions, students, then, faced with that, open up a field of responses, reactions and inventions which affects the course of classroom activities in some way.

The control of classroom space and students' movements does not stop here, however. It also extends to the seating arrangements. At the beginning of the year, the teacher prepared a seating chart which assigned students to certain desks in order to "keep problematic students away from each other" (1<sup>st</sup> interview, p. 4.), told them to sit in their assigned places, and he also charged Aslı with checking if they were sitting in their proper places. Mr. Okan described "problematic students" as those "who aren't interested in the lesson and who distract the class" and further commented on the issue as follows:

**Extract 8 (Appendix 7/ 1<sup>st</sup> Interview)**

*"Being able to achieve what ever has been planned to be done on that particular day sometimes doesn't work out **because** you **have to** deal with problems such as problematic students, students that aren't interested in the lesson and students who distract the class. Sometimes, you know, you don't have time to really help the students that want to learn **because of** the problematic ones (p.2)"*

Thus, the basic idea behind making students sit at certain places seems to prevent prospective problems that would cause diversion from the planned teaching activities. When asked if it worked out, he responded that "I believe it does" (1<sup>st</sup> interview, p.5). Here the teacher obviously categorizes the students as being problematic or not. Having described the problematic students as the ones who aren't interested in the lesson and who distract the class, in describing those non-problematic students as the ones who want to learn, he implicitly claims that the problematic students do not want to learn. Then, in turn, the reason for possible diversion from his pre-planned teaching agenda is attributed to those problematic students. The teacher's resorting to a basic power technique, which is the distribution of students in relation to one another in classroom space (Gore, 1998b: 240-241), is legitimated on the grounds that it avoids disruptions in the flow of the lesson. Further, in defining 'problematic students' as not being interested in the lesson, not wanting to learn, and distracting the class and, prioritizing his task of

dealing with them, by using the modal ‘have to’ which implies obligation, over that of helping the students who want to learn are, the teacher seems to be attaching a long-cherished significance both to his managerial role and to the role of teacher’s prepared agenda. As Kumaravadivelu (2003: 45) argues, however, the prepared lesson, written or otherwise, may offer “a general road map” to teachers, but “the specific route they follow, the speed limits they impose, and the unexpected detours they take will all depend on the “road conditions” they encounter in the classroom”. Given the fact that classroom interaction is co-produced with the learners, but not planned in advance (Ellis, 1994: 573), what happens in class and how it happens are in the hands of both teachers and students throughout this joint exploration of learning and teaching.

If the use of a particular seating arrangement is the specific route that Mr. Okan followed to avoid ‘diversions’ from his teaching agenda, then what the road conditions were like in the classroom and what kind of unexpected detours he took comes to be the next guiding question that the present section focuses on. Firstly, the seating arrangement chart was not a rule to stick to, as is evident in the following field-notes taken on different days:

**Extract 9:**

*“He didn’t check the seating arrangement” (File1/06.11.2007).*

*“At the beginning he made sure that they were sitting in their assigned places, then, he told them that they could change their places if only they were good” (File3/27.11.2007)*

*“He didn’t check the seating arrangement but Aslı asked if she could change her place. He told her that she had to sit there” (File4/30.11.2007).*

*“He asked if they were sitting in their proper places and the students answered ‘yes’, then he went on with the lesson” (File5/04.12.2007).*

*“He checked if they were sitting in their assigned places” (File 24/14.03.2008).*

*“He has checked if they are sitting in their places from the list” (File 28/28.03.2008).*

To check students' seating arrangement was sometimes part of the opening periods but sometimes was not. When asked its reasons, the teacher responded that:

**Extract 10 (Appendix 7/ 1<sup>st</sup> Interview)**

*"Later I just let them sit however they wanted to because every time I came to the classroom the desks were a mess and that would take time to arrange the seats and the desks again. So that is why I just let them".*

When we conducted the interview it was halfway through the observation period, and, towards the end, it was again part of the opening sessions. Efficiency seems to be defining factor in the exercise of distribution, and, basically, where students sat was a matter of negotiation, a form of punishment and rewarding:

**Extract 11 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

*((Devrim wants to change his place and to sit next to Bilge.))*

*T: why? do you want to chat with him?*

*Devrim: no.*

*T: so what difference does it make to sit there? you sit here or you sit there is the same. you are not gonna talk to anyone here you are not gonna talk to anyone there. tell me the difference.*

*Cem: er: pencere.*

*Devrim: window.*

*T: window. all right, go on.*

Having read the above extract, one may readily ask if it does not make any difference to sit in one place or another for students what difference does it make for the teacher? If it does not make any difference, why does the student have to justify his wish to sit in another place? Overall, why is there a seating arrangement chart? The below-given extract is an attempt to answer these questions but a little background is needed first.

The following episode took place twenty minutes after the second lesson started on that day. During the first twenty minutes, there was basically a presentation period followed by individual seat-work:

**Extract 12 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*T: Onur you come here? Burak. no you! ((to Alp)) go to the back and sit there.*

*Alp: no, no- I[*

*T: [come on. yes here.*

*Onur: ya why ya:? why?*

*T: Cem and Zehra, can you change your places? I **need** to change your places. sit down!*

*T: Devrim come here please. he is a little boy, he can't see but you are tall.*

*Devrim: please, no.*

*T: but you are tall.*

*Devrim: please, no!*

*T: but he won't be able to see. Devrim!*

*Bilge: no no!*

*T: please stop speaking.*

*T: Alp? if you speak I'll send you to the back, ok?*

*T: İrem! hurry up!*

*T: turn around.*

*T: stand up and go to the back.*

*((Although they didn't want it and resisted a lot he changed their places and they seem to be much more quite at the moment.))*

The teacher, at the beginning of the first lesson, didn't check their seating, but after some time, some of the students' places were changed. At the end, there was nobody sitting at the very back, and 'problematic students' such as Onur, who was sitting at the back, was now at the front within the surveillance zone of the teacher. It was apparently a punitive action that 'need'ed to be taken by the teacher. "The whole indefinite domain

of the non-conforming is punishable” asserts Foucault (1977: 178-179). Regarding the use of such distributive techniques in the disciplinary institutions, including schools, Foucault (Ibid. p.143-144) argues that particular places are defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space. In this way, the conduct of each individual is supervised and evaluated at each moment, and the simultaneous work of all is made possible (Ibid. p. 143-147). This is what makes “the educational space function like a learning machine” (Ibid. p. 147). To conclude, the following extract<sup>17</sup> is chosen not because it is representative but it displays the extremities that the teacher’s desire to control students’ movements and actions might reach:

**Extract 13 (File 14)**

*T: you finished, so you can speak? yeah? ((with a teasing tone of voice to Bilge, Devrim and Onur. Bilge responded with a smile.))*

*T: turn around. turn around. ((to them))*

*((He is still walking around and checking what they are doing.))*

*T: come on! some of you are too slow.*

*T: Alp!*

*((He didn’t sound angry. He was warning Alp that he was too slow.))*

*T: Onur, what are you doing?*

*((He put a chair on the left-hand side of Onur in order to avoid his moving and turning around.))*

*T: I am going to put bars around you.*

*T: I am going to put bars around you.*

*((He seems to be kidding him while uttering those sentences. But Onur stood up and opened the window, like meaning he could run away through the window.))*

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<sup>17</sup> This particular extract is not included in Appendix 8 as it is not part of the selected sample data but reproduced here from the researcher’s database.

*Onur: Seni çocuk haklarına şikayet edicem. ((I'll make a complaint against you to the Juvenile Rights Authority))*

As is seen in the first two lines of the interaction reported above, the teacher did not want students to interact with each other even though they completed their assigned tasks and asked them to turn around. What followed is more striking in terms of both the teacher's action and the student's response. In putting another chair between Onur and the other students, the way the teacher exercises his power to avoid student movement reaches to a point where it is in its most visible form. Though not being serious in the sense of a future act, his reference to 'putting bars around someone', which is often associated with prisons, is also noteworthy when combined with his act of putting a chair to avoid the student's movement. Faced with this, the student opened the window as if he was running away through the window. He also responded that, though being in Turkish, he would make a complaint about the teacher to the Juvenile Rights Authority. On the whole, this episode shows how power is exercised. The exercise of power, which is a set of actions on other actions, operates on the whole field of possibilities (Foucault, 1994b: 341).

If people build identities and activities not just through language but by using language with other stuff that isn't language (Gee, 2005: 20) and if it is that "language plus other stuff" what makes up Discourses (Ibid. p.26), then the way both classroom space is organized and teachers control students' bodies and actions, together with personal theories and beliefs underlying them, is relevant in indicating ways of being a teacher or a student as well as the nature of relationship between them in the Discourse that particular teacher and students create. And it is these relationships what characterizes the exercise of power in classrooms since, as Foucault (1994b: 337) contends, the term power always designates relationships between individuals. Furthermore, the degree of symmetry between teacher and students is marked the distribution of interactional rights not only in terms of speaking but also acting and moving in class.

### 3.3. Directives, Norms and Authority

*“all right! enough.  
shh! shh. shh.  
hey! enough.  
enough speaking.  
just do not speak.”*

Can it be a student who is asking her teacher to stop speaking by using these direct commands? The most likely reply would be ‘no’. The reason why one would probably reply to this question with ‘no’ can be explained by ‘Discourse models’, as Gee (2005: 71) puts it, or, in the words of Fairclough (1989: 24), by ‘members’ resources’: those prototypical representations in our heads of certain things and events including the expected sequences of events and even the grammatical forms of sentences. We put these largely unconscious theories to use, as stated in the previous chapter, in order to make sense of and produce texts, to guide our actions and interactions, to evaluate what counts as acceptable in certain situations. When faced with such a piece of classroom talk as given above, thus, one makes of use her Discourse models of classrooms, which are basically her first thoughts or implicit theories about what she takes to be typical of classrooms or teachers, to evaluate its features and make sense of it. That is the most likely why that particular piece of talk consisting of directives would be recognized as part of teacher talk. Yet, Discourse models, even in science, are useful for some purposes and not others as they are really simplifications, which leave out many complexities, about the text and the world (Gee: 2005: 72). What is more, Discourse models are never neutral as they all embed assumptions about what is appropriate, typical, and/or normal (Gee, 2005: 84).

In line with these prototypes, most of the mainstream research on language classroom discourse (though see van Lier 1988) has taken that the work of directing, in the sense of both telling someone to do something and controlling something, is a teacher task as a given. Yet, if we begin with such an assumption it is hard to see the role that students

play in directing classroom discourse. In turn, the students' part in that would have been reduced to obedience. The findings of this study has shown that although it is only the teacher who 'verbally' directs the class students also contribute to the directing work, in often subtle ways, through the resources available to them.

In verbally directing the class in the sense of telling the students what to do, it has been widely accepted that, since Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) work, teachers primarily use a repertoire of directives. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 28, 41) define a teacher direct as an exchange where the students are required to provide a non-linguistic response such as listening, looking at the board or writing. The function of teacher direct exchanges is thus "to get the pupil to do but not say something" (Ibid. p.50). According to them, directives are followed by either the performance of whatever action required by the directive, which is called 'react', or a verbal or non-verbal signal confirming that the pupil is listening and understanding, which is called acknowledge (Ibid. p.42). Otherwise is considered to be an instance of rule-breaking (Ibid. p.50). And directives, as classroom acts, are realized by imperatives (Ibid. p.41).

To start with, other than the macro function of requesting a non-linguistic response such as listening or listening (Ibid.), the data suggests that directives can perform a number of micro functions. They can make students be interested in what the teacher is doing or saying by getting their attention.

#### **Extract 14 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*T: ok but why are you using present perfect? last year? Cem?*

*Cem: I had[*

*T: [no shh! last year- **Devrim listen to me!** last year finished.*

*Devrim: **ok.***

### **Extract 15 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*((He is cleaning the board and the students have started chatting.))*

T: yes. what time is it now? again.

T: so today the situation is different. [today- today is- **listen to this everyone. listen!** this is also very important.

LL: [((unint))]

T: **listen! lift your heads up and look at the board.** today sometimes we use past simple, sometimes we use present perfect. how do you understand this? I'll give you an example.

T: the time now is 14:20.

### **Extract 16 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

T: he has played football in the afternoon.

*((Most of the students do not seem to be interested in the exercises and the teacher himself seems to have lost his motivation and energy.))*

Cem: played olacak.

T: no! **look! remember-** remember I gave you this. *((the WS about the time markers.))*

LL: /yes/yes/yes/

LL: /no/no/no/

T: I gave you this.

*((Students are looking for that worksheet. There is also a lot of noise in the class as they are talking to each other.))*

### **Extract 17 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

T: now!

LL: /((unint))/

T: **look! listen!** so you can understand!

Ceren: I will buy a car today.

They can also explain students what to do at a particular stage of the lesson.

**Extract 18 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*T: I have phoned him four times. and I have sent at least six e-mails. now! **take out your workbooks. no, not your workbooks, your student books. student books.***

**Extract 19 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*T: so at the bottom **answer these questions. answer the questions.** who has just been to Egypt? who doesn't like writing composition? who is very hard-working? **answer them.***  
*LL: **ok.***

**Extract 20 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*T: good girl. **take out your time markers,** too. this! Onur **take this out.***

*T: good. **take it out.***

*((Students are trying to find that worksheet and he is checking them.))*

They can establish the rules and norms to be followed in class. They can be used to put an end to or prevent those student actions and behaviors which do not comply with those rules and norms. Basically, these disciplinary directives are bi-functional, seeing that they simultaneously establish the rule or norm while seeking a certain kind of behavior by suppressing another kind. Yet, at some other times, a directive which seeks to suppress non-conforming behaviors (by seeing the existence of that behavior) may occur at different times from or just after a directive which seeks to establish or maintain the rules and norms (by seeing that the behavior referred does not exist). They usually have similar linguistic forms, though.

**Extract 21 (Appendix 8/File 28)**

*Alp: Mr. Okan [*

*T: **[if you have a question just put your hand up. don't say Mr. Okan.***

*((While he was giving the examples above he drew a timeline on the board and wrote them at the same time. Now again he is walking around and helping them if necessary. The class is noisy again.))*

***T: I don't wanna hear anyone speaking. noone! noone!***

***T: I said noone Alp.***

*11:11*

*((There is a complete silence at the moment.))*

***T: Ash! I said I don't wanna hear anybody's voice. you are still speaking.***

On this particular occasion, having seen that the student calls out the teacher without having raised his hand or being nominated, the teacher interrupts him and tells him what he should do if he has a question. What follows is that students are constantly warned not to speak by the teacher. In doing so, the teacher simultaneously maintains the norm and aims to put an end to those non-conforming behaviors. Yet, the following episodes show that, at some other times, norm-maintaining directives can occur separately:

#### **Extract 22 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

***T: Sanem stop speaking.***

*T: can I clean this side?*

*Ali: no! ha: yes yes.*

*LL: /yes/no/*

*T: yes or no?*

*LL: ((unint))*

***T: shh! don't speak.***

***T: If you wanna speak put your hand up.***

#### **Extract 23 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*T: Devrim!*

***T: Alp can you hear the bell? sit down please.***

*T: all right. **sit down.***

*T: are you ok?*

*T: Ash **sit down.** Ali **sit down.***

*T: **when I call out your names stop for a while.***

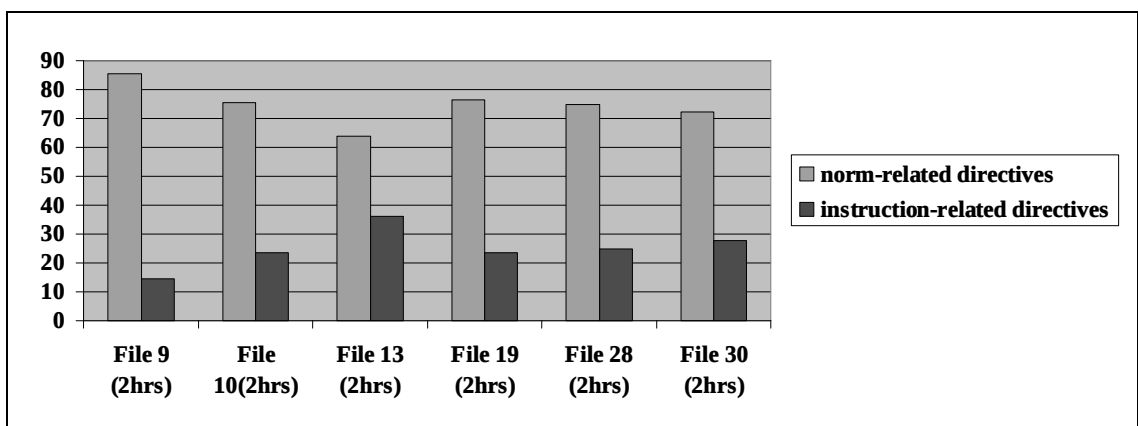
*T: now!*

On both occasions, those first directives aim to stop existing student behaviors, in the first instance student speaking and, in the second, student standing up. Having seen that they are managed, those last directives (i.e. ‘if you wanna speak put your hand up’ and ‘when I call out your names’) aim to maintain those actions as norms. Then, although they are all disciplinary in general, the first directives are suppressive while the last ones are norm-maintaining in particular. On the whole, teacher directives are basically of two kinds:

- Norm-related directives: They seek to define and maintain classroom norms in terms of student behavior and demand student compliance with those norms.
- Instruction-related directives: They serve to explain student what to do during particular instructional stages.

The distribution of these two types of directives, in 12 sampled lessons, is as follows:

**Figure 6: Functional distribution of teacher directives**



Despite the slight changes, as is apparent in Graphic 1, norm-related directives outnumber instruction-related directives. It is hard to be sure to what extent the excess of norm-related directives is a matter of teacher beliefs, style and philosophy and to what extent is a matter of necessity experienced by the teacher. Yet, it has been observed that norm-related directives were used more during individual seat-work periods than up-front teaching periods and whole-class activities. A thorough analysis of these norm-related directives used during individual seat-work periods in terms of their content, alongside other contextual details, shows that these periods have a different structure underlying the distribution of both communicative and behavioral rights and obligations between the teacher and students from other instructional stages. The most patterning and frequently used norm-related directives, during these periods, as the following examples illustrate, require students not to stand up, walk around or turn around but to sit down and to put their hands before speaking’:

**Extract 24 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*T: Alp turn around.*

*T: sit down and put your hand up!*

...

*Onur: Mr. Okan? Mr. Okan?*

*T: look! don't stand up and put your hands up.*

**Extract 25 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*Devrim: Mr. Okan.*

*T: yes Devrim. put your hand up if you wanna speak, yeah? yes.*

*Devrim: open the window?*

*T: open it. open the window, ok.*

...

*T: you have it. now sit down.*

*T: stop doing it.*

LL: /((unint))/

T: ok! now it is time to close your little mouths.

Sanem: Mr. Okan!

#### **Extract 26 (Appendix 8/File 19)**

T: look! you are meant to be doing your worksheet, not speaking!

T: you finished? ((to Cem))

T: wait! don't speak to anyone. they haven't finished yet.

When asked the reasons underlying his preference for individual self-study rather than pair- or group-work<sup>18</sup>, the teacher commented as follows:

#### **Extract 27 (Appendix 7/2<sup>nd</sup> Interview)**

*"Because when I first started here last year, it was the first time I started teaching kids so I **tried to do pairwork** with them, the dialogues thing but **it doesn't work because** they start chatting and they just look like working but they are not, **it doesn't work because** they sound like making a lot of noise, **when** they start making a lot of noise **that means** I have to shout and try to calm them down. **Pairwork doesn't work because they make too much noise**. I mean I would love to do pairwork but the thing, it would work better with younger kids. Year 6, year 7. Year 7 is a little hard. Like my year 5s, I do the pairwork with them because they are very enthusiastic but year 7 kids just change at that age."*

Students' speaking and making too much noise seem to be the primary reason for individual seat-work. Yet, as discussed in the previous sections, what usually goes on during these periods is almost the same with what the teacher describes in the preceding

---

<sup>18</sup> The comparative perspective in the wording of the question does not mean that pair-work or group-work are different from or better than individual seat-work in terms of the workings of power relations. The focus in the discussion here in the workings of power relations during these periods. Further, since no pair- or group-work was observed there is no data available to compare them.

extract: “they are meant to sit down and do their worksheets. But...some do and some don’t...there are some students who just finish them quickly, some chat, sometimes you have to yell at them so they can do their worksheets” (see Extract 3 and the following discussion). There are strong indications, thus, that individual seat-work works against its own purpose.

Norm-related directives are highly political in the sense, as Gee (2005:2) argues, that they relate to how social goods, which are supposedly a source of power, status, or value, are thought about, argued over, and distributed. Through the contextual use of norm-related directives, one kind of behavior is prioritized over another and what is ‘normal’ is defined in relation to what is ‘not normal’. Foucault (1977: 177-184) highlighted the significance of normalizing practices, or ‘normalizing judgment’ in the functioning of modern disciplinary power. He explicated that such normalizing judgment often occurs through comparison, “through the definition of behavior and performance on the basis of the opposed values of good and evil”, and “all the behavior falls in the field between good and bad marks, good and bad points” (Ibid. p.180). Informed by Foucauldian conception of power, Gore (1998b: 237) later defined normalization, with particular reference to educational settings, as “invoking, requiring, setting, or conforming to a standard-defining the normal”. Since “the power of normalization imposes homogeneity” (Foucault, 1977: 184), it is of paramount importance to understand how it works and, further, to be aware of what kinds of normalizations are enacted and permitted in class.

Overall, individual seat-work periods seem to be characterized by prevailing surveillance, distribution and normalization, which, in turn, bring about extensive student resistance. The following episode illustrates how students explicitly and collectively resist those norms:

**Extract 28 (Appendix 8/File 28)**

*T: Aslı! I said I don't wanna hear anybody's voice. you are still speaking.*

*((What she is saying isn't audible from the tape.))*

*T: if she has a question she can put her hand up. ((He means İrem by she))*

*Aslı: no:.*

*T: if you have a question you can put your hand up.*

*T: Onur! shh!*

*T: if you have a question put your hand up.*

*((Students are asking some questions to each other while the teacher is busy with others.))*

*T: shh! don't speak.*

*Devrim: Mr. Okan.*

*T: put your hand up.*

*Devrim: Mr. Okan.*

*T: Onur!*

*Cem: finished.*

*Burak: Mr. Okan.*

*T: put your hands up. look at Onur.*

*((Devrim and Cem are talking at the back.))*

*Burak: Mr. Okan*

*T: hands up, hands up. don't say Mr. Okan.*

Despite the teacher's subsequent norm-related directives, students do not comply with the action demanded persistently. As the teacher constantly referred to those norms, students demonstrated their indifference to teacher authority, at many times and in different ways, by constantly challenging them and testing their boundaries. Or, to describe in Foucauldian terms, teacher's actions prompted students' actions- "actions upon other actions" (Foucault, 1994b: 341). There were also instances where students defended their actions in response to the teacher's suppressive directives:

**Extract 29 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

*Onur: Alp.*

*T: Onur! ((yelling))*

*Onur: I have got a question.*

*T: then ask me!*

*Onur: but you don't look.*

*T: put your hand up!*

*Onur: yarım saattir kaldırıyorum.*

*T: number 3! they said to him. we!*

In this particular instance, having been warned not to speak to his friend by the teacher, the student defends his behavior against the norm and tries to justify it in a sequence of moves. In his attempt to justify his unauthorized talk to his friend, he asserts his right, as a student, to ask a question and to be responded. Finally, the teacher does not respond to him and goes on with correcting a mistake in the worksheet.

Yet, there were also some other times at which students' actions brought about sanctions issued by the teacher. As can be seen in the sampled data in Appendix 8, the teacher changed the seating plan of students twice, one during and one just after an individual seat-work stage. In some other cases, particular students were sent to the vice principal's room, which was the next door the class, to finish their worksheets there.

Then, what happens when individuals, in this case the teacher and students, exert power each other? What is obvious in the first place is power relations are, as constantly emphasized throughout the study, a set of actions upon other actions. To refer to Foucault (1994b: 340) again, the exercise of power is a way in which some act on others. As far as resistance is concerned, it can be inferred from the above examples that instances of resistance are immediate in the sense that they are often observable just

after the effects of power are seen or felt. Foucault (1994b: 330) comments on the immediacy of resistance as follows:

people criticize instances of power that are the closest to them, those which exercise their action on individuals. They look not for the “chief enemy” but for the immediate enemy.

Having accepted that the exercise of power is a way in which some act on others, then, it becomes more difficult to determine to what extent it is the ‘teacher authority’ what is primarily singled out by student resistance and to what extent the effects of power. Having seen many instances of resistance followed by sanctions, there also emerges an element of doubt as to what really characterizes the nature of relationship between the exercise of power and resistance. Is it reciprocity or reaction? These are awaiting further research.

On the whole, the ‘official’ work of directing is a teacher job. A whole repertoire of directives is used to attract students’ attention, to explain student what to do at various instructional stages, and to define and maintain communicative and behavioral norms to be followed in class. In defining what counts acceptable and ‘normal’, especially norm-related directives are obviously political and telling implications for the construction of classroom power relations. In one of the interviews, since he had assigned the students to write an essay about how to act in class, the teacher was asked to comment on the ideal student behaviors in class, as he perceived, and what he meant by right and wrong student behaviors:

### **Extract 30 (Appendix 7/1<sup>st</sup> Interview)**

*The **bad things**, like not respecting the teacher, not listening, making me repeat myself all the time, like “be quiet”, “don’t speak to your friends”, “Stop making too much noise”...etc. These are the things they need to learn... The **right things are what I expect them to do. Doing the things they are meant to do in class** such as listening and doing*

*their work. Some just chat and don't write. Or just write because they have to. Sometimes having to repeat myself over and over again just really tires me! These sorts of things.*

What the teacher expects students to do counts as the “rights things”. Here, the teacher obviously refers to the “institutional power vested in the teacher to tell students what to do” (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002: 56). And, it is this institutional power which puts the teacher *in* authority (Ibid). Yet, as can be inferred from both the teacher’s comment and the analysis here, the fact that the teacher has the right to define norms, which is basically rooted in her institutional power, does not mean that students follow what the teacher wants them to do, they contribute to the local construction of power relations, in both explicit and implicit ways, by not complying with the teacher-defined norms, asserting their own rights, and challenging teacher authority. The rules and norms underlying classroom order and the role that students play in their construction are constantly negotiated and redefined. Apparently, this constant negotiation results in the loss of teacher control over both the progression of the lesson and the order of the classroom discourse, which, in turn, minimizes, at least to some extent, the effects of teacher’s institutional power.

### **3.4. Interactional Routines and Participation Rights**

*“There are a wide range of teacher agent roles and a wide range of ways of teaching. Any broad pedagogical function, such as ‘revision’, might be handled in quite different ways as far as pupil and teacher attitudes to their role as inquirers is concerned...To those who reply that certain subject matter must be covered, revised and tested, we can reply: ‘It can be covered, revised and tested, but in a more or less critical way’.”*  
(Young, 1992: 121)

A useful construct to start from is orders of discourse, a term used by Foucault, which refers to underlying conventions of discourses (Fairclough, 1989: 28). Fairclough (ibid.: 29-30) argues that we always experience the society and the various social institutions as structured into different spheres of action, different types of situation, each of which has its associated type of practice, and social orders differ not only in which types of practice they include, but also in how these are related to each other, or structured. To make this claim concrete, Fairclough (1989: 38) refers to the social structure of the school as a social institution:

The school has a social order and an order of discourse which involve a distinctive structuring of its 'social space' into a set of social situations where discourse occurs..., a set of recognized 'social roles' in which people participate in discourse..., and a set of approved purposes for discourse- learning and teaching, examining, maintaining social control, as well as a set of discourse types. Focusing upon 'social roles' or what I shall prefer to call *subject positions*..., there is a sense in which we can say that the teacher and the pupil *are what they do*. The discourse types of the classroom set up subject positions for teachers and pupils, and it is only by 'occupying' these positions that one becomes a teacher or a pupil. Occupying a subject position is essentially a matter of doing (or not doing) certain things in line with the discursual rights and obligations of teachers and pupils...So this is a case where social structure, in the particular form of discourse conventions, determines discourse. But it is also the case that in occupying particular subject positions, teachers and pupils *reproduce* them...So discourse in turn determines and reproduces social structure (emphasis in original).

Orders of discourse, then, do represent the social order of classrooms, when looked at in terms of particular discourse types into which their social space is structured. The orders of discourse associated with teaching/learning in classrooms as a social institution are constituted by a series of discourse types available to participants. Then, an analysis of roles, relations, rules and other social constraints that govern classroom discourse is indeed an analysis of the structure of classroom discourse. Yet, those constraining rules are one side of the coin, and the other side is the resources. If rules, which are closely

related to control, are the constraining factors which structure classroom discourse, then resources, which are closely related to initiative, are the enabling ones (van Lier, 1988: 48-50). As Thompson (1984: 54, in van Lier, 1988: 48) warns “rules...cannot be conceptualized in isolation from the resources which facilitate the exercise of the power”. Namely, without resources there might be no rules. One may compare this to Foucault’s thoughtful description of power and resistance: “there are no relations of power without resistances” (1980: 142, in Gore, 2002: 5). Overall, this means that both rules and resources are part of the structure of classroom discourse, and in turn, that it is necessary to look for ways of integrating them, rather than separating, to be able to describe fully the structure of classroom discourse.

The triadic IRF structure and its concomitant features, as discussed in the first chapter, have been central to the widely-accepted assumption that it is the teacher who has control over classroom discourse. How particular discourses are structured is of significance to an understanding of how particular institutions such as academic disciplines, businesses, schools and classrooms are (re)produced and sustained. As Gee (2005: 102) argues, particular discourse situations, with more or less variation, over time, and such repetition, which tends to ritualize or habitualize situations to varying degrees, is the lifeblood out of which institutions are created. Institutions, in turn, create forces that ensure the repetition and ritualization of the situations that sustain them (Ibid.)

Motivated by the above-mentioned issues, the present section focuses on interactional routines associated with particular discourse types in this particular EFL classroom. The lessons observed for this study had basically three stages, though not appearing successively in each paired class: upfront teaching stage, individual seat-work stage and content feed-back stage. Given that interactional routines are the conventional ways in which participants interact with each other in particular discourse types (Fairclough, 1989: 98), each of these stages are then considered to be different discourse types with

their own interactional routines. Having discussed how power relations function in individual seat-work stages in the preceding sections, this section aims to explore the interactional routines associated with content feed-back stages with particular emphasis on the construction of power relations. In this respect, firstly, turn-taking mechanism underlying content feed-back stages and students' rights for participation, as well as how they resist the rules defined by the teacher for participation will be discussed.

To begin with, classroom interaction is traditionally considered to be that between unequals, basically due to the teacher's expert knowledge and institutional power, and thus different from informal conversations between equals. Turn-taking in informal conversations is usually managed as follows: "the person speaking may select the next speaker; if that does not happen, the next speaker may take the turn; if that does not happen, the person speaking may continue" (Fairclough, 1989: 134). Yet, in teacher-student interaction, "[t]he teacher instigates topics, asks questions, decides what counts as a sufficient answer, determines how long students get to produce one and comments on whether it is adequate or not, thus occupying the role of director of the talk" (Thornborrow, 2002: 111). Thus, participation rights and obligations are often asymmetrical as a consequence of the inequality perceived. Yet, as van Lier (1996: 140) argues, there can be symmetry, that is, equal participation rights and duties, without equality in terms of status and power, and there can be equality without symmetry. Namely, there is not necessarily a one-to-one cause-effect relationship between equality and asymmetry. Van Lier (1988: 106) further discusses that if turn distribution follows a highly predictable patterns and routines, it is likely that much of the intrinsic motivation that turn-taking may foster is lost, and this correspondingly may result in the lack of attention to some aspects of the talk on the part of the learners. On the whole, thus, turn-taking study is essential.

The content feed-back stages are often characterized here, as the following interactions indicate, by strict allocation of turns by the teacher, turn-by-turn negotiation and competition is often discouraged:

**Extract 31 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

*T: yes! I have already opened my book. next one. Devrim.*

*Devrim: Britney Spears has tried Turkish delights before.*

*T: Britney Spears has tried Turkish delights before. next one.*

*Bilge: he has played football in the afternoon. ((selected by teacher's signalling))*

*T: he has played football in the afternoon.*

*((Most of the students do not seem to be interested in the exercises and the teacher himself seems to have lost his motivation and energy.))*

**Extract 32 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*T: all right. quiet. noone talks.*

*T: now, let's read. Sally! ((to Aslı. Sally is the name of the speaker in the exercise.))*

*Onur: Sally::!*

*Aslı: hi, have you spent the money yet?*

*T: hi, have you spent the money yet? which money? ((selected Devrim by signaling))*

*Devrim: Polly:! the money I gave you in november.*

*T: the money I gave you in november. I gave you, past simple.*

*Devrim: oh that money! ((He is like acting the dialogue.))*

*T: Devrim be a little serious, yeah. stop joking around...oh that money[*

*Sanem:*

*[ehh ehh*

*ehh ((She is showing eagerness to go on.))*

*T: oh that money?*

*Burak: oh that money. I lost that money a few days ago.*

*T: I lost that money a few days ago. ago! really? I am sorry to hear that. Yes, Elif.*

*Elif: yes, this is the first time I lost money in my life.*

*T: I have lost money. ok? [because in my life, until now. yes Onur.*

**Extract 33 (Appendix 8/File 28)**

*T: shh! all right. so read number 1 again.*

*Cem: you are Joe's sister, aren't you?*

*T: you are Joe's sister, aren't you? number 2, Devrim.*

*Devrim: uh Devrim tamam. it is a lovely day, isn't it?*

*T: ok. it is a lovely day, isn't it? Bilge.*

*Bilge: she is finished her course, isn't she?*

**Extract 34 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

*T: who wants to read number two?*

*Sanem: uh: [uh uh!*

*Onur: [ me me me[*

*T: [ok, look! everyone is going to read, just put your hands up if you want to answer the question.*

*Ceren: Sarah said to Paul I will buy a car today. she said that she would buy a car that day. she told him that she would buy a car that day.((selected by the teacher's eye gaze))*

The turn-taking mechanism is thus of a highly controlling and circumscribed nature, which stifles students' initiatives to actively contribute to turn construction. The teacher allocates the turns by nominating, signaling or eye-gaze, the student selected responds, and the teacher finally evaluates student's response, usually through repetition in the case of a correct answer, before moving onto the next question. Through such cycles, the structure of content feed-back stages is often the IRF exchange. Students' bids for turns are mostly disregarded. Yet, some instances of successful student bids, though being exceptional, were evident, as the following interaction illustrates:

**Extract 35 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

*T: I played football last tuesday. she said she played football the previous tuesday.*

*Devrim: Mr. Okan.*

*Cem: Mr. Okan.*

*T: all right. Devrim.*

*Devrim: er I er: I am playing[*

*T: [but which Devrim?*

*Devrim: curly. ((he is called 'curly' because of his curly hair, when he needs to be differentiated from other Deniz))*

*T: curly, all right.*

*Devrim -f-: but he did er: the one before.*

*T: curly?*

*Devrim -f-: yes.*

*T: ok, yes.*

*Devrim -f-: she is playing football now. she said she was playing football at that moment.*

*T: good, all right.*

On this particular occasion, initially, two students bid for the turn and the teacher selects one of them. As there are two students with the same name in the class, the teacher manipulates his own nominating and interrupts the student. The student keeps bidding for the turn and gets it. However, this time, the other student with the same name rejects and illegitimizes it on the grounds of asymmetrical distribution, and finally gets the turn. As is clear, in contrast to rigidly controlled turn-allocation, the students here employ a number of interactional and discursive strategies through an extended sequence of interactions. On the issue of the prevalence of the teacher-led lockstep in ELT classes, Holliday (2005: 51) argues that:

The idea of learner-centredness came after, and in reaction to, the teacher-led lockstep of audiolingualism. However, the version of learner-centredness which one finds in TESOL...is not so distant from the principles of the audiolingual classroom in which student talk was managed skillfully by the teacher to be rapidly and

strategically distributed across the classroom...This preoccupation with the *distribution* of talk continues to be hallmark of English-speaking Western TESOL (emphasis in original).

Holliday further argues that what has changed from the audiolingual classroom to the communicative classroom is a shift from a more obvious to more subtle form of control. This resonates with Fairclough's (1992: 1-2) argument that there have occurred changes in the ways in which power is exercised and the shift from more explicit to more implicit exercise of power means on a macro-societal level. This implies that routinized discourse practices become more and more important in sustaining and reproducing power relations on localized forms of micro-level classroom interaction. As Pennycook (2000: 93) convincingly argues, "[i]f we see the micro-politics of the classroom, as reflecting and constructing the social structure, we can start to see how social relations are reproduced in daily classroom interactions". Undoubtedly, how students act against and resist these practices is always significant. Students resisted the above-described turn-taking mechanism in two observable ways: verbal denial of the requested answer and silence as a response to requests for participation<sup>19</sup>. The first two of the following extracts exemplify the verbal denial of the requested answer, while the last three silence as a response to participation requests:

**Extract 36 (Appendix 8/File 13)**

*T: yes. Ali do you want to answer the other one?*

*Ali: no.*

*T: all right?*

*Ali: no.*

**Extract 37 (File 8)**

*T: next one. next one Bilge.*

*Bilge: no.*

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<sup>19</sup> See Candela (1999) for a thorough discussion of these strategies in science classes.

*T: Elif.*

*Elif: no answer.*

*T: no. Ash?*

**Extract 38 (Appendix 8/ File 9)**

*T: I have..I have bought five newspapers this week...let's say this month, it is better. I have bought five newspapers this month. which tense is this? past simple? yes?*

*LL: ((no answer))*

*T: I have bought- I have bought five newspapers this month. past simple?*

**Extract 39 (Appendix 8/ File 9)**

*T: yes, Ben has just been to Egypt. number 2. Cemil. Cemil, yes? your name is Cemil?*

*Cemil: yes.*

*T: ok, number 2.*

*((No answer))*

*T: who doesn't like writing compositions?*

**Extract 40 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*T: today I have punished 4 students so far. yes? maybe I'll punish more. because we still have another- how many minutes?*

*LL: ((no answer))*

*T: an hour. we have one more hour. [ so I am going to be- I am going to be with students for one more hour. so maybe I'll punish more students. this is why I am using present perfect.*

In addition to the verbal denial of the requests for participation, silence, which has long been defined negatively as the absence of speech (Mesthrie et.al., 2000: 186), has obviously significance for the construction of classroom power relations. Several studies have reported on the use and functions of silence in various speech situations.

Fairclough (1989: 136) underlines the role of silence as a tool for the less powerful participant, particularly as a way of being noncommittal about what more powerful participants say. Similarly, in her study on relationships of power in science classes in an elementary school in Mexico City, Candela (1999: 154) discusses that silence is used by students as a way to reject the teacher's insistence for participation. Tannen (1985, in Mesthrie et al. 2000: 188-190), in her study on New York Jewish style of speaking, interprets silence in terms of politeness theory and argues that silence is often a form of negative politeness-not imposing on others, and it may also be perceived as an absence of positive politeness, by not satisfying the needs of others for attention and involvement. Similarly, here, the students use silence as a strategy to act against, that is, to resist the underlying participation rules.

"Talk is asymmetrical when rights and duties of speaking are unequally distributed" notes van Lier (1996: 181). Yet, the more symmetrical those rights and obligations are, despite the teacher's greater knowledge of content, the more dialogical the nature of the talk may become; the less authoritarian, in the sense of commanding and directing, the teacher is, the more exploratory the interaction may become (van Lier, 1996: 180-185). On the whole, the less the constraints that govern classroom interaction are, the more dialogical it may become-which is often the ultimate objective of language teaching. Otherwise, students' creativity in terms of interactional and discursive strategies is stifled.

### **3.5. Questioning as a Genre**

*"classroom observation shows, pupils typically ask as few  
ten questions each per annum; teachers may ask 10,000 in a  
year."*

*(Young, 1992: 101)*

*“One reason for the prevalence of questioning is undoubtedly the control which it gives the teacher over the discourse.”*

*(Ellis, 1994: 586-587)*

*“What sort of world do we want? What sort of problem-solving approaches do we want the next generation to have?”*

*(Young, 1992: 121)*

Research suggests that questioning is quite prevalent in language classrooms. Second/foreign language researchers have examined the functions and contributions of teacher questions and much of the research has focused on developing taxonomies to account for their types (Ellis, 1994: 587). These taxonomies have distinguished questions according to form, pedagogical function, cognitive level as well as their communicative value and orientation (Ibid.). One of the well-known taxonomy of the functions of teachers' questions is as follows:

**Table 8: A taxonomy of the functions of teachers' questions**

(taken from Ellis, 1994: 588)

| Type        | Sub-category             | Example                                             |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Echoic    | a comprehension checks   | All right?; OK?; Does everyone understand 'polite'? |
|             | b clarification requests | What do you mean?; I don't understand; What?        |
|             | c confirmation checks    | S: Carefully<br>T: Carefully?;<br>Did you say 'he'? |
| 2 Epistemic | a referential            | Why didn't you do your homework?                    |
|             | b display                | What's the opposite of 'up' in English?             |
|             | c expressive             | It's interesting the different opportunities        |

Having been informed by the assumption that second/foreign language learning will be enhanced if the questions result in active learner participation and meaning negotiation, researchers have not always recognized that its prevalence makes the coding of individual questions problematic a degree (Ibid. p. 589). Richards and Lockhart (1996: 185) suggests the reasons underlying the prevalence of questioning as follows:

- They stimulate and maintain student interest.
- They encourage students to think and focus on the content of the lesson.
- They enable a teacher to clarify what a student has said.
- They enable a teacher to elicit particular structures or vocabulary.
- They enable teachers to check students' understanding.
- They encourage student participation.

Having seen the complexities governing various aspects of classroom interaction, it becomes pretty difficult to ascribe all these positive contributions to questioning on its own, though. Yet, as Young (1992: 99) argues, one general dimension to the function of questioning- at least questions that seek answers, is to find out what another person knows, thinks or feels. Regarding the structure of questioning, behavioral research suggests that the IRF exchange, which, in the case of questioning, involves teachers asking students questions requiring them to display, applies to the questioning in classrooms. If we take authority and power relations as locus, it is usually the teacher who takes the agent role which governs official control over conduct and correctness of content (Ibid. p. 101). Informed by the critical theory, as developed by Habermas, and Halliday's aspects of contexts of situation, Young (1992: 98) argues that, even within the very structure of IRF, there are several functionally and educationally quite different genres of teacher questioning. Fairclough (1995: 14) defines a genre as a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity such as

interview and narrative. Such a way of using language involves, in the terms of Halliday, specifics of field-what social practices are referred to and how they are signified, of voice- who the participants are, and how they are constructed, of style-how participant relations are constructed, and of mode- what forms of textualization and of text-context relations apply (Ibid.). These particular facets constitute the configurations of genres (Ibid.).

What Young (1992: 98-115) argues is then that there are basically four types of questioning genres in classrooms, each of which has a different configuration of the values of field/tenor/mode:

- Reproduction questioning (What Do Pupils Know)
- Inductive Questioning (Guess What Teacher Thinks)
- Finding-out (occurs when something about the students is needed to be known for administrative purposes)
- Discursive Questioning (seeks to engage the students in the discourse)

Young (Ibid.) further discusses that while reproduction questioning, Inductive Questioning, and Finding-out genres are quite prevalent, discursive questioning is found in only a small percentage of classrooms. When seen in this way, the data suggests that what characterizes content feed-back stages in terms of questioning genre is reproduction questioning. To focus on questioning this time, two of the extracts given in the previous section are reproduced here:

**Extract 41 (Appendix 8/File 28)**

*T: shh! all right. so read number 1 again.*

*Cem: you are Joe's sister, aren't you?*

*T: you are Joe's sister, aren't you? number 2, Devrim.*

*Devrim: uh Devrim tamam. it is a lovely day, isn't it?*

*T: ok. it is a lovely day, isn't it? Bilge.*

**Extract 42 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

*T: who wants to read number two?*

*Sanem: uh: [uh uh!*

*Onur: [ me me me[*

*T: [ok, look! everyone is going to read, just put your hands up if you want to answer the question.*

*Ceren: Sarah said to Paul I will buy a car today. she said that she would buy a car that day. she told him that she would buy a car that day.((selected by the teacher's eye gaze))*

The task (field) of the teacher is to discover if students know, if they can use question tags, and that of the students is to show they can(not). The agent role (tenor) of the teacher is to distribute turns, since the students completed the questions during the individual seat-work stage the teacher does not repeat the questions, to refer to the number of questions, and to let pupils know if their answers are correct. The role of the students is to answer the question when the turn is allocated to them, or to bid for a chance to answer, as is the case in the second extract. Then, the social distance (mode) is high.

As regards the up-front teaching stage during which the teacher also often asks a lot of questions, as the following extract illustrates, it is the inductive questioning that characterizes its genre.

**Extract 43 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

*T: what is the day today? tuesday?*

*LL: tuesday.*

*T: here we have monday. here we have wednesday thursday friday saturday sunday. ok? so this is one week. yes?*

Cem: yes!

T: so this is now, **today. we are here now, ok?**

L: yes.

T: on Monday, I spent...I spent 20 lira, today I spent[ today I spent 30 lira[ **has this week finished yet?**=

L: [((unint))

Onur: [((unint))

Cem: =no:!=

T: = no, so I use present perfect. I have spent...[

Cem: [thirty[

L: [elli elli

T: 50 liras so far. **so far? until now, ok?** so far means until now.

Cem: şimdiye kadar. şu ana kadar.

LL: ok.

T: until now. so I have spent 50 liras so far this week. [**has this week finished yet?**

L: [((unint))

T: no! this week. listen? because if you don't listen you don't understand. Ali? listen because if you don't listen you won't understand. **I have spent 50 liras so far this week this week hasn't finished yet. this is why I use present perfect. this is why we use present perfect.** but? last [week...last week?... Onur! I don't wanna hear your voice.

The task of the teacher, on this particular occasion, is to get students identify and reproduce previously learnt content and lead them further inquiry; while that of the students is to think what the teacher is getting at and to join in. The agent role of the teacher is to lead students to inductive conclusions, which would at the end make them see the difference between simple past and present perfect tenses (see File 9 in Appendix 8 for the following interactions in this stage); while that of the student is to take up the clues and infer the conclusion. The social distance between students is still high, but less

than it is during reproduction questioning, as can be inferred from the fact that students self-select their turns, interrupt the teacher, and even talk simultaneously with him.

What particular genre types with what particular configurations are prioritized over others has telling implications for the construction of power relations in classrooms since, as van Dijk (1989: 28) highlights, they may specifically enact, manifest, signal, conceal, or legitimate power relations between discourse participants. What types of agent roles students and teachers have and the mode of the genre as determined as an outcome of the whole configuration of the genre manifest the social distance between the teacher and the students and the nature of the relationship between them. With respect to the findings of the present study, two commonly used questioning genres imply a high social distance between the teacher and the students. The reproduction and inductive questioning genres seem to position the teacher as the knowledge transmitter and the students as receivers and further assert the teacher's rights, as vested in his institutional power, to select and control the access to the genre. Overall, the issue of questioning is one aspect of the micro-politics of the classroom and has implications what roles students are socialized in the classroom. To conclude with the introductory quotation of this section, it suggests very implications for such questions as: "What sort of world do we want?" and "What sort of problem-solving approaches do we want the next generation to have?" (Young, 1992: 121).

### **3.6. Use of Students' First Language as a Resource**

*The English language classroom, as idealized in the discourses of Western ELT theory, is not a place in which languages can be freely used and exchanged but rather has come to reflect a dogmatic belief in a monolingualist approach to language learning (Pennycook, 1994: 169).*

Learners' use of L1 in ESL and EFL classrooms has long been a contested issue in ELT. The assumption that the use of learners' first language interferes with and hampers the learning of English has passed into the realms of pedagogical common sense and professional orthodoxy (Canagarajah, 1999:126). This monolingual fallacy, as Phillipson (1992: 185) put it, holds the belief that the teaching of English as a second or foreign language should be entirely through the medium of English in order to maximize the learning of the language, irrespective of whatever other languages the learner may know. Accordingly, language teaching methods have constantly supported the belief in monolingual English teaching and maintained the proscription of any other language in the classroom as a rigid dogma (Pennycook, 1994: 169).

Yet, in line with the critical approaches to ELT, there has been a recent shift in understanding the role of L1 in second/foreign language learning contexts where L1 is no more seen as a long-cursed obstacle but rather as a strategy or resource that both teachers and learners can utilize (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 2001). Research shows that L1 use reduces affective barriers, by increasing students' openness to learning English (Auerbach, 1993) and serving as a we-code to create solidarity between teachers and students (Canagarajah, 1995). On the use of L1 in ESL classes, Canagarajah (1999) also reports that it performs various useful functions for classroom management and transmission of lesson content. Flexibility in the use of L1, Cook (1999) discusses, might help teachers in managing the class, giving instructions, conveying meaning, and explaining grammar.

The present study aligns with the view that L1 use in ELT contexts can promote second/foreign language learning/teaching processes and therefore explores the instances where the teacher and the students interactively and effectively utilize L1. Although the official medium of classroom interaction and instruction is English, the instances reported below show that occasional and appropriate use of L1 can serve to

facilitate and maximize comprehension, capture attention, emphasize and clarify a point, and manage the proper progression of the lesson.

On certain occasions, the use of Turkish was subtly encouraged by the teacher to provide single-word definitions for specific vocabulary which would otherwise be difficult for learners to grasp in English. The following extract is from a lesson about making comparisons in English. Having studied different forms and structures used for making comparisons in previous classes, students are asked to complete a worksheet. Before starting, the teacher provides an example and urges students to be careful when comparing the quantity and actions as they require changes in form. However, it is observed that students have had some difficulties in using these two different forms accurately both during individual and whole-class work. At one point when the nominated student cannot give the correct answer (line 289), the teacher repeats his explanation and proceeds to ask another student to give a definition of the word ‘quantity’, which he uses as a key word to explain the difference between two structures, and receives the equivalent Turkish word as a response:

**Extract 44 (Appendix 8/File 19)**

[288] T: *yes Ali.*

[289] Ali: *Helen has a lot of money. Kate doesn't have much money*

[290] T: *[here we are comparing the quantity! Elif? what is quantity?*

[291] Elif: *er: quantity **miktar**.*

[292] Ali: ***miktar** much money.*

[293] T: *yes yes, much many. so?*

[294] Ali: *so Kate doesn't have as much money as Helen.*

Apparently, the aim of the first explanation provided by the teacher (line 90) is to clarify and exemplify the structural differences to be considered when comparing quantity and

action. However, his high-level metalanguage (i.e. comparative quantity and comparative action), which students may not be familiar with, makes his explanation difficult to understand, namely, inaccessible for students. The potential of his explanation to facilitate learning is thus stifled. His explanation does not even attract the attention of particular students as is evident in his closing statements of “anyway, I am going to come round and help you. stop playing. who needs help?” The second instance cited above, conversely, shows that direct translation of certain vocabulary items which belong to teacher’s metalanguage might ease students’ comprehension and, thus, provides them with easy access to teacher’s explanations. The one-word translation (line 291) is followed by the nominated student’s first response displaying understanding (line 292) and then the correct answer (line 294). The teacher proceeds thereafter to use the Turkish word ‘miktar’ instead of ‘quantity’ as a clue when students have any difficulty in forming a correct sentence. In this case, those metalanguage items, which are used as a means of clarifying a grammatical point, do not make students understand and use them. The use of L1, however, seems to be more effective in the sense that it economizes on efforts to that end. By extension, what this case implies is that translations of certain items in teacher’s metalanguage into students’ first language and its strategic use as a clue during the succeeding elicitation moves have the potential to maximize student comprehension and thus promote accuracy.

On another occasion when there goes on a whole-class discussion on the time-markers used with simple past tense and present perfect tense, the teacher elaborates on the meaning of the word ‘so far’ and asks students to confirm their comprehension but fails to elicit any verbal indication of comprehension except for a response by one of the students who provides the equivalent Turkish word:

**Extract 45 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

[82] T: 50 liras so far. so far? until now, ok? so far means until now.

[83] Cem: *şimdiye kadar. şu ana kadar.*

[84] LL: *ok.*

[85] T: *until now. so I have spent 50 liras so far this week. has this week finished yet?*

What is noteworthy here is that it is that response (line 83) which creates immediate recognition and receives verbal confirmation of comprehension (line 84). Student's self-initiated response in Turkish does not attract any opposition by the teacher, though it does at some other times as will be illustrated in following parts, and the above use of L1 is spontaneously and interactively achieved by the teacher and the students.

Another instance where the teacher subtly encourages a contribution in Turkish comes from an opening stage of another lesson. To put a note, it should be mentioned that this situation is different from the previous ones in the sense that it doesn't serve to facilitate the teaching/learning processes. At the very beginning of the class, as he hands out a worksheet including a list of prospective questions to be asked in the forthcoming oral exam, the teacher initiates twice to inform the students about the coverage of the worksheet but is interrupted by students on both occasions. At his third attempt, he elicits the meaning of the term oral assessment in Turkish:

**Extract 46 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

[16] T: *now I have checked your homework too. this...this is for your oral assessment- what is oral assesment?*

[17] İrem: **sözlü.**

[18] T: *so study it. study it.*

[19] İrem: *[ha: evet.*

[20] LL: *[(unint)]*

[21] Sanem: *[not homework?*

[22] T: *no:?[this is for you to study. these questions are going to come.*

[23] Sanem: *[ha okay.*

The utterance of the equivalent Turkish word for oral assessment seems to have attracted the attention of students as is evident in the following question-answer exchange (lines 21-23) which is initiated by another student to clarify the point that it is not given as homework but preparation for the exam. Emphasis is thus attained in the sense that the translation of a single word into students' first language tends to single out what the students should focus on and thus captures their attention much more easily.

While in the instances reported above the use of L1 is encouraged by the teacher subtly or incidentally, there were also other where teacher encouragement was far more explicit and framed. Having studied the differences in use between simple past tense and present perfect tense, the students are working on a worksheet which asks them to use the correct forms in response to the situations given in the worksheet:

**Extract 47 (Appendix 8/File 9)**

[602] T: *you need help, ok. you need help.*

[603] T: *situation. you are sitting at home, ready to go out. your friend is still upstairs. your friend is still getting ready. you have lost your patience. where is he? where is he? so you are waiting, he is still upstairs, getting ready. the party has started. so what do you say?*

*((No answer.))*

[604] T: *haven't you finished yet? haven't you finished yet?*

[605] Elif: *have you*

[606] T: *[have you finished? no, haven't you finished yet? think in Turkish. they are the same.*

[607] T: *so you say have you finished or haven't you finished?*

[608] İrem: *have you finished?*

[609] T: *but you are waiting. all right. because you have been waiting you say? come on.*

[610] Bilge: ***bitirdinmedin mi hala?***

[611] T: *haven't you finished yet?*

In the above example, as is evident in his opening statements (line 602), the teacher helps a couple of students upon their request. He starts with reading the situation given in the worksheet and then reinforces the contextual details to elicit a negative question in present perfect. However, he fails and the students insist on a positive question. At one point, he explicitly encourages them to think in Turkish. In line 610, then, the translation of the whole sentence into Turkish by one of the students clarifies the point, the students start laughing, and the teacher shifts to another student. In this case, where the teacher has some difficulties in eliciting the correct form with limited contextual clues, the use of L1 helps students to clarify the point and results in the proper progression of the lesson.

A similar instance where the teacher visibly encourages students to draw on their L1 resources occurs in the following interaction which focuses on the notion of time and place in reported speech:

**Extract 48 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

[28] T: *in reported speech certain words some words change when you are reporting them to someone else. for example, tomorrow changes to the next day, yesterday changes to the day before, here changes to there, for example. yesterday, Onur, for instance.*

...

[32] T: *I will play here, so here changes to there when I am reporting it. yesterday I saw Onur, Onur said to me I will play here[*

[33] Cem: *[he told to me he would play there.*

[34] Ali: *direct.*

[35] T: *yes.*

[36] T: *so he told me that, he told me that[*

- [37] L: *[I will play[*
- [38] Cem: *[he would play there.*
- [39] T: *he?*
- [40] Cem: *he would play there he would play there.*
- [41] T: *he will changes to?*
- [42] LL: *would.*
- [43] Cem: *would play there.*
- [44] T: *would play there. all right?*
- [45] LL: *yeah.*
- [46] Cem: *neden here değil?*
- [47] T: *sorry?*
- [48] Cem: *why here?*
- [49] T: *because it changes, it is the same in Turkish I am sure.*
- [50] T: *is it? the same in Turkish?*
- [51] LL: *yeah.*
- [52] T: *yeah. all right. I will play here, Turkish? I will play here. who wants to translate it to Turkish?*
- [53] Alp: *I will play here or[*
- [54] T: *[listen! quiet!*
- [55] Devrim: ***burada oynayacağım.***
- [56] T: *ok, so what did Onur tell you? yesterday=*
- [57] Cem: *=burada oynayacağını söyledi.*
- [58] Devrim: *burada oynayacağını söyledi.*
- [59] T: *you are saying **burda** in Turkish yes? you said it twice. yes?*
- [60] Devrim: ***orda oynayacağını söyledi.***

The teacher initially introduces some of the expressions of time and place that change when reporting speech and then goes on with exemplification in which the students participate actively with flawless responses. Yet, in line 46, one of the students asks

‘why isn’t it here’ in Turkish meaning that why they have to change ‘here’ into ‘there’. Following the teacher’s response displaying incomprehension, the student asks the same question in English this time. At that point, the teacher encourages them to think in Turkish and proceeds to ask them for translations of those sentences (lines 49-50, 52). One of the students translates the direct speech as it is (line 55), but, when asked to translate the reported statement, their first responses are ‘he said he would play here’ with no change in time expression (lines 57-58). Responding to them, the teacher checks if they have used the same time expression ‘here/burda’ in both instances. What follows is another response in Turkish successfully changing the time expression here to there as is required (line 60). In this situation, where the teacher provides decontextualized grammatical rules, the students successfully explore usage of these forms in a comparative perspective.

There appears another instance where the teacher explicitly encourages students to translate an English utterance into Turkish while going through the comparisons-worksheet cited above. The worksheet requires students to rewrite the sentences given so they have the same meaning by using comparatives, superlatives, and as/as:

**Extract 49 (Appendix 8/File 19)**

[213] T: *yes. you learn more quickly than me. and the other one? as as one?*

[214] İrem: *you don’t learn as quickly as me.*

[215] T: *you learn more quicklier- more quickly than me. [I don’t! I don’t. yeah?*

[216] Cem: *[I don’t.*

[217] T: *İrem translate it into Turkish.*

[218] LL: *İrem!*

[219] T: *sen yeah?*

[220] İrem: *sen benden daha hızlı öğreniyorsun.*

[221] T: *and this one? you are going to use **kadar**.*

[222] İrem: *benim kadar hızlı- ben senin kadar hızlı öğrenemiyorum.*

*[223] T: can we say you in Turkish? you understand the meaning?*

*[224] İrem: ok.*

*[225] T: so we say you learn more quickly than me. I don't learn as quickly as you. all right?*

The prompt given for this exercise is 'I learn quickly. You learn very quickly'. From the prompt provided the student is expected to infer that 'if you learn more quickly than me, then this means I don't learn as quickly as you do'. However, the student gives the answer of 'you don't learn as quickly as me'. Following this exchange, the student is asked to translate the sentence into Turkish. In line 220, the students translate the sentence of 'you learn more quickly than me' and then, in his following move (line 221), the teacher asks the student to translate the other sentence by using the Turkish word 'kadar' which is used for comparisons of equality as a clue. In response, the student starts with an exact translation of her wrong answer, but stops halfway and goes on with 'ben senin kadar hızlı öğrenemiyorum' which means 'I can't learn as quickly as you'. Although the student uses the modal 'can' instead of simple present tense in her translation, the teacher does not correct it probably because the focus is on the appropriate use of subject pronoun and his following comprehension check is acknowledged. In this example, the student notices the flawed inference she made from the prompt by drawing upon her L1. By doing so, the student detects the problem that hinders her accurate use of appropriate English form more readily.

In addition to the instances reported above where the teacher subtly or actively encourages L1 use, there were also some other cases where he capitalized on student-student interactions in Turkish about the lesson content. In the following example, while studying reported speech, the teacher initially explains the difference between the reporting verbs say and tell:

**Extract 50 (Appendix 8/File 28)**

[151] T: he was tired. look! no quotation marks. no quotation marks. this is one sentence. he said that he was tired but when we use tell, all right? we say he told her. here we don't use who he told it too, all right? but here he told her. if you gonna use tell you must say who that person told that too. so he told her that, he told her that he was tired.

[152] Cem: **aynı şekilde.**

[153] T: **Cem it is not the same.**

[154] Cem: yes. nerden anladı?

[155] T: is the same aynı?

[156] Cem: aynı yani.

[157] T: it is not. it is not. this one is saying he said he was tired and this one is saying he told her he was tired. here I am saying who he told this too[

[158] Cem: [hı: anladım.

[159] T: yeah?

[160] Cem: I understand.

[161] T: yeah? good.

Although he explains the difference between two reporting verbs, one of the students subsequently comments 'the same' in Turkish speaking to another student. Having grasped the meaning of that utterance in Turkish as native-speaker teacher, the teacher seizes the opportunity to catch an instance of incomprehension and thus re-explain and reinforce the item taught. Obviously the teacher's direct response to him (i.e. 'Can it is not the same') has had a startling effect on the student as is evident in his following utterance 'how come he has understood me?' in Turkish (lines 153-154), and thereafter he responds in Turkish (lines 156, 158). However, the teacher keeps using English for his turns and, by doing so, re-maintains the use of English (lines 159-161). In this situation, the teacher's knowledge of students' L1 as a native speaker of English, even though it is quite limited, helps him to detect the flaws in understanding lesson content.

In addition to the interactively constructed ways of L1 use between the teacher and the students, cases of student-student interaction in L1 were also evident. It has been observed that, in these particular instances of student collaboration, students, not prompted by their teacher to do so, offer assistance to other students by translating or clarifying teacher's instructions and explanations, and sometimes prompt correct answers.

In the following instance, where the students work on a worksheet about reported speech individually, one of the students finds a mistake in the worksheet and shows it to the teacher. Acknowledging the mistake, the teacher attempts to announce the other students that they need to change 'They said to him "I have been to the cinema this week"' to 'They said to him "We have been to the cinema this week"':

**Extract 51 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

[145] T: *ah: yes! good good good good. number 3! they said to [him*

[146] İrem: *[I have been[*

[147] T: *[we have been! we!*

[148] L: *we?*

[149] Cem: ***çünkü they diyor they.***

His act of announcing (line 145) is interrupted by another student (line 146) but he takes the floor back and completes his sentence by providing the corrected version only (line 147). Obviously, one of the students loses track of the teacher's announcement and his/her request for clarification is met by another student's explanation in Turkish 'because it is they'. Then, they go on with their work. On another occasion, while they are going through a fill-in-the-blanks worksheet on simple past tense and present perfect tense, the teacher nominates one of the students to do next exercise:

### **Extract 52 (Appendix 8/File 10)**

[56] T: *can we say I spent? no! if this one was last week then I say I spent but it is this week and this week hasn't finished yet. so I have spent 500 dollars this week. number 21. Ali, 21.*

[57] Ali: *twenty one.*

[58] İrem: **yirmibir.** ((whispering to Ahmet.))

[59] Ali: *I was in London at 4 o'clock.*

[60] T: *I was in London at 4 o'clock. can I say I have been in London at 4 o'clock?*

[61] LL: */no no/*

[62] T: *no. ok, good. this is a- this is a definite [time. ok. next one.*

[63] Cem: **[belirli.**

[64] T: *Kadir.*

In response to the teacher's elicitation move, the student repeats the number of the exercise (line 57) to gain time so he can find it in his worksheet as he is not following it at the moment. At that moment, the student sitting in front of her tells him the number of the exercise in Turkish (line 58) and he reads the correct answer (59). Although it seems to be trivial, this peer support helps the proper progression of the lesson. During the succeeding moves of the teacher, further, another student translates the word 'definite' into Turkish without any prompt by the teacher (line 63). It is also significant in the sense that that particular word chosen by the student to translate is quite to the point as it is a key word that the teacher uses to explain why it is to be simple past tense but not present perfect tense.

All the sampled instances reported above indicate that students' first language may find a place in foreign language teaching/learning processes with some pedagogically useful consequences. From those of instances of peer-support through their L1, which directly relates to the content of the lesson or the activity involved, it becomes clear that students sometimes use their first language in contributory ways, rather than disruptively, to the

progression of lesson. Furthermore, the above uses of L1, which are encouraged by the teacher, show some ways in which students' L1 has been utilized effectively within classroom activities. Allowing the translation of single words and sentences into students' first language seems to be the most evidently used strategy. Yet, it is important to make the point here that even a single way of L1 use such as translating certain vocabulary items or sentences can serve various functions such as facilitation of comprehension, attention getting or clarifying a point. Needless to say, further research is needed into effective ways of L1 use in second/foreign language learning/teaching contexts. The incidents reported here all address to the limited use of Turkish in very controlled situations such as grammar exercises. However, they are still suggestive in terms of having a critical discussion of the rigid 'native speaker' and 'target language' oriented approaches to second/foreign language education.

One must also be careful not to read learners' use of L1 in one direction only. While reporting the findings of his ethnographic research in ESL classes in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah (1999:142) indicates that teachers reduce or heighten their power by moving in or out of Tamil and express their mutual Tamil community membership with the students by switching to Tamil. However, in an EFL context, where there isn't any official status and historicity attached to English, students' use of their first language in the presence of a native-speaker teacher of English, with limited or no access to it, might have implications for the construction of power relations different from those for ESL contexts. In cases, where students' first language is not a shared code with the teacher, its excessive or purposeful use by students may serve to exercise power on teacher or function as a means of student resistance.

From the field notes and transcriptions of the lessons, for instance, it can be inferred that students frequently use Turkish to criticize and challenge teacher's directives and even sometimes the activities they are told to do. It can be illustrated by an instance where the

teacher selects two students and make them ask questions to each other at the board so that they can report their questions and answers:

**Extract 53 (Appendix 8/File 30)**

[246] T: *[repeat repeat. what did I tell you?*

[247] Ceren: *what did I tell you?*

[248] Devrim: **Niye ikiniz birbirinize ne söyledim diye soruyorsunuz?**

[249] LL: */laughs/*

[250] Cem: *she told me that[*

[251] T: *[ok, you are speaking with her now.*

[252] Cem: *you told me that you would buy a car that day.*

In the above-mentioned instance, students initially ask and answer questions and then report them to each other so that they can understand when and how they use reported speech. However, one of the students asks ‘why are you two asking each other what you have said?’ in Turkish and the others immediately starts laughing (lines 248-249). The student apparently finds the activity meaningless and expresses his opinion in Turkish. In a way, he doesn’t challenge the teacher directly but does so indirectly by using his first language.

All the instances reported above have been explored here primarily focusing on the role of students’ L1 use, though there might be other factors involved. Overall, in sharp contrast to those settings where the teacher and students share a common first language, in some other contexts where the teacher and the students do speak a common language other than English, as in the EFL classes with a native speaker of English, students might use their first language as a we-code among themselves and, in turn, exclude the teacher from their shared community.

## CONCLUSIONS and IMPLICATIONS

*“Close your eyes and imagine ESL classroom. My guess is that the picture in your mind’s eye includes a teacher, a group of learners, some desks, chairs, a blackboard, books, papers, four walls, and a door. Have you drawn anything outside the walls of the classroom? Are there any visible ways in which power relations of power or authority show up in your picture?” (Auerbach, 1995: 9)*

This quotation from Auerbach represents one of the starting points for my interest in how power relations are constructed across the specifics of classroom interaction. Auerbach shows how ESL/EFL classrooms are often perceived to be self-contained, autonomous systems, free from power relations and politics as they are generally seen as inherent in macro-level issues. Namely, the walls of EFL/ESL classrooms are considered to be impermeable. Yet, critical approaches to ELT argue that there is a complex interplay between classrooms and the outside world, and that classrooms are not so much reflection of the outside world, but rather part of the outside world, and in fact play a role in how the outside world operates (Pennycook, 2000: 92). From this perspective, the walls of classrooms become permeable. Dynamics of power are seen to be permeating the fabric of classroom life, including the content, materials, activities, language use, and the like. Pedagogical choices and practices, which appear to be informed by apolitical considerations, are seen to be political in nature. The first chapter discussed that while the unprecedented global spread of English, which is bound up with many cultural, economic and political forces, is accepted as natural, neutral and beneficial; it has already become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions. With English taking up such a crucial position, the privileging of standard English over non-standard varieties of English, native speakers over non-native speakers, the positivist research

orientation over others in the grand discourse of ELT, as well as its the prevailing conception of education as a technical undertaking and the long-lasting focus on finding the right method has called into question. “Like it or not, English teachers stand at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural, and political issues of our time”, thus, noted James Gee (1994: 190, in Pennycook, 2000: 103). That is why, Pennycook (1995: 55) argues, “as applied linguists and English language teachers we should become political actors engaged in a critical pedagogical project to use English to oppose the dominant discourses of the West and to help the articulation of counter-discourses in English”. Auerbach (1995: 30) calls out that “individual actions and changes must be seen in the context of a larger struggle between perspectives; this means recognizing that change is a long process that may start with rearranging seats, using grammar exercises to find out about housing problems, initiating dialogue journals, or debating the role of the first language in the classroom”.

Within this climate of concern, this study has drawn its theoretical inspiration from critical pedagogy and its attendant theoretical basis that have recently become indispensably relevant to the teaching of English. The present study views English language teaching as a political field which is not free from power relations operating at both macro and micro levels. Asserting Foucauldian lines that (1) power is everywhere and circulates (2) power is not possessed but exercised, (3) power is not always repressive but also productive, and, finally (4) there are no relations of power without resistances, this study aligns with the view that power is an inescapable constant in pedagogy and power is not exclusively exercised by teacher upon students, rather, it is an ongoing negotiation by all concerned (Gore, 1998a).

Having accepted that there is always a considerable theoretical basis for investigating society, this study has built upon critical ethnography, critical discourse analysis, and classroom discourse analysis to explore, analyze and interpret the micro-level workings of power relations across classroom interaction in an EFL setting. The study was carried

out in a private elementary school located in central İstanbul. Having received the consent from the Ministry of Education, the participants, that is, the teacher and the students, were selected on a voluntary basis. Throughout the study, false names were used to hide the identities of the participants. The class observed was a year-7 EFL class with 14 students. The teacher was a native speaker of English. The data base consists of ethnographic notes, interviews, and audio recordings made while observing the class over 57 class hours during the 2007-2008 academic year.

The data analysis and interpretation has focused on the organization of classroom space, control of bodies, interactional routines and participation rights, the workings of directing and questioning, and the use of students' first language as a resource so as to describe how power relations are constructed across classroom interaction. This section outlines the conclusions that are drawn from the study with particular reference to the analysis in the preceding chapter.

To start with, three basic instructional stages- up-front teaching stage, individual seat-work stage and content feed-back stage, with their own rules and rights for participation and interaction, were evident in the EFL class observed for this study. High teacher surveillance in the sense that the teacher monitors every move and utterance of students, though being observable at all stages, was prevailing especially during individual seat-work stages. Surveillance was expressed not only in the teacher's corrective monitoring and supervising but also in the Panoptic organization of the classroom space. High surveillance, on the most surface level, seemed to serve the teacher to keep students more on-task and less engaged in off-task activities. Similarly, the lack of surveillance was perceived to cause students to involve with off-task activities by the teacher. Yet, a critical discourse analysis of the teacher's interview has revealed that his justification for high surveillance and strict control of students' acts and talk was based on common-sense ideological assumptions rather than pedagogical ones. Having seen this, it was difficult to determine the function of high surveillance to keep students on-task as

productive. As regards student resistance, there were instances where students didn't comply with the rules for and ways of completing their worksheets as demanded by the teacher, where they could act according to their own wishes rather than the teacher's. What is of significance here is that what was required to be done was done by the students, but not always in the ways the teacher expected them to. Namely, the opposition seemed to be to those strict rules defined by the teacher but not to the task itself. The control of classroom space and students' movements has also been found to extend to the seating arrangement. Where students sat in the classroom was usually a matter of negotiation, a form of punishment and reward. According to the teacher, the distribution of students across the classroom space as he demanded helped him control the flow of the lesson, by avoiding disruptions. Yet, student resistance was highly observable in the case of distributive power techniques, too. Overall, the strict control of classroom space and students' actions through surveillance and distribution did not always bring about expected pedagogical outcomes but obviously made behavior control, rather than teaching/learning, the central focus of teacher work. It obviously perpetuated the asymmetrical power relations between the teacher and the students in the sense of unequal distribution of rights and obligations.

As far as the work of directing, in the sense of both telling someone what to do and controlling something, is concerned, the official work of directing verbally was that of the teacher but students also contributed to that, though often in subtle ways, through the resources available to them. There occurred two basic types of teacher directives in the class: instruction-related directives, which serve to explain to students what to do at particular instructional stages, and norm-related directives, which define and maintain classroom norms in terms of student behavior and further demand compliance. Regarding their distribution, it was found out that the norm-related directives outnumbered instruction-related directives. It was also observed that their frequency was higher during individual seat-work stages than it was during up-front teaching and content feed-back stages. Students' 'disruptive' behaviors, as perceived by the teacher,

were found to be the primary reason behind their excess during these stages. Yet, having seen their excess and the existence of those ‘disruptive’ behaviors, there were strong indications that individual seat-work worked against its own purpose. Norm-related directives were found to be highly political in the sense that they defined the opposed values of ‘normal’ and ‘not normal’ on the basis of what counted as ‘good’ and ‘bad’. With respect to student resistance to those norms, there occurred many instances where students demonstrated their indifference to teacher authority by constantly challenging them and testing their boundaries and where students asserted their own rights. The rules and norms underlying classroom order and the role that students played in their construction were constantly negotiated and redefined. And, this constant negotiation often resulted in the loss of teacher control over both the progression of the lesson and the order of the classroom discourse, which, in turn, minimized, at least to some extent, the effects of teacher’s institutional power.

In the following section, interactional routines associated with content feed-back stages with particular emphasis on the construction of power relations and students’ rights for participation, as well as how they resist the rules defined by the teacher for participation, were discussed. The content feed-back stages were often characterized by strict allocation of turns by the teacher and that turn-by-turn negotiation and competition was discouraged. The structure of content feed-back stages was mostly the IRF exchange, with the teacher allocating the turns by nominating, signaling or eye-gaze, the student selected responding, and the teacher finally evaluating student’s response, usually through repetition in the case of a correct answer, before moving onto the next question. Yet, some instances of successful student bids, where they employed a number of interactional and discursive strategies through extended sequence of interactions, though being exceptional, were also evident. Students were seen to resist these routinized interactional patterns, through verbal denial of the requested answer and silence as a response to requests for participation. These oppositional strategies employed by the students imply that they withdraw from participation in the class. Therefore, given the

reciprocal relationship between symmetry, dialogism and authoritarianism, the constraining and circumscribed nature of interactional rights and obligations may avoid students developing conversational strategies.

Then, rather than focusing on individual question types and their functions, questioning as a genre with its distinct configuration of the values of field/tenor/mode, in the way offered by Young (1992), was analyzed as used during the content feed-back and up-front teaching stages. It was observed that while it was reproduction questioning that characterized content feed-back stages, up-front teaching stages were characterized by inductive questioning. Having seen that students self-selected their turns, interrupted the teacher, and even talked simultaneously with him during up-front teaching stages, the social distance between the teacher and the students were relatively low, while it was pretty high during content feed-back stages. The analysis has shown that the lower the social distance between the teacher and the students was the more the students participated in the class.

Finally, having embraced the view that L1 use in ELT contexts can promote second/foreign language learning/teaching processes, how use of students' first language, in our case Turkish, were used as a resource rather than an obstacle was explored. Some instances where the teacher subtly or actively encouraged L1 use were observed as well as those where he capitalized on student-student interactions in Turkish about the lesson content. Moreover, cases of student-student interaction in L1 were evident. From the of instances of peer-support through their L1, which directly related to the content of the lesson or the activity involved, it became clear that students sometimes used their first language in contributory ways, rather than disruptively, to the progression of lesson. Allowing the translation of single words and sentences into students' first language, which served various functions such as facilitation of comprehension, attention getting or clarifying a point, was the most evidently used strategy by the teacher. Yet, this issue requires a note of caution. In sharp contrast to those settings where the teacher and students share a common first language, in the EFL

classes where the teacher and the students do speak a common language other than English, students might use their first language as a we-code among themselves and, in turn, exclude the teacher from their shared community.

On the whole, the following conclusions can be drawn from the findings of the present study:

- The organization of classroom space and control of student' behaviors are not merely a matter of classroom management but a defining feature of classroom interaction.
- Teacher beliefs about what counts as good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate might have revealing implications for the construction of power relations as they are. Constant assertion of teacher's institutional power may be rooted in these ideological beliefs.
- The existence of IRF exchange on its own does not account for that it is the teacher who has control over what is said and what is done.
- Rather than an analysis of individual question types, an analysis of questioning as a genre may provide more significant implications as regards the 'what's, 'how's and 'who's of the classroom discourse.
- Student resistance is produced through the use of particular and collective interactional strategies; thus, any definition of student behavior as 'disruptive' might be ideological in nature.
- Even within the highly-structured discourse situations such as content feed-back stages, as observed in this study, students develop spaces where they could act according to their own wishes.
- Teacher and student rights, obligations and roles are difficult to define as static or fixed, they are constantly negotiated and their boundaries are constantly tested out by students.
- Asymmetry does not prove to be inherent to teaching.

- Unless seen as a continuously evolving set of relations and actions, analysis of classroom power relations tend to operate in favor of the teacher's assertion and exertion of her institutional power. The quantifiable notion of power does not account for a true understanding of classroom power relations on its own.
- The roots of localized forms of classroom power relations may be rooted in common-sense naturalized beliefs, practices and theories.

As this study was concerned with the operation of power relations, the effects of classroom power relations on student learning were beyond its scope. Further, the discussion on the productiveness of power relations was limited to the degree the data allowed. There were also limitations based on the nature of the classroom observed. Three defining instructional stages, up-front teaching, individual seat-work, and content feed-back, characterizing this particular class did not allow any discussion on the workings of power relations in such other discourse situations as pair- and group-work, which might be governed by different rules, norms, routines, resources and roles. The age group of the students can also be considered as another factor in the way that power relations functioned in this particular class. How age group differences can affect the operation of power relations might be a starting point for future work. In addition, the number of the students in the class was relatively few. The functioning of power relations might differ in larger classes. These areas are awaiting further research in diverse settings. In fact, it is pretty difficult to assume that even in small classes like this one there will necessarily be similarities or commonalities. The more the research is in diverse settings, the more telling the results will likely be. Especially, the amount of research is pretty small in those contexts where there is no particular historicity and official status attached to English, like Turkey, when compared the others which do have. Most of all, the ethnographic nature of the study required the study to focus on 'depth' and thus the research setting was constrained with a single class. The study does not claim any generalizability at all. Rather, the central focus was the specificities of the micro-workings of classroom power relations.

With respect to the implications for researchers, such in-depth understanding of social phenomena obviously requires some combined approaches of methods in terms of both data collection and data analysis. The challenges, practical issues and the paths followed should be described, in research reports, as much detailed as the findings are so as to offer insights into and implications for further research. That has been one of the defining factors for the present study to give a substantial scope to the description of the research methodology as much thoroughly possible

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## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX 1

### The Consent Form from the Ministry of Education

T.C.  
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ  
İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : B.08.4.MEM.4.34.00.18.580/ 2454  
Konu: Yasemin ORAL

05 Ekim 2007

**İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ**  
**Hasan Ali Yücel Eğitim Fakültesi Dekanlığına**

- İlgi : a) Valilik Makamının 04.10.2007 tarih ve 18.580 / 2450 sayılı Oluru.  
b) Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Eğitim Araştırma ve Geliştirme Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın  
Okul ve Kurumlarda Yapılacak Araştırma ve Araştırma Desteğine Yönelik izin ve  
Uygulama Yönergesi.  
c) 14.08.2007 tarih ve 2542 sayılı yazınız.

Üniversiteniz Hasan Ali Yücel Eğitim Fakültesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Bilim Dalı Doktora Programı öğrencisi Yasemin ORAL, **"Eleştirel Pedagoji Odaklı Bir Yaklaşımla Yabancı Dil Olarak İngilizce Öğretiminde Sınıf-İçi Etkileşim"** konulu doktora tez çalışmasını 2007-2008 Eğitim Öğretim yılı içerisinde, İlimiz Şişli ilçesi FMV Özel Işıl İlköğretim okulu ve Sait Çiftçi İlköğretim Okullarında Öğrencilerle ve İngilizce Öğretmenleri ile görüşmelerde bulunmak İngilizce sınıflarında ders saatlerinde gözlem ve video kaydı yapma isteği İLGİ (a) Valilik Oluru ile uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinizi, gereğinin İLGİ (a) Valilik Oluru doğrultusunda, İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüklerinin bilgisinden sonra Okul Müdürlüklerine gerekli duyurunun Yasemin ORAL tarafından yapılmasını, işlem bittikten sonra 2 (iki) hafta içinde sonuçtan Müdürlüğümüz Kültür Bölümüne rapor halinde bilgi verilmesini arz ederim.

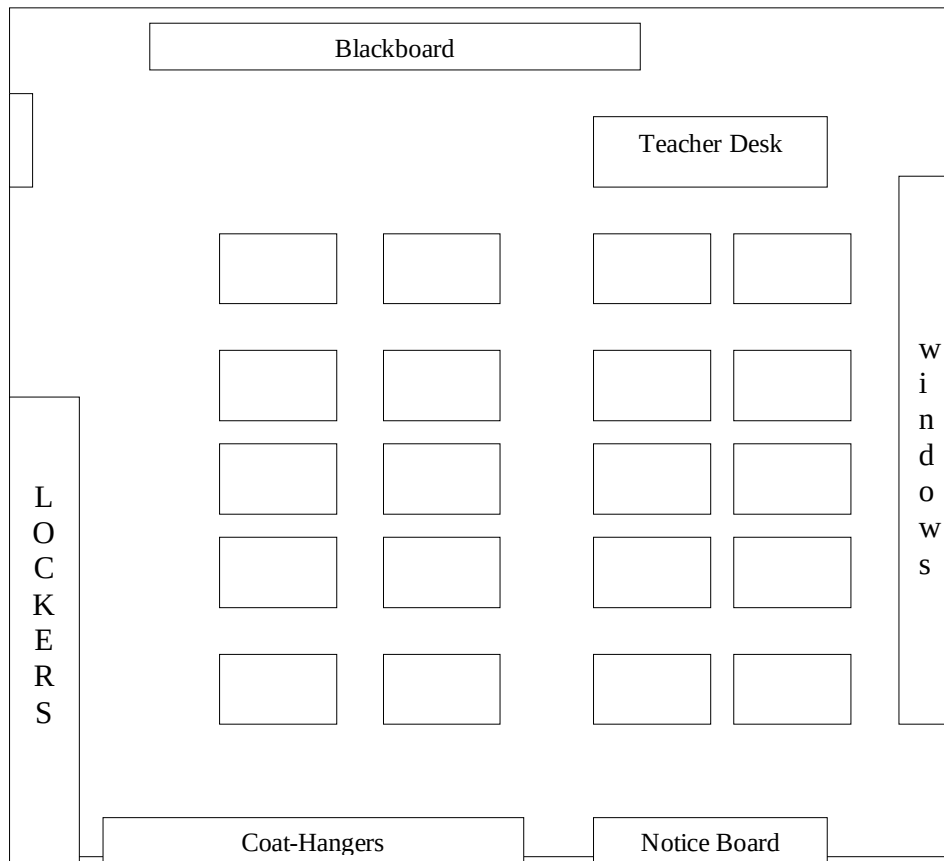
  
Erdem DEMİRCİ  
Müdür a.  
Müdür Yardımcısı

EKLER :  
Ek-1. (İLGİ(a)Valilik Oluru ve diğer dökümanlar)

NOT : Verilecek cevapta tarih, kayıt numarası, dosya numarası yazılması rica olunur.  
Adres : İstanbul Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü A.Blok Ankara cad. No:2 Cağaloğlu  
Tel. ve Fax : 212 526 13 82 İnternet : www.istanbul-meb.gov.tr E-mail : apk@istanbul-meb.gov.tr

## APPENDIX 2

### The Diagram of The Classroom



**APPENDIX 3**  
**Learner Information Forms**

**ÖĞRENCİ TANIMA FORMU**

**Doğum Yeri:**  
**Doğum Yılı:**

1. Annenizin öğrenim durumu:

İlkokul                      Ortaokul              Lise  
Üniversite                  Yüksek Lisans /Doktora

2. Babanızın öğrenim durumu:

İlkokul              Ortaokul              Lise      Üniversite              Yüksek Lisans /Doktora

3. Annenizin mesleği: .....

4. Babanızın mesleği: .....

5. Oturduğunuz semt: .....

6. Oturduğunuz ev:

Kendimizin              Kira

7. Kendinize ait bir odanız var mı?

Evet              Hayır

8. Evinizde bilgisayar var mı?

Evet              Hayır

9. Evinizde kitaplık / kütüphane var mı?

Evet              Hayır

10. Yurtdışına çıktınız mı?

Evet Hayır

11.Boş zamanlarınızda neler yapıyorsunuz?

.....  
.....  
.....

12. FMV Nişantaşı İlköğretim Okulu dışında başka bir okulda eğitim gördünüz mü?

Evet Hayır

Evet ise, okulun ismi:

.....  
... ..

13.En sevdiğiniz ders nedir?

.....  
...

14. En sevmediğiniz ders nedir?

.....  
...

11.04.2008

Teşekkür ederim.  
Yasemin  
Oral

## APPENDIX 4

### SCHEDULE OF OBSERVATIONS/RECORDINGS

#### FALL SEMESTER

Start of Fall Semester: September 17, 2007

End of Fall Semester: January 25, 2008

| DATE                      | NUMBER OF HOURS OBSERVED | RECORDED (R) / NOT RECORDED (N) | NOTES                                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| November 06, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| November 09, 2007 Friday  | -                        | -                               | No lesson because of a school trip   |
| November 13, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| November 16, 2007 Friday  | -                        | -                               | Substituted lesson                   |
| November 19, 2007 Tuesday | -                        | -                               | Substituted lesson                   |
| November 23, 2007 Friday  | -                        | -                               | Substituted lesson                   |
| November 27, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| November 30, 2007 Friday  | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| December 04, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| December 7, 2007 Friday   | 2                        | N                               |                                      |
| December 11, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| December 14, 2007 Friday  | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| December 18, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| December 21, 2007 Friday  | -                        | -                               | Public Holiday                       |
| December 25, 2007 Tuesday | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| December 28, 2007 Friday  | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| January 01, 2008 Tuesday  | -                        | -                               | Public Holiday                       |
| January 04, 2008 Friday   | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| January 08, 2008 Tuesday  | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| January 11, 2008 Friday   | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| January 15, 2008 Tuesday  | 2                        | R                               |                                      |
| January 18, 2008 Friday   | 2                        | N                               | Movie watched in the conference hall |

## SPRING SEMESTER

Start of Spring Semester: February 11, 2008

End of Spring Semester: June 13, 2008

| DATE                      | NUMBER OF HOURS OBSERVED | RECORDED (R) / NOT RECORDED (N) | NOTES                                     |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| February 12, 2008 Tuesday | 2                        | N                               | Low battery                               |
| February 15, 2008 Friday  | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| February 19, 2008 Tuesday | -                        | -                               | School closed because of snow             |
| February 22, 2008 Friday  | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| February 26, 2008 Tuesday | 1                        | R                               | Only one lesson because of a school event |
| February 29, 2008 Friday  | -                        | -                               | Observer not available                    |
| March 04, 2008 Tuesday    | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 07, 2008 Friday     | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 11, 2008 Tuesday    | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 14, 2008 Friday     | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 18, 2008 Tuesday    | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 21, 2008 Friday     | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 25, 2008 Tuesday    | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| March 28, 2008 Friday     | 2                        | R                               |                                           |
| April 01, 2008 Tuesday    | -                        | -                               | Public Speaking Contest                   |
| April 04, 2008 Friday     | -                        | -                               | Movie watched                             |
| April 08, 2008 Tuesday    | -                        | -                               | Student Forum                             |

|                          |   |   |  |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| April 11, 2008<br>Friday | 2 | R |  |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|

**TOTAL:**     41 HOURS RECORDED  
                  57 HOURS OBSERVED

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS**

#### **1st INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**

**Interviewee:** Yasemin Oral

**Date:** 22.01.2008

#### **Before beginning the interview:**

- Summarize the study.
- State the approximate time to be spent for the interview.
- Ask interviewee's permission to tape record the interview.
- Ask if the interviewee has any questions.
- State the confidentiality policy: *All information you will provide in the interview will be used only for research purposes. Your responses will not be shared with third parties. Your name and the name of your institution will never be cited.*

#### **Questions:**

1. *Can you tell me about a typical lesson as if I had never seen your lesson. Please start from when you first enter the classroom and then take me through all the activities. I am interested in everything because I want to understand things in the class from your point of view. So please feel free to give as much detail as you want.*

Topic Domain: Routine activities in the class.

Possible follow-up questions:

- Can you describe what goes on in “.....”?

2. *Can you describe your students. Please try to pretend I wasn't in the classroom at all. Can you try to tell them as if I had never seen them or as if you were making a movie about them? I am interested in finding out how you see them.*

Topic Domain: His perceptions of the students, the nature of his relationship with the students

*3. I remember you assigned them to write an essay about how to act in class a couple of weeks ago and I think you gave them the same homework previously, too. Right? Can you please tell me what exactly do you expect them to acquire? I want to understand what you think about ideal student behaviours in class. So, please don't be afraid of giving too much detail.*

Topic Domain: Norms to be confronted to in class

*4. Can you think of a recent time when you had a problem or conflict with a student about something? Can you please tell me everything that happened? Please pretend you are making a video of what occurred.*

Topic Domain: His awareness and views on the power relations and students resistance.

*5. Now this is the last week of this semester. So what do you think about the lessons you did throughout this semester- good or bad aspects? How do you evaluate this semester? Please feel free to elaborate on any issue you want.*

Topic Domain: His implicit theories and views on learning and teaching.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

**Interviewee:** Yasemin Oral

**Date:** 08. 04. 2008

### **Before beginning the interview:**

- Summarize the study.
- State the approximate time to be spent for the interview.
- Ask interviewee's permission to tape record the interview.
- Ask if the interviewee has any questions.
- State the confidentiality policy: *All information you will provide in the interview will be used only for research purposes. Your responses will not be shared with third parties. Your name and the name of your institution will never be cited.*

### **Questions:**

1. *Since I started attending your lessons I have seen that you make a lot of preparations before the lessons, such as worksheets for class-work and homework. Can you tell me about what you usually do before a lesson?*

Topic Domain: Decision making at the planning stage.

Possible follow-up questions:

- Do you prefer written or mental plans?
- What do you consider in making your plans?

2. *Can you think of a recent time when you departed from your lesson plan in terms of the content or the activities or anything? Please tell me about what made you change your plan and everything that happened in that lesson.*

Topic Domain: Interactive decisions

Possible follow-up questions:

- What made you think so?
- What was the problem?
- What was the role of students in your decision?

*3. Can you please describe your primary responsibilities and duties as a teacher in and outside the class here? Please feel free to elaborate on anything you want to because I am interested in everything you do starting from when you first enter the school to the time you leave.*

Topic Domain: Teacher roles defined by the institution

Possible follow-up questions:

- What made you think so?
- How do these responsibilities or duties support or hinder the kind of teaching you do or you would like to do?

*4. Can you tell me about a typical opening and concluding part of your lesson? Please suppose that I have never been to your class and I am interested in finding out how your lessons begin and are brought to end.*

Topic Domain: Structure of lessons (opening and closure).

*5. Could you describe what goes on in individual seatwork when students are assigned to do exercises or answer questions in class? Can you try to tell them as if I had never been to your classes?*

Topic Domain: Structure of lessons.

*6. I remember a couple of weeks ago you let them free in class for about 20 minutes. Please suppose that I was not in class during that particular period. Can you please tell me everything that happened to give a vivid picture of what was going on in class?*

Topic Domain: Non-routine activities in class.

Possible follow-up questions:

- Did you realize any differences in classroom behaviors of students?

*7. I have realized that some students are often eager to play an active and public role in the lessons while others are happy to be outside your attention zone. Here is a diagram of your classroom with the desks and the names of students in their places as you asked them to sit. Can you give me a tour through the diagram and tell about each student in this respect?*

Topic Domain: Teacher's action zone

Possible follow-up questions:

- Can you tell me a little bit more about the way you interact with them?

*8. A few weeks ago, I remember, while you were studying past perfect, simple past and past continuous tenses you gave up doing the worksheets you prepared for classwork and asked the students to write similar paragraphs. Do you remember? Can you tell me everything that happened?*

Topic Domain: Interactive decisions

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS**

The transcription symbols used in the present study are as follows:

- T : teacher
- LL : several or all learners simultaneously
- L : unidentified learner
- // : overlapping or simultaneous responses, utterances, etc. by two, three, or an unspecified number of students
- [ : a square bracket indicates the onset of overlap (i.e. the point where one speaker started speaking while the other continued to speak) or an interruption
- ( ) : single brackets indicate unclear or probable item
- (( )) : double brackets indicates unintelligible speech and transcriptionist's comments or description, including non-verbal actions
- [ ] : single square brackets indicate phonetic transcription
- = : turn continues below, at the next identical symbol and/or if inserted at the end of one speaker's turn and the beginning of the next speaker's adjacent turn, it indicates that there is no gap at all between the two turns
- ... : three periods indicate a micro pause and/or a very short hesitation in the speaker's speech. These periods are separated from the preceding word by a space
- :: : one or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound
- . : a period indicates falling (final) intonation
- , : a comma indicates low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation

! : strong emphasis with falling intonation

? : rising intonation, not necessarily a question

- : a hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off

*italic* : italic type indicates marked prominence through pitch or amplitude

capitals: capitals are only used for proper names, not to indicate beginning sentences

unint : unint stands for unintelligible speech

**APPENDIX 7**  
**Transcriptions of the Interviews**  
**First Interview**  
**(22. 01. 2008)**

**Y:** I want to start with the assignment you said in the teacher's room, it was one of the questions in my list. You assigned them to write an essay about how to act in class a couple of weeks ago and I think you gave them the same homework previously, too. Can you please tell me what exactly do you expect them to acquire? I want to understand what you think about ideal student behaviors in class. So, please don't be afraid of giving too much detail.

**T:** Well, I expected them to go home and think whether what they did was right or wrong. I also wanted it to be a punishment, I guess. So, what I was expecting them to gain out of it, well, I mean, these kinds of punishments are usually spontaneous things, I decide what there punishment is going to be on the spot, at that moment. When they get out of hand, I need something like a punishment so that they won't repeat whatever they have done in class. I have done it twice but have discovered that it doesn't really work with all students. But at least they spend time at home thinking about what they have done is wrong. The things they did, right and wrong.

**Y:** Ok, what did they do right and what did they do wrong, bad? What do you think?

**T:** The bad things?

**Y:** And the right things.

**T:** Behaviorwise?

**Y:** Yeah.

**T:** The bad things, like not respecting the teacher, not listening , making me repeat myself all the time, like "be quiet", "don't speak to your friends", "Stop making too much noise"...etc. These are the things they need to learn. The right things...

**Y:** Yes how about the right things?

**T:** The right things are what I expect them to do. Doing the things they are meant to do in class such as listening and doing their work. Some just chat and don't write. Or just write because they have to. Sometimes having to repeat myself over and over again just really tires me! These sorts of things.

**Y:** Ok, now please suppose that I had never seen your lesson. Can you tell me about a typical lesson? Please start from when you first enter the classroom and then take me through all the activities. I am interested in everything because I want to understand things in the class from your point of view. So please feel free to give as much detail as you want.

**T:** Ok, so, when I walk into the class the students are never in their places, which is quiet normal. So I have to tell them to sit down, sometimes even raise my voice. This usually takes a couple of minutes. After they sit down, and be quiet we are ready to start. It usually takes some time to make them take out their material. After they settle, I usually check their homework and see who hasn't done the homework and give the ones who haven't done it minuses. Then we start the lesson. Being able to achieve what ever has been planned to be done on that particular day sometimes doesn't work out because you have to deal with problems such as problematic students, students that aren't interested in the lesson and students who distract the class. Sometimes, you know, you don't have time to really help the students that want to learn because of the problematic ones. The way students behave in class also depends on the way the teacher approaches them. If you walk into the class with a smile on your face it causes some of them to misbehave and not listen. But when you walk into the class with a straight face and are very strict with them, it makes it easier to control them. I guess you need to find the middle. Neither being too strict nor fun works. So I really believe that the teacher's role is important. But as you know, I am not all that experienced yet, I am still learning, too. It takes time. Experience is important. So, anyway, we do our worksheets and what ever needs to be done and then the bell rings. They go, have their 10 minutes break and come back. I mean, I don't know if there is anything else you want me to include.

**Y:** No, it is fine. Now, can you describe your students. Please once again try to pretend I wasn't in the classroom at all. Can you try to tell them as if I had never seen them or as if you were making a movie about them? I am interested in finding out how you see them.

**T:** Like how I understand them?

**Y:** How you see them, how you understand them, what you think about them. Like, as if they were the characters and you were making a movie about them.

**T:** Do you want me to talk about them individually or as a whole?

**Y:** Well, if possible, both of them.

**T:** Well, they are still young, they are kids. And I understand that it is difficult for them to sit in one spot for eight hours everyday, it is not easy. They have lots of homework to do from every lesson. I mean I understand them that they get tired of this but this is something they have to do. And I have to, you know, make sure that they do their work,

you know, learning, the language. It can get difficult sometimes because you get some students with different personalities, like Onur, for instance. He always likes to attract attention, and to be Mr.Cool . You get other students who love answering the questions asked in class. I don't know but it is the age, I mean it is not easy. It is tough for them and it is tough for the teacher. You can ask some questions...

**Y:** Yeah, ok but I don't want to interrupt. So, you say different students have different things.

**T:** Yeah.

**Y:** I mean in terms of the way they behave. For example, you talked about Onur. I also have an idea about how they behave. So do you use different strategies?

**T:** According to the differences?

**Y:** Yeah, for these differences, according to the differences.

**T:** I don't know. Do I use different strategies? With Onur for instance, I have tried loads of strategies. I sometimes praise him for something good he has done every now and then but it doesn't work. I have done it a few times after the lesson. I told him he did well in class and this and that but it never works. Sometimes it *...inaudible...* with some students, Sanem for instance. You know Sanem. I have spoken to her many times about her situation because she is not doing very well in all of her lessons and she has promised me so many times but I guess that is the way she is. It is usually these weak students who cause the problems because they don't understand, or don't want to understand. They don't listen so eventually they get bored and start distracting others. They start dealing with other things like saying irrelevant things to the lesson in order to attract attention. Your question was...

**Y:** The students.

**T:** Yeah, their characters .

**Y:** Yeah.

**T:** Err...I don't know.

**Y:** The students, I mean, I want to understand, like to see them as learners or to see them as individuals. Do you think does it make any difference while they are sitting in the classroom?

**T:** I mean it is hard. Sometimes you want to but can't deal with them individually. You have to deal with them as a whole because you don't have enough time to deal with

them one by one. I find that when I try and help the students who are finding it difficult to do their work individually, the others start chatting with each other as soon as my back is turned to them. So that is why you have to try to focus on the class as a whole and get every single students attention so that they can listen and understand.

**Y:** Ok, now can you think of a recent time when you had a problem or conflict with a student about something? Can you please tell me everything that happened? Please pretend you are making a video of what occurred.

**T:** A particular problem, well, not really. It is just the usual stuff, like them not listening. Those are the problems for me, you know, my main concerns. They don't listen when I tell them to, err, any particular student with any...I don't know.

**Y:** I didn't mean something different from these actually. I meant the problems to do with classroom stuff.

**T:** Yeah, not really, this is the only problem. It usually depends on the teacher. That is what I believe. Classroom management is very important, like, you know, when I walk into the classroom and I have a serious look on my face they tend to listen. If you walk in with a smile the opposite happens. You must be firm with them.

**Y:** So being firm or having a smile on your face, it makes a difference?

**T:** You have to find the middle, you have to balance it.

**Y:** Balance.

**T:** Yes. You have to find the middle. They need to know where the line is, and where they have to stop.

**Y:** Do you think between this class and other classes is there a difference?

**T:** It is the same. They are all the same. I mean there are differences in some classes but it is just a small difference, behaviorwise. ...*inaudible*...I have the same problems in all classes. And so do other teachers too.

**Y:** Ok, now, this is the last week of the semester. So can you please try to evaluate the lessons, I mean your lessons in this class in any terms? I mean activities, students' performance, students' behaviors, your performance as a teacher.

**T:** I don't know, I think I should have been a little firmer.

**Y:** Firmer?

**T:** Yeah, because they kind of started to get out of hand towards the end. At the beginning they were more quiet but towards the end they started to get out of hand. I'm gonna have to be more strict next semester starting from the beginning. That is my plan because otherwise I will get tired, very tired! And I am gonna try to focus on some different activities And I don't know, like classroom management, I am gonna try to work on that. Once that is done then the rest will come. Because when they sit down and listen they learn more easily, like even the weak students, they can grasp something at least. But when they, you know, look left and right, deal with other things, they miss out on a lot of things . Im only talking about some students here.

**Y:** Is it discipline? I mean is it discipline what we are talking about now?

**T:** Well, it is not all about discipline because a student has to be, I mean, a little smart, too, to get things. If a problematic student listens there is no doubt that he or she is going to learn something. I am sure if Onur had listened he would have got a higher mark in the exam. As you know we had a revision for the exam. He didn't even write any of the stuff we did that day. Plus he wasn't listening. And then in the exam he just failed, didn't do well. So being a little strict and making sure they listen, eliciting more out of them ...*inaudible*...

**Y:** Ok, so, I remember, at the beginning, students were supposed to sit in the same places.

**T:** Yeah.

**Y:** What was this for?

**T:** I just wanted to keep the problematic students away from each other.

**Y:** And later you...

**T:** Yeah, later I just let them sit however they wanted to because every time I came to the classroom the desks were a mess and that would take time to arrange the seats and the desks again. So that is why I just let them.

**Y:** So does it work?

**T:** I believe it does.

**Y:** Ok.

**T:** That is all?

**Y:** Yeah, thank you.

**Second Interview**  
**(08. 04. 2008)**

**Y:** Since I started attending your lessons I have seen that you make a lot of preparations before the lessons, such as worksheets for class-work and homework. Can you tell me about what you usually do before a lesson?

**T:** Ok, the preparations. Well, normally we prepare worksheets and we already have a general idea about what we are going to, how we are going to teach whatever we are teaching that day because this is what you do every year. So, we just prepare worksheets.

**Y:** So, when you say the general idea about how to teach do you mean the school, all the teachers? Do you have guidelines for example about how to teach?

**T:** Like, like?

**Y:** Like you should this, you shouldn't do this, these are important.

**T:** Well, no. Not necessarily. I mean you just go there and do your thing. There is a curriculum you have to follow. So, we know what we are going to do.

**Y:** Who prepares the curriculum?

**T:** We prepare it at the beginning of the year according to the book.

**Y:** According to the book, ok. So the preparations you do before lessons are the worksheets?

**T:** The worksheets, whatever it is in the book, whatever it is in that chapter, whatever the grammar is, we prepare worksheets for that. Questions, possible questions that may come in the exams.

**Y:** You are not supposed to prepare daily lesson plans?

**T:** Well, we are supposed to but we don't have time. It is impossible to do that because there is so much work to do here like we already have 26 hours, we already have like, each teacher has 26 hours. And you know we have duty days. Outside these hours you have to do the preparations, there is so much paperwork to do so we don't really have time to prepare lesson plans. But I mean you get used to how you are going to teach whatever you are teaching as the years pass by, you know.

**Y:** All right, well, can you think of a recent time when you departed from your lesson plan? Well, I mean you said you don't plan in that way, I mean daily lesson plans or written plans let's say but you know what to do in the lesson.

**T:** Yeah.

**Y:** So do you remember a specific time you changed your mind and you decided to do something different?

**T:** Hmm.

**Y:** Or, if you do this, when you change your plans suddenly what happens usually? What makes you change your plan?

**T:** Ok, I don't know, like, I normally don't but sometimes students come up with things incorrectly, they say incorrect sentences so I start teaching that and then, I mean that shouldn't be done of course but sometimes you just do what you are doing and they just say something incorrectly and you know that it is not like that so you start explaining and they don't understand and then you end up writing that on the board, so sometimes that happens. But I try to stick to whatever I meant to do that day.

**Y:** So is it basically the students that make you change your plans?

**T:** Yeah, it is, yeah.

**Y:** Ok, can you describe your primary responsibilities and duties as a teacher in and outside the class here? But I don't mean only the in-class teaching but everything you are supposed to do. Please feel free to elaborate on anything you want to because I am interested in everything you do starting from when you first enter the school to the time you leave.

**T:** Ok, well, we are meant to be here at a quarter to, ten to eight.

**Y:** Even if you don't have a lesson?

**T:** Even if we don't have a lesson we are meant to be at school from eight to five. And, I mean what I normally do like, come here at 8 o'clock and if I have preparations to do I do the preparations, if I don't then I sit and relax. Lessons finish at half past three and then from half past three to five o'clock you do your preparations if you have any. This is what happens every day but we also have a day when we are on duty. So on that day you have to go to your duty area every break, every time it is break time.

**Y:** Do you have one every week?

**T:** Yeah, once a week. Mine is on Wednesdays and I also have to like, I am in the garden so I have to go there every time the bell rings and also at lunch time, too. So, it is to make sure that students go to their classes on time and they don't cause any problems. So I have to be there, all teachers do. That is just about it. And we have meetings, too.

**Y:** Meetings?

**T:** We have meetings in the department, we have meetings in the school.

**Y:** How often do you have meetings?

**T:** In the department?

**Y:** Yeah.

**T:** I would say, well, at the beginning of the year we have quite a few meetings because we are getting *...inaudible...* but I mean after the school starts I would say like one meeting a month, sometimes two. It depends. If there is something new, something needs to be changed then we have a meeting, like we had this public speaking thing and we had like two meetings about that. And we have seminars, too, that we have to attend.

**Y:** Seminars here?

**T:** Well, not here, at other schools. So they would like to assign teachers to go, like there was one in, what school, ... College on Saturday. Quite a few teachers *...inaudible...*, I did, too, boring.

**Y:** Ok, so I wonder if these responsibilities and duties you are assigned here support or hinder the kind of teaching you would like to do? For example, you have to come here quite early and leave quite late even if you don't have lessons. Do you think that does it support or hinder? I mean this is just an example but...

**T:** So are you saying like is it necessary to be, like being here from eight to five and does it help? Well, not necessarily. It doesn't actually because sometimes I find myself sitting down in the office at four o'clock and prepared everything, I am ready for the next day but I have to stay here until five o'clock because of the rules. But in the lise, in the lise it is different. I don't know if it is like a rule for all teachers but with the English teachers, they can leave whenever they want to, as soon as they are done with their lessons they can leave. And the things that come like are you prepared, are you ready for the next day, do you have anything to do; you are prepared, you have nothing to do, I mean I don't see, I don't see, you know, the point of being around if you have nothing to do because you do your preparations anyway, you have to do, because if you don't do then you have got nothing to do next day. So I am against that but it is a school, like how it is a school, I was schooled anyway.

**Y:** Ok, well, can you tell me about a typical opening and concluding part of your lesson? Please suppose that I have never been to your class and I am interested in finding out how your lessons begin and are brought to an end.

**T:** Ok. I don't do such a good opening.

**Y:** Why do you think so?

**T:** Ok, I just do, the important thing for me is, ok, I walk into the classroom to get them sit down and to be ready. That is the opening for me.

**Y:** What do you usually see when you walk into the classroom?

**T:** Mess.

**Y:** A mess, ok.

**T:** Everyone is standing up, they are talking to each other, I say them to be quiet and to listen, I have to tell them to sit down like a hundred times.

**Y:** How long does it take to get them seated?

**T:** Well, I mean, you were there, you saw it, at least, it depends. It depends on me actually. If I am, if I walk in and I am very strict it would take two or three minutes but if I walk in with a smile on my face it would take a lot of time and I usually walk in with a big smile on my face, so that doesn't help much. And, towards the end, I try to make sure that I give them homework, like give them the worksheet before the bell rings because once the bell rings it is hard to keep them, you know, in their seats, keep them quiet so I try to do that before the bell rings, giving the homework. So these are the main important things for me, at the beginning and at the end, like getting them to be quiet, to listen, be ready and towards the end giving them their homework, making sure that everyone knows what they have to do.

**Y:** At the beginning stage, before you go through the instructional stage, you get them seated and then what do you do? I mean before you start teaching.

**T:** Before I start teaching, I normally walk up to a good student and have a look at the notebook to see where we stopped because we have so many classes and I am a little disorganised too when it comes to this kind of things, there should be taking notes but, they tell you where you stopped anyway, so they don't lie about that. So after they sit down I check and see where we stopped and I take it from there. I check their homework, too. I mean checking the homework is important, so checking the homework. And now there is a new rule, if students don't do their homework we give

their names to, what is his name, to the vice principal and he e-mails the parents. And this means the lazy students are gonna copy the homework before they come to class. That is what they do but I don't blame them because they have so much work to do, like maths teachers give them homework, science, English. They get homework from every teacher and it piles up to so much to do at such a young age. I mean, I was a student, I mean, I don't know, I don't think I would, if I was a student at this time I don't think I would be able to keep up with all this stuff. You have to really be a hardworking student, like a gig. You have to be a gig to be able to put up with all this stuff.

**Y:** Ok, well..

**T:** And the gig wasn't the right word there.

**Y:** It's ok, I understand. Well, now, can you describe what goes on in individual seatwork when students are assigned to do exercises? I mean, when you assign them to do exercises or answer questions you don't usually put them in groups or pairs.

**T:** No.

**Y:** You prefer individual work. So what goes on in individual seatwork?

**T:** What goes on?

**Y:** I mean the whole thing, the students, their behaviors, how they do their work, how you respond to them because it usually takes a lot of time.

**T:** Yeah, well, it takes a lot of time because some students are not interested in doing the worksheets or some, you know, like Sanem for instance, she is always, she is the type that likes to always talk to a friend, she can't concentrate, so it takes a long time to finish her worksheet. I mean, what was the question? I was confused, forgot the question.

**Y:** What goes on in individual seatwork?

**T:** Ok, what goes on. Well, they are meant to sit down and do their worksheets. But, as I said, some do and some don't, like Onur, for instance. Some students, you have to keep warning them, you have to tell them to do their worksheets, so they turn around and say ok, so you think that they are doing their worksheets and turn around. As soon as you turn around they start, you know, dealing with something else. So that is why it takes a long time, too. I mean there are some students who just finish them quickly, some chat, sometimes you have to yell at them so they can do their worksheets. So it is just a whole mixed-up thing.

**Y:** Ok, so I remember the time, a couple of weeks ago, you let them free in class for about 20 minutes.

**T:** Oh, that time, yeah. The last 20 minutes. What went on?

**Y:** What went on, yeah. Please suppose that I wasn't in class during that particular period. Can you tell me everything that happened?

**T:** What went on that day. Well, they put their i-pods out, and then they put their phones out, and then they started playing things on the phone, like Alp, he played that electric razor thing, it was ok and we listened to that but then I realized that some of the students, they wanted to play some, I don't know, I think they would gonna play some rude stuff, like they would gonna play some English songs with swear words and listen to that and that is not a good thing, that is why I had to stop it there. I mean I shouldn't have allowed them in the beginning, from the beginning but I wanted them, like listening to music I don't mind but the telephone thing, you can have awful things on the phone. I don't know, were they silent that day? No, they weren't, were they? I was playing a game at the front with a few of my students but then the ones at the back started to get out of hand. That is what I remember but it was a headache for me. Letting students free is just a headache for the teacher because when they are free this means for them it is the time I can do anything I want to. They can stand up, they can listen to music, they can speak loudly, and when they start doing that the classroom just gets out of hand, it starts to get noisy and it gives me a headache because I am the one who has to keep them quiet.

**Y:** Well, I don't remember the details but they were sitting next to the people whom they wanted, you let them sit together with whomever they wanted to.

**T:** Yeah.

**Y:** And there were a couple of groups of students, with one of which you were playing a game and the other one was at the back of the lefthand side and the other group was in front of me I guess.

**T:** Ok, yes.

**Y:** And do you think, I remember for example, when they were free it wasn't a mess like you usually had. I mean..

**T:** It was better.

**Y:** Yeah, it was better.

**T:** Did I have ...*inaudible*... that day?

**Y:** I don't remember. Was there an exam or something like that that day? Because, I think, you let them free because of something.

**T:** Was it the last two hours?

**Y:** Yeah, I think so.

**T:** Maybe. Maybe they were gonna have an exam and they wanted to be free and I let them free but I can't remember.

**Y:** Well, if this is all that you want to say it is ok.

**T:** That is all I remember about what happened that day.

**Y:** Yeah, ok. May I go back to the other question? I forgot but I need to ask something else about the individual seatwork. Why don't you prefer pair or groupwork?

**T:** Because when I first started here last year, it was the first time I started teaching kids so I tried to do pairwork with them, the dialogues thing but it doesn't work because they start chatting and they just look like working but they are not, it doesn't work because they sound like making a lot of noise, when they start making a lot of noise that means I have to shout and try to calm them down. Pairwork doesn't work because they make too much noise. I mean I would love to do pairwork but the thing, it would work better with younger kids. Year 6, year 7. Year 7 is a little hard. Like my year 5s, I do the pairwork with them because they are very enthusiastic but year 7, kids just change at that age.

**Y:** And, finally, yeah, the students.

**T:** The students.

**Y:** You know, I have realized that some students are usually quite active in class and some of them...

**T:** Some are the opposite.

**Y:** Yeah, while some are happy to be outside your attention zone some others are usually eager to play an active and public role. Here is a diagram of your classroom with the desks and the names of students in their places as you asked them to sit. Can you give me a tour through the diagram and tell about each student in this respect?

**T:** It is just a big problem because I have to deal with, like it is the problematic, because I can't deal with the quiet students as much as I want to because of the students who are disturbing the class. I am always yelling at Onur, Sanem and like because I have to deal with particular students so much, sometimes I forget about other students like Zehra for

instance. No, not Zehra. Zehra, yes Zehra is a good example because she is so quiet, she does her work, she is a good student. Sometimes I forget she is in the classroom because I am always telling Onur to be quiet or Ali to turn around or Sanem to concentrate. So sometimes I find it difficult to deal with the other ones, the quiet students, you know, to show them a little more attention.

**Y:** Which students would you say are the most active ones?

**T:** Active ?

**Y:** In class.

**T:** Alp. Do you mean behaviourwise or just like active as in, Alp is always moving around, he is always standing up. And he likes to be the attention of the class. Onur, too. Onur is like that, too. Sanem. Onur, Alp and Sanem, I would say those three.

**Y:** Are they successful students? What do you think?

**T:** You mean academicwise?

**Y:** Yeah. I mean their grades, their work.

**T:** Sanem and Onur no. They are not only in English, in all of their lessons.

**Y:** Alp?

**T:** Alp is not bad. He can pass. I think he got 70 in the English exam. His English is a lot better than most of the kids in the class but, you know, he doesn't have everything in one packet, I mean he is, you know, he is smart but you know, I like him though. He is a good student but he tires me a lot.

**Y:** What would you say about Cem?

**T:** Cem! Cem, well, he got a low mark in this exam, he would usually get 80 or above but in this exam he got something like 65, he got a lower mark. And the reason I suppose, maybe because of the age, maybe because of the others distracting him but he is a smart kid. He likes to talk, he likes to chat but when I warn him, when I get serious, he gets some scared and he says okey okey but then he starts chatting again.

**Y:** What about the others?

**T:** The others. Bilge, she is quiet, she does well in her exams, she is quiet but she likes to talk. She talks and she doesn't make it obvious, like crazy Mr. Okan is busy yelling at everyone so she takes advantage of that, she is like talking on the quiet so sometimes I

catch her chatting but...Burak, Burak is a student like gives me the least problems I think and Aslı. Burak is a little weak though because he started the school this year, I think he came from a state school.

**Y:** Do they have good grades as well?

**T:** Burak yes but because he listens and he studies hard but his English is very weak. Aslı, I love her, she is a very hardworking student, she knows her responsibilities, she is something different, like I remember her saying to me, I think it was last year, she came up to me and she said she had to get a high mark in English, she had to be successful because her mother is working, like her mother has two jobs and her mother is working so that she can pay for her education fee so she knows her responsibility. And she is very respectful. İrem. İrem is also, I think, very respectful. When I tell her to listen and to be quiet she says okay and she listens in class. I mean she likes chatting, too but they all do. It is the age, it is normal. I can't expect them all to sit down and sit like statues and you know. Just to attend, just to participate in the lessons would be great though. Ceren, I don't know. I feel like I don't know some of them too though because I am always dealing with Alp and Onur, like Elif is always quiet. Elif and Devrim(f), their English is good. I give them the worksheets and they do their worksheets, they get high marks in their exams but I don't really know them as much as I do Alp and Onur.

**Y:** I find these three girls interesting. I mean, as you said, their English is good, you assign them to do their worksheets and they do them silently. And they start chatting, if they do, when they finish their work.

**T:** Yeah, they chat on the quiet.

**Y:** Yes but they are not active in class. I mean they don't volunteer to answer the questions.

**T:** Yeah.

**Y:** They just do their work and sit down. I find it interesting.

**T:** Yeah. I mean I know I should be focusing on them a little more in class because they are students, too, but I know that their English is a lot better than the others and I know that they do their worksheets correctly so I try to focus on the weaker students more, like Sanem and Devrim and Onur and Ali. Onur, I mean, I try to help him sometimes just to motivate him, you know but he doesn't listen. Burak, for instance, he is weak but those three, their English is a lot better than the other students so that is why I just let them do their thing. And Zehra, too.

**Y:** Is she as good as Elif, Ceren or Devrim(f)?

**T:** I would say Devrim and Elif's English, their English is, they have the best English. Zehra, she is hardworking, her English is not bad, it is good but it is not very good. I would say Elif and Devrim(f) have the best English. Ceren is like Zehra, maybe, I think Zehra is a little better than Ceren. I think I have talked about everyone here. Have I missed anyone?

**Y:** No. Ok, well, a few weeks ago, I remember while you were studying Past perfect, Simple Past and Past Continuous you gave up doing the worksheets you prepared for classwork and asked the students to write similar paragraphs. Do you remember that time?

**T:** Past Perfect and Past Simple.

**Y:** And Past Continuous I guess.

**T:** When I got there he had...

**Y:** Yeah and...

**T:** Oh yes, yes, the mixture yeah.

**Y:** The travel stuff. There was a man going somewhere and lost his passport and this sort of things in the worksheet.

**T:** Yeah, I remember that worksheet, yes.

**Y:** Yeah, ok, I remember you started doing it and then you gave up?

**T:** Oh, yes, yes. The reason, well, the thing is I knew we weren't gonna ask something like that in the exam because that was a little complicated. And that worksheet was prepared by another teacher and I hadn't looked at it before. I mean it was ok but it was a little too hard for them.

**Y:** Was it the vocabulary?

**T:** Like, they had to see the answers there, they had to see like words like while so after while they could use past continuous. Or it has to be very clear, the answers have to be very clear. I mean the answers weren't clear enough. I mean the answers could have been done but not by them. It wasn't clear enough, that's why I switched to the other way.

**T:** Ok, I think that's all. Thank you very much.

**APPENDIX 8**  
**Transcriptions of the Sampled Data**

## APPENDIX 9

### Sample Preliminary Analysis

File 30

CONTEXT NOTES:

09:51

((He came in so silently that students didn't realize him first. Some other students from the other class left and ■ students started to get ready for the lesson. Most of them are standing up, some students are asking each other about the homework and some of them are chatting.))

Topic: Reported Speech

1<sup>st</sup> Lesson

|                                |                                                                     |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| discipline-oriented directives | [1] T: come on!                                                     |                                  | 09:52                                                                                                                     |
|                                | [2] T: Cem!                                                         | nomination(d) <i>directive?</i>  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [3] T: if you don't sit down, I am gonna make you write er:         | directive(indirect)              |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | * [4] Onur: [er:::]                                                 |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [5] T: Onur, sit down!                                              | nomination/directive             | (checked their seating)                                                                                                   |
|                                | [6] T: Aslı, is everyone sitting in their places? give me the list. | nomination/elicitation directive |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | * [7] Onur: the list is here, the new list.                         | informative                      | ((He is showing the list on the board, which is the regular seating plan.))                                               |
|                                | [8] T: I don't mind this.                                           | reply                            |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | * [9] Onur: your list ah:!                                          | comment ?                        |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [10] T: ok! you are giving me a headache. be quiet. ((calmly))      | marker/directive                 | ((Now he is looking at İrem's notebook to check where they stopped in the previous lesson. Students are still speaking.)) |
| FRAME                          | [11] T: ok, yes. all right, good.                                   | marker                           |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [12] T: all right, thank you.                                       | marker/directive(indirect)       | 09:54<br>((Students are sitting now but they are still speaking.))                                                        |
|                                | [13] Cem: homework?                                                 | elicitation                      |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [14] Bilge: no homework ki!                                         |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [15] L: no homework.                                                |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [16] Devrim: yes homework.                                          |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [17] T: ok, no homework! relax.                                     | informative                      |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [18] Devrim: yes homework.                                          |                                  |                                                                                                                           |
|                                | [19] Cem: yes homework.                                             |                                  |                                                                                                                           |

# Openings : usually 'settling-down' periods !

- \* Students seem to reply teacher directives!
- \* It took almost 10 mns. for him to start the lesson!

|              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| FRAME        | [20] T: now, take this out.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | marker/directive (procedural) | ((He is showing them a previously given worksheet.))                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| *            | [21] Devrim: o:: what is this?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | elicitation                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [22] T: take this out.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | directive                     | ((Students are trying to find their worksheets. Cem couldn't find his worksheet and he is looking at mine, we are sharing mine. Sanem wants to do the same but it is not possible due to the seating arrangement. She has taken his chair next to Devrim to look at his though.)) |
|              | [23] T: Sanem!                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | nomination(d) directive       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| *            | [24] Sanem: I haven't got this paper, I look Devrim.                                                                                                                                                                                                           | informative                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [25] T: no! don't stand up.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | reject/directive              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| FRAME        | [26] T: now!                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | marker                        | 09:56                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|              | [27] T: look at- look at this side, not this side, this side.                                                                                                                                                                                                  | directive (procedural)        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [28] T: in reported speech certain words some words change when you are reporting them to someone else. for example, tomorrow changes to the next day, yesterday changes to the day before, here changes to there, for example. yesterday, Onur, for instance. | starter<br>informative        | ((He is writing some examples on the board but some students are still chatting.))                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|              | [29] T: direct speech.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | starter                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [30] T: have you finished speaking?                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | directive(indirect)           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| *            | [31] Sanem: no.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | reply                         | ((She was like whispering and no other response came.))                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|              | [32] T: I will play here, so here changes to there when I am reporting it. yesterday I saw Onur, Onur said to me I will play here[                                                                                                                             | informative                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| interruption | [33] Cem: [he told to me he would play there.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | reply                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [34] Ali: direct.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | reply                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [35] T: yes.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | accept                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|              | [36] T: so he told me that, he told me that[                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | informative                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| interruption | [37] L: [I will play[                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | reply                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                  |                                                                |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
|                | [38] Cem: [he would play there.                                                                                                                                                                                         | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [39] T: he?                                                                                                                                                                                                             | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
|                | [40] Cem: he would play there he would play there.                                                                                                                                                                      | reply                                            |                                                                |
| I              | [41] T: he will changes to?                                                                                                                                                                                             | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
| R              | [42] LL: would.                                                                                                                                                                                                         | reply                                            |                                                                |
| F              | [43] Cem: would play there.                                                                                                                                                                                             | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [44] T: would play there. all right?                                                                                                                                                                                    | accept/check                                     |                                                                |
|                | [45] LL: yeah.                                                                                                                                                                                                          | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [46] Cem: neden here değil?                                                                                                                                                                                             | elicitation                                      | } student elicitation / seeking explanation                    |
|                | [47] T: sorry?                                                                                                                                                                                                          | loop                                             |                                                                |
|                | [48] Cem: why here?                                                                                                                                                                                                     | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
|                | [49] T: because it changes, it is the same in Turkish I am sure.                                                                                                                                                        | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [50] T: is it? the same in Turkish?                                                                                                                                                                                     | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
|                | [51] LL: yeah.                                                                                                                                                                                                          | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [52] T: yeah. all right. I will play here, Turkish? I will play here. who wants to translate it to Turkish?                                                                                                             | accept/elicitation<br>elicitation                | ((Only Devrim(f) volunteered.))                                |
|                | [53] Alp: I will play here or[                                                                                                                                                                                          | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [54] T: [listen! quiet!                                                                                                                                                                                                 | directive                                        |                                                                |
|                | [55] Devrim(f): burada oynayacağım.                                                                                                                                                                                     | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [56] T: ok, so what did Onur tell you? yesterday=                                                                                                                                                                       | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
| self-selection | [57] Cem: =burada oynayacağımı söyledi.                                                                                                                                                                                 | reply                                            |                                                                |
| self-selection | [58] Devrim: burada oynayacağımı söyledi.                                                                                                                                                                               | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [59] T: you are saying burda in Turkish yes? you said it twice. yes?                                                                                                                                                    | elicitation                                      |                                                                |
|                | [60] Devrim(f): orda oynayacağımı söyledi.                                                                                                                                                                              | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [61] Onur: Ali Sami Yen Stadyumu.                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                  |                                                                |
|                | [62] Devrim: orda oynayacağımı söyledi.                                                                                                                                                                                 | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [63] Onur: Ali Sami Yen'de top oynayacak.                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                  |                                                                |
|                | [64] T: now now changes to- because I forgot to put that. now changes to at that moment. ok? at that moment, now changes to at that moment. write now here too. now write this side and write this side at that moment[ | informative<br>check<br>informative<br>directive |                                                                |
| interruption   | [65] Alp: [can I photocopy?                                                                                                                                                                                             | elicitation                                      | (student) (not responded by T, tough)                          |
|                | [66] T: write. now changes to at that moment. where is your? ((showing the worksheet))                                                                                                                                  | directive<br>elicitation                         |                                                                |
|                | [67] Alp: I don't have it.                                                                                                                                                                                              | reply                                            |                                                                |
|                | [68] T: write these then. stop coloring and drawing pictures.                                                                                                                                                           | directive                                        |                                                                |
| FRAME          | [69] T: so, I will play here? let's read the sentences. I will play- let's read from the beginning. I will play tomorrow? İrem!                                                                                         | marker/starter<br>elicitation/nomination         | ((They have started reading the examples from the worksheet.)) |
|                | [70] İrem: she told me she would play the next day or the following day.                                                                                                                                                | reply                                            |                                                                |

# IRF is evident here!

Ss are reading the examples from their WSs.

Turns are distributed by T nomination

|                       |                                                                                                           |                               |                                                                                  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I                     | [71] T: ok. Ceren.                                                                                        | accept/nomination             |                                                                                  |
|                       | [72] Ceren: she told me she had[                                                                          | reply                         |                                                                                  |
|                       | [73] T: [no no no! I played yesterday.                                                                    | reject/clue                   |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [74] Ceren: I played yesterday. she told me she had played the day before.                                | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F/I                   | [75] T: ok. yes Devrim.                                                                                   | accept/nomination             |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [76] Devrim: I will play here. she told me she would play there.                                          | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F/I                   | [77] T: ok. Bilge.                                                                                        | accept/nomination             |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [78] Bilge: I will play there. reported speech she told me she would play there.                          | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F                     | [79] T: so there doesn't change. there is there.                                                          | informative                   |                                                                                  |
|                       | [80] Devrim: yes.                                                                                         | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| I                     | [81] T: Cem.                                                                                              | nomination                    |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [82] Cem: I will go with you. she told me she would come with me.                                         | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F/I                   | [83] T: ok. Burak.                                                                                        | accept/nomination             |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [84] Burak: I will go with him her them. she told me she go- would go with him her them.                  | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| * (re-<br>invitation) | [85] T: again. read it again. I will?                                                                     | loop                          |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [86] Burak: I will go with him.                                                                           | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F                     | [87] T: ok.                                                                                               | accept                        |                                                                                  |
|                       | [88] Burak: she told me she would go with him.                                                            | reply                         | *<br>((He wasn't following Burak so he has checked it first before responding.)) |
| I                     | [89] T: I will go with you. she told me she would come with me. Burak- err: Devrim read.                  | accept nomination/directive   |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [90] Devrim(f): this book is mine. she said that book was hers.                                           | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F/I                   | [91] T: yes, the other one. Aslı.                                                                         | accept/elicitatıon/nomination | ((She is trying to find where they have stopped.))                               |
|                       | [92] Devrim: that book! that book Aslı.                                                                   | clue (aslı's Aslı)            |                                                                                  |
|                       | [93] Cem: ben yapabilir miyim?                                                                            | bid (bidding for turn)        |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [94] Aslı: that book is mine. she said that book was hers.                                                | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| F                     | [95] T: ok.                                                                                               | accept                        |                                                                                  |
| (R)                   | [96] Zehra: these books are mine. she said those books were hers.                                         | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| (F)                   | [97] T: these books are mine, she said those books were hers or she said that those books were hers. Ali. | accept informative nomination |                                                                                  |
| (R)                   | [98] Ali: those books are mine. she said those books were hers.                                           | reply                         |                                                                                  |
| (F)                   | [99] T: ok. Elif.                                                                                         | accept/nomination             |                                                                                  |
| R                     | [100] Elif: I went to the shop this morning. she                                                          | reply                         |                                                                                  |

Ss started reading in turn!

not within the IRF structure  
= extended communication

|       |                                                                                                                                                                           |                                       |                                                                                                         |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|       | said she went to the shop that morning.                                                                                                                                   |                                       |                                                                                                         |
| F/I   | [101] T: ok, this morning that morning. I played football today?                                                                                                          | accept/elicitation                    |                                                                                                         |
| R     | [102] Cem: I played football today. she said she played football that day.                                                                                                | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
| F     | [103] T: yes.                                                                                                                                                             | accept                                |                                                                                                         |
| R     | [104] Devrim: I will play football tonight. she said she would play football that night.                                                                                  | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
| F     | [105] T: all right.                                                                                                                                                       | accept                                |                                                                                                         |
| R     | [106] Bilge: I am going to play football next or on tuesday. she said she was going to play football the following tuesday.                                               | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
| F/I   | [107] T: all right. er: Burak.                                                                                                                                            | accept/nomination                     |                                                                                                         |
| R     | [108] Burak: I played football last tuesday. she said she played football the previous tuesday.                                                                           | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
|       | [109] Devrim: Mr. Okan.                                                                                                                                                   | bid                                   |                                                                                                         |
|       | [110] Cem: Mr. Okan.                                                                                                                                                      | bid                                   |                                                                                                         |
| I     | [111] T: all right. Devrim.                                                                                                                                               | accept/nomination                     |                                                                                                         |
| R     | [112] Devrim: er I er: I am playing[                                                                                                                                      | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
| !     | [113] T: [but which Devrim?                                                                                                                                               | elicitation - interruption!           |                                                                                                         |
|       | [114] Devrim: curly.                                                                                                                                                      | reply - bidding!                      |                                                                                                         |
|       | [115] T: curly, all right.                                                                                                                                                | accept - accepted!                    |                                                                                                         |
|       | [116] Devrim(f): but he did er: the one before.                                                                                                                           | informative - bidding!                |                                                                                                         |
|       | [117] T: curly?                                                                                                                                                           | elicitation                           |                                                                                                         |
|       | [118] Devrim(f): yes.                                                                                                                                                     | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
|       | [119] T: ok, yes.                                                                                                                                                         | accept/nomination                     |                                                                                                         |
|       | [120] devrim(f): she is playing football now. she said she was playing football at that moment.                                                                           | reply                                 |                                                                                                         |
|       | [121] T: good, all right.                                                                                                                                                 | accept/evaluate                       |                                                                                                         |
| FRAME | [122] T: all right, now. guess what I am gonna give you.                                                                                                                  | marker/elicitation? No!               | ((He is smiling.))                                                                                      |
|       | [123] L: can I photocopy?                                                                                                                                                 | elicitation                           |                                                                                                         |
|       | [124] T: now I want you to change the following sentences into reported speech. by the way, in your exam, you will be responsible for everything you have seen until now. | directive (procedural)<br>informative |                                                                                                         |
|       | [125] LL: oh::!                                                                                                                                                           |                                       | ((He is handing out the worksheets and students are chatting.))                                         |
|       | [126] T: in your exam you will be responsible for everything!                                                                                                             | informative                           | ((He is talking very loudly- probably so as to grab the attention of students who have been chatting.)) |
|       | [127] T: everything! from last semester.                                                                                                                                  | informative                           |                                                                                                         |

- # introduction to an individual seat-work :
- explained what they were supposed to do !
  - followed by discipline-oriented directives !

|                     |       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                |                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                     |       | [128] Elif: çok güzel oldu.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [129] Bilge: thank you.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [130] T: you are welcome.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                | ((Just after his announcement students started to talk again, some students are calling out his name.))          |
| T-iform             | I     | [131] T: ah: one more thing I have got to tell you. the question number 13, it has now that. now that changes to since. since. so here I want you to write- includes now that. it changes to since. now that changes to since. now that changes to since.                                                                                                  | starter<br>informative                                         | ((Some students are still speaking to each other.))                                                              |
|                     | I     | [132] T: you are going to use different colors, three different colors. look! look at the board! ((louder this time)) he told me that he said that a different color. the sentence in a different color and the word that changes this that in a different color. if you don't then I will take your worksheet, I will rip it and you will do another one. | starter<br>directive<br>informative<br><br>directive(indirect) |                                                                                                                  |
| discipline-oriented |       | [133] LL: no:!                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | reply                                                          |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [134] Bilge: thank you.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | reply                                                          |                                                                                                                  |
|                     | FRAME | [135] T: all right, I don't want anyone to speak. Onur, you aren't doing anything so don't speak. do whatever you do.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | marker/directive<br>nomination/directive                       | 10:07<br>((Students seem to be busy with their worksheets but at the same time they are talking to each other.)) |
|                     |       | [136] T: why are you standing up? sit! ((calmly to Cem))                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | directive                                                      |                                                                                                                  |
|                     | FRAME | [137] T: ok! now I don't want anyone to speak! if you have a question put your hands up!                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | marker/directive                                               |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [138] T: shh! I said I don't want anyone to speak. ((to Sanem))                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | directive                                                      |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [139] T: why are you still speaking? you are making noise, just stop speaking. put your hands up, one minute.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | directive                                                      | ((He sounds angry))                                                                                              |
|                     |       | [140] T: <u>this is how I want to class.</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | directive(indirect)                                            | ((Now the class is like no speaking, no moving, quiet and still.))                                               |
|                     | FRAME | [141] T: now if you have questions put your hands up.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | marker/directive                                               |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [142] L: Mr. Okan.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | bid                                                            |                                                                                                                  |
|                     |       | [143] T: when you finish we are going through the answers together and you will correct yourself.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | metastatement                                                  | ((He is walking around and giving explanations to                                                                |

# During these individual seat-work periods, T seem to be expecting a 'complete silence' & 'no movement' !  
 on excess of discipline-oriented directives !

|  |                                                                     |                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  |                                                                     |                                  | the students who asked for. Though they are inaudible and thus unintelligible. Most of the students seem to be silent. One student is probably moving a desk I don't see who but there is a constant noise of moving coming from the back.)) |
|  | [144] T: İrem! ((sounds like a warning))                            | nomination(d)                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [145] T: ah: yes! good good good good. number 3! they said to [him] | accept/evaluate/starter          | ((One of the students showed him a mistake in the worksheet))                                                                                                                                                                                |
|  | [146] İrem: [I have been[                                           |                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [147] T: [we have been! we!                                         | informative                      | ((now he is telling that mistake to the whole class so that they can change "I" into "we".))                                                                                                                                                 |
|  | [148] L: we?                                                        | elicitation                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [149] Cem: çünkü they diyor they.                                   |                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [150] T: can you stop making that noise?                            | directive(indirect)              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [151] T: who did that? Ali! shh!                                    | elicitation/nomination/directive |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [152] LL: /((unint))/                                               |                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [153] T: shh!                                                       | directive                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [154] T: are you doing it deliberately to get on my nerves?         | directive(indirect)              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [155] Sanem: ne:?                                                   | elicitation                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|  | [156] T: you didn't understand. anyway.                             | comment                          | ((Then he turned back to talk to Burak.))                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [157] T: be careful!                                                | directive                        | 10:12<br>((He is helping Burak at the moment, giving explanations and examples. Students at the back rows are talking to each                                                                                                                |

# extended T-S communication  
spontaneous

|                       |                                                                      |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                       |                                                                      |                                   | other.))                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                       | [158] T: yes Devrim.                                                 | nomination                        | ((He is helping Devrim at the moment.))                                                                                                                                                               |
| 5 repetitions with T! | [159] Onur: Alp.                                                     |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [160] T: Onur! ((yelling))                                           | nomination(d)                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [161] Onur: I have got a question.                                   | bid                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [162] T: then ask me!                                                | directive                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [163] Onur: but you don't look.                                      |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [164] T: put your hand up!                                           |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [165] Onur: yarım saatır kaldırıyorum.                               |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [166] T: number 3! they said to him. we!                             | starter/informative               |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [167] Alp: bi de bana diyosun! three, three, three!                  |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [168] T: [three!                                                     |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [169] Alp: three.                                                    |                                   | ((The teacher has warned Alp once not to stress "r" sound too much, that is why he has responded to him like this.))                                                                                  |
| challenging T!        | [170] Devrim: Mr. Okan?                                              | bid                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [171] Alp: Mr. Okan, can I give you some present?                    |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [172] Devrim: ((unint))                                              |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [173] Alp: Mr. Okan, can I give you some present?                    |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [174] T: no.                                                         |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [175] Alp: ama güleceksin. laughing.                                 |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [176] T: it is not time to laugh now.                                | directive(indirect)               |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [177] Alp: good?                                                     |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [178] T: good.                                                       |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [179] Alp: I draw you. biraz benzemedi ama.                          |                                   | ((The teacher didn't respond to him, he is still busy with the other students in need of his help but other students wanted to see it. Then a couple of students around Alp started to talk to him.)) |
|                       | [180] T: Alp do you want to continue doing your worksheet next door? | nomination/elicitation (THREATEN) |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                       | [181] Alp: oh no no!                                                 | reply                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

[nextdoor : vice-principal's room]

# Onur & Alp seem to be trying to annoy the teacher – intentional?

|                    |                                                                                              |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| keeps challenging! | [182] T: all right, one more chance for you.                                                 | accept/comment          | ((Then Alp put that paper in the bin and the teacher went on helping the students.))                                                                                                     |
|                    | [183] Alp: Mr. Okan- pardon Mr. Sam?                                                         |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [184] Alp: Burak. onu denemiřtim bana kızmıřtı.                                              |                         | ((The teacher is talking to Burak but Alp is trying to talk to him. Then he walked to Alp.))                                                                                             |
|                    | [185] T: what? is he going to help you?                                                      |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [186] Alp: no.                                                                               |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [187] T: so?                                                                                 |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [188] Alp: ((unint))                                                                         |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [189] T: no! because you can do it here, you can concentrate here.                           |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [190] T: do you need help? come on! ((to everyone))                                          | elicitation/prompt      |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [191] T: finish the first page for now. after you finish the first page, stop!               | directive               |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [192] Onur: Alp.                                                                             |                         | 10:18<br>((Onur drew a picture this time and showed it to Alp.))                                                                                                                         |
|                    | [193] Alp: o:!! ((He seems to mean he liked the picture, he means "good" with his fingers.)) |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [194] T: Onur, do you need help?                                                             | elicitation             |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [195] Onur: no.                                                                              | reply                   |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [196] Sanem: I need help.                                                                    | informative             |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [197] Onur: Alp.                                                                             |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [198] T: Alp! noone else is speaking, it is just you.                                        | nomination(d)/directive |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [199] Alp: ya ortaklařa kullanıyoruz.                                                        | reply                   |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [200] T: shh!                                                                                | directive               |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [201] Onur: Alp.                                                                             |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                    | [202] Alp: efendim.                                                                          |                         | ((This time Onur put the picture he drew into the bin just like Alp did a couple of minutes ago. Both of them stood up but the teacher didn't look at them. Many of the students started |

# monitoring & giving assistance

|  |                                                                                      |                     |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  |                                                                                      |                     | talking.))                                                                                                                                                         |
|  | [203] T: I guess you all finished the first page.                                    | directive(indirect) |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [204] LL: /no/I need help/ Mr. Okan/ master Okan/                                    |                     | ((He is walking around and giving help to the students who asked for.))                                                                                            |
|  | [205] Onur: Mr. Basa! oh: Mrs. Basa!                                                 |                     |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [206] T: I am not Mr. Basa or Mrs. Basa, go round Mr. Basa then.                     |                     | ((Onur seems to have taken his response serious. He stood up, opened the door to go out and stopped to say "Gideyim mi?" quietly and then the teacher came over.)) |
|  | [207] T: just sit down.                                                              | directive           |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [208] Onur: but I need help.                                                         |                     | ((Then the teacher helped him. Sanem went to him and asked permission to go to the bathroom.))                                                                     |
|  | [209] T: sit down, put your hand up and ask it again like that.                      | directive           | ((Sanem went back to her desk.))                                                                                                                                   |
|  | [210] T: yes.                                                                        | nomination          |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [211] Sanem: can I go to ((unint))?                                                  | elicitation         |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [212] T: can I go to the bathroom?                                                   | informative         |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [213] Sanem: yes.                                                                    | acknowledge         |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [214] T: no.                                                                         | reject !!           |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [215] T: Cem have you finished the first page? have you finished the first page yet? | nomination/check    |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|  | [216] T: yes...yes ((He is walking around to check if they have finished.))          |                     | ((Now he is helping Aslı.))                                                                                                                                        |
|  | [217] Cem: Mr. Okan!                                                                 | bid                 | ((No response came to him from the teacher, he continued helping Aslı. As soon as they finished Devrim called him out.))                                           |

rejected because the way she asked ← wasn't the way the teacher wanted to?

|       |                                                                                                                                                     |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|       | [218] Devrim: Mr. Okan! ((excited tone of voice))                                                                                                   | bid                         | ((Devrim showed him a mistake in the 12 <sup>th</sup> question which is similar to the one in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> question.))                                                                                                             |
|       | [219] T: oh! number 12[ they said to her we will find our books.                                                                                    | marker/starter/informative  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [220] Cem: [yes yes.                                                                                                                                |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| FRAME | [221] T: ok, let's stop!                                                                                                                            | marker/starter              | 10:24<br>((At the moment the teacher is helping Alp. Cem, Bilge, Devrim and Aslı seem to be studying but others are chatting with the ones around themselves in small groups. However, what they are talking about is not intelligible.)) |
|       | [222] Devrim: no [no no.                                                                                                                            |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [223] LL: [no no!                                                                                                                                   |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [224] Cem: no.                                                                                                                                      |                             | ((Then he waited for a few seconds))                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|       | [225] T: who wants to read number two?                                                                                                              | elicitation                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [226] Sanem: uh: [uh uh!                                                                                                                            | bid                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [227] Onur: [ me me me[                                                                                                                             | bid                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [228] T: [ok, look! everyone is going to read, just put your hands up if you want to answer the question.                                           | marker/directive            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [239] Ceren: Sarah said to Paul I will buy a car today. she said that she would buy a car that day. she told him that she would buy a car that day. | reply                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|       | [230] T: ok. so Ceren come to the board, Cem come to the board.                                                                                     | accept/nomination/directive | ((Ceren and Cem seem not to have understood what is going on and others either. So, many students started to speak immediately.))                                                                                                         |
|       | [231] LL: /((unint))/                                                                                                                               |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

*edition*

|       |                                                                                |                                                |                                                  |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| FRAME | [232] T: now! look! listen! so you can understand!                             | marker/directive                               |                                                  |
|       | [233] Ceren: I will buy a car today.                                           | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [234] T: Cem, she is speaking to you.                                          | informative                                    |                                                  |
|       | [235] LL: /laughs/                                                             |                                                |                                                  |
|       | [236] Ceren: I will buy a car today.                                           | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [237] T: ok, so say "what did you tell me?"                                    | accept/elicitation                             |                                                  |
|       | [238] Cem: what?                                                               | elicitation                                    |                                                  |
|       | [239] T: what did you tell me?                                                 | reply(informative)                             |                                                  |
|       | [240] Cem: what did you tell me?                                               | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [241] Ceren: er: I[                                                            | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [242] LL: /laughs/                                                             |                                                |                                                  |
|       | [243] Ceren: I said- I said that I would buy a car that day.                   | reply                                          |                                                  |
| FRAME | [244] T: ok. now you say to him what did I tell you? what did you- what did I[ | marker/elicitation                             |                                                  |
|       | [245] Ceren: [I told[                                                          | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [246] T: [repeat repeat. what did I tell you?                                  | directive/elicitation                          |                                                  |
|       | [247] Ceren: what did I tell you?                                              | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [248] Devrim: Niye ikiniz birbirinize ne söyledim diye soruyorsunuz?           | [criticizing T / using Turkish]                |                                                  |
|       | [249] LL: /laughs/                                                             |                                                |                                                  |
|       | [250] Cem: she told me that[                                                   | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [251] T: [ok, you are speaking with her now.                                   | clue                                           |                                                  |
|       | [252] Cem: you told me that you would buy a car that day.                      | reply                                          |                                                  |
| FRAME | [253] T: ok, now look at Zehra. what did she tell me? repeat.                  | marker/directive/elicitation                   |                                                  |
|       | [254] Cem: hi! she told me[                                                    | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [255] T: [no no! repeat. what did she tell me?                                 | reject/elicitation                             |                                                  |
|       | [256] Cem: what did she tell me Zehra?                                         | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [257] Zehra: she told to the[                                                  | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [258] T: [she told?                                                            | clue                                           | ((he waited her to finish but no response came)) |
|       | [259] T: she told you that?                                                    | clue                                           |                                                  |
|       | [260] Zehra: she told you that er: I would[                                    | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [261] T: [you would?                                                           | clue                                           |                                                  |
|       | [262] Zehra: she would buy a car.                                              | reply                                          |                                                  |
|       | [263] T: that day. all right. shh! now Devrim.                                 | informative/marker/directive/marker/nomination |                                                  |
|       | [264] Devrim: curly?                                                           | elicitation                                    |                                                  |
|       | [265] T: what did dit dit dit?                                                 | elicitation                                    | ((He wants him to complete the "dit"s.))         |
|       | [266] Devrim: dit dit.                                                         | reply                                          | ((Students started chatting again,               |

|  |                                     |                  |                                                             |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|  |                                     |                  | many of them<br>don't seem to be<br>listening to<br>them.)) |
|  | [267] Cem: what did [he tell you?   | reply            |                                                             |
|  | [268] Burak: [ben yapabilir miyim?  | bid              |                                                             |
|  | [269] T: ok, quiet! stay like this! | marker/directive | ((The bell rang.))                                          |
|  | [270] T: ok, have a break.          | directive        |                                                             |

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Yasemin Oral was born in 1978 in Sakarya, Turkey. She received her BA degree in English Language Education at İstanbul University in 2000. She received her MA degree, with her study named Reflections of the Global English- Intercultural and Critical Approaches, in English Language Education at İstanbul University in 2003. She has been working as a research assistant in the same department since 2000. She was also at Indiana University, Bloomington, USA, as a Fulbright grantee during the spring semester of 2002-2003 academic year.